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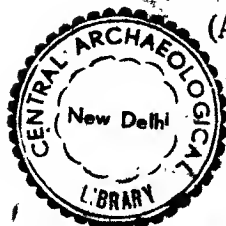


SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE IN THE VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE

(A. D. 1346—A. D. 1646).

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VOLUME II



BY

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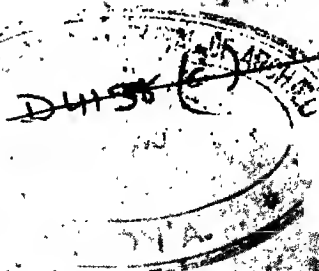
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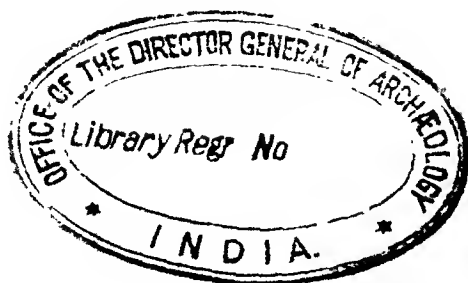
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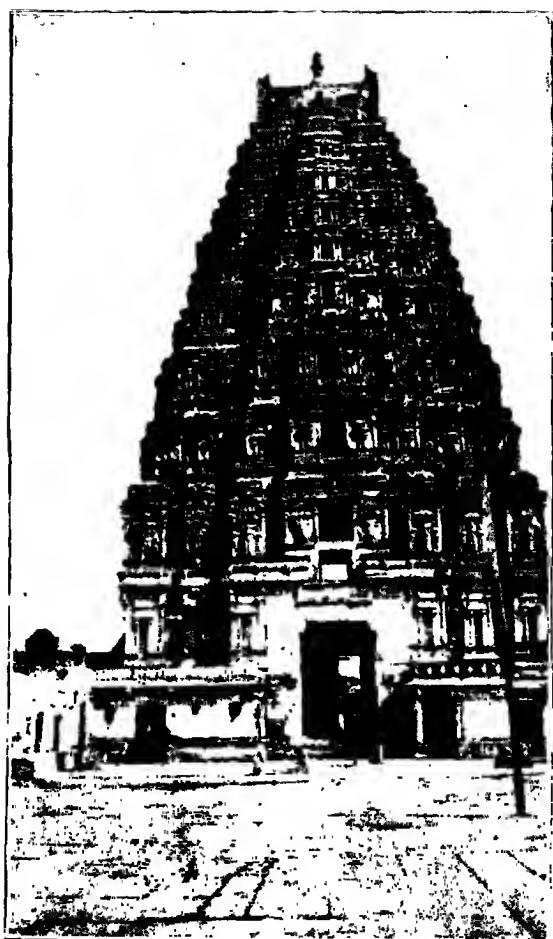




ERRATA

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5	25	यतिमघवंतं	यतिमघवंतं
Ibid	26	महतीम्	महतीम्
9	6	Section III	Section 3
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Virupaksha Temple.

[Frontispiece Vol. II.]

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE

IN THE VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE

VOLUME II.

CHAPTER I

VARṆĀŚRAMA DHARMA

SECTION I. *Dharma in Relation to Society*

THE huge and costly forces, some aspects of which we have described, were necessary in an age when the rulers stood as champions of the thought and culture of the people. In the statement of an epitaph that Bukka-mahīpati was a reincarnation of Kṛishṇa, who "re-appeared as a king to deliver the world when it was overspread by *Mlechchhas*", we have one of the most salient features of the Hindu classical lawgivers expressed in terms of contemporary history. The Vijayanagara age, as we have elsewhere remarked, saw the resuscitation of Hindu life. And this was only possible with a revival of the ancient *Dharma* modified to some extent by the experience of ages.

The monarchs as well as the people were aware of the relationship of *Dharma* to society. It was the endeavour of the former to protect the *varṇāśrama dharma*; it was the ambition of the latter to follow the classical precepts without endangering the prosperity of the land. To the Hindus, as is well known, the word *Dharma* covered a large field of human activity: it was used to denote the whole social order with its attributes of law, conduct and worship. It was, therefore, as

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vast in its range as it was complex in its character.¹ Its end could only be realized by the united action of the people led by the king. The ancients invented a singular method of securing their object. They instituted the four *varṇas* or castes (and the four *āśramas* or orders) and gave the system a touch of divinity, reiterating the interdependence of the different parts. The four castes and the duties assigned to each of these are too familiar to need a description here. Nevertheless in understanding the interdependence of the four castes and in the consequent solidarity of the whole system, we cannot help noting the following words by Manu : "The king has been created (to be) the protector of the castes (*varṇa*) and orders, who, all according to their rank, discharge their several duties"². Then again : "Abstention from injuring (creatures), veracity, abstention from unlawfully appropriating (the goods of others), purity, and control of the organs", Manu has declared to be the summary of the law for the four castes.³ Hence we have in *Vaśiṣṭha* : "(To live according to) the rule of conduct is undoubtedly the highest duty of the men. He whose soul is defiled by vile conduct perishes in this world and in the next."⁴

Manu, who is our main authority on the subject, has minutely delineated the duties pertaining to every one of the four castes. He has laid down their mutual obligations, and further he has allowed them a latitude, in the matter of adhering to their own duties in ordinary times and of assuming the functions of their inferiors on extraordinary occasions, which is especially seen in the social activities under Vijayanagara. The apparent diversity of the four *varṇas*, which seems to be a prominent feature of the system, was according to Manu, by no means a source of conflict between them. In the following

¹ It is difficult to define Dharma. We can only repeat the words of Dr. Kielhorn : " I find no English word by which I could fully express all the meanings of the Sanskrit *dharma*. . . ." *Ep. Ind.*, IX., p. 113, n. (7).

² *Manu*, VII., 35, p. 221.

³ *Ibid.*, X., 63, p. 416.

⁴ *Vaśiṣṭha*, VI., 1, p. 34.

regulations he tells us, firstly, about the interdependence of the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas, and, then, about the importance of the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras in the social order. "When the Kshatriyas became in any way overbearing towards the Brāhmaṇas, the Brāhmaṇas themselves shall duly restrain them, for the Kshatriyas sprang from the Brāhmaṇas. Fire sprang from water, Kshatriyas from Brāhmaṇas, iron from stone, the all-penetrating force of those (three) has no effect on that whence they were produced. Kshatriyas prosper not without Brāhmaṇas, Brāhmaṇas prosper not without Kshatriyas; Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas, being closely united, prosper in this (world) and in the next".¹ Then, again, Manu says: "The Brāhmaṇa is declared (to be) the root of the sacred law and the Kshatriya its top. . ."² This explains why in the Institutes of Gautama we have the following: "It has been declared in the Veda: 'Brāhmaṇas, united with Kshatriyas, uphold gods, manes, and men.'"³ About the importance of the third *varṇa* Manu says: "For when the Lord of creatures (Prajāpati) created cattle, he made them over to the Vaiśya; to the Brāhmaṇa and to the king, he entrusted all created beings."⁴ Further we have the following as regards the interdependence of the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras: "(The king) should carefully compel Vaiśyas and Śūdras to perform the work (prescribed) for them; for if these two (castes) swerved from their duties, they would throw this (whole) world into confusion."⁵ The Hindu society, therefore, according to the ancients, was divided into a number of component parts, each of which, while it had some specific duties to perform, was also required to work for the common purpose—the realization of the Dharma. Therefore "one may detect beneath the outer garb of dogma a

¹ *Manu*, IX., 320-2, p. 399.

² *Ibid.*, XI., 84, p. 447.

³ *Gautama*, XI., 27, p. 238.

⁴ *Manu*, IX., 327, p. 400.

⁵ *Ibid.*, VIII., 418, p. 327. See *Gautama*, X., 1-2, p. 227 for the occupations common to all twice-born men.

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keen appreciation of the principle of specialization and division of labour as well as that of the organic unity of society.”¹

The Vijayanagara conception of the social order was, on the whole, modelled on the classical precepts. That the rulers were aware of the *varṇāśrama dharma* is proved by numerous records as well as by references in literature. Harihara Rāya II, in A.D. 1399, is said to have been “engaged in upholding the observances of all the castes and orders”, and to have been “the supporter of the four castes and orders”.² In A.D. 1403 the same monarch is described to be protecting the duties of the various castes (*Harihara-mahārāyaru Vijayanagariyal(l)i śrī-Virūpāksha-dēvara sannidhiyalli varṇāśrama-dharmaṅgaḷan(n)u pālisutta*).³ The same phrase is used in connection with him and with his son Virūpāksha in the next year.⁴ In A.D. 1404 and A.D. 1405 Bukka (II) is also represented as protecting the *varṇāśrama dharma* from Vijayanagara.⁵ From A.D. 1407 till A.D. 1432 we come across various inscriptions in which Dēva Rāya II is said to be protecting all the *varṇāśrama dharmas* (*sakala-varṇāśrama dharmmavannu pālisutta . . .*).⁶ In A.D. 1423 the phrase *sakala-varṇāśrama-dharma-maṅgaḷan(n)u pālisutta dharma-mārgada sakala-sāmbrajya-van āḷu* is used both in regard to Dēva Rāya and Śrīgirinātha Oḍeya (son of Kammaṇa Oḍeya), the Viceroy over Āraga.⁷ Mallikārjuna Mahārāya, from A.D. 1448 to A.D. 1451, is also depicted as upholding the duties of all the castes.⁸ The idea of the *varṇāśrama dharma* survived the shock of the battle of

¹ Ghosal, *Hind. Pol. Theor.*, pp. 60-1 (1st ed.) ; p. 36 (2nd ed).

² *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 125.

³ *E. C.*, VI., Kp. 52, p. 86, text, p. 334 ; *E. C.*, VIII., Tl. 133, p. 190.

⁴ *E. C.*, VIII., Tl. 9, Tl. 13, pp. 164-6, Tl. 196, p. 206.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Tl. 11, 12, 126, pp. 164-5, 187.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Tl. 122, p. 187, Tl. 190, text, p. 82, Tl. 131, p. 189, Tl. 222, p. 211 ; *E. C.* VII., Sh. 70, p. 27 ; *E. C.* VIII., Tl. 205, p. 208, Tl. 142, p. 191, Tl. 148, p. 192, Tl. 144, p. 191 ; Tl. 2, p. 161, Tl. 14, p. 165 ; *E. C.* VII., Sh. 71, p. 27 ; *E. C.* VIII., Tl. 23, p. 168.

⁷ *E. C.*, VIII., Tl. 14, text, p. 450, op. cit.

⁸ *E. C.*, VI., Kp. 32, p. 81, text, p. 317, Kp. 44, p. 83, text, p. 325. The name Dēva Rāya given to the king in this latter inscription is to be interpreted as Immaḍi Dēva Rāya. See also *E. C.*, VIII., Tl. 155, p. 193.

Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi, as is evident from the use of the phrase in connection with Sadāśiva Rāya in A.D. 1566.¹ In an inscription dated A.D. 1577, of the times of Śrīraṅga Rāya, we have the following about the Emperor Sadāśiva—*purarājyaṁ praśāsati varṇāśrama-sad-āchūra-ṣaripālana-pūrvakam*.²

But these were not the only monarchs who were credited with the observance of the *varṇāśrama dharma*. The picture of Sāluva Nṛsiṃha, as given in the *Sāluvābhyudayam*, makes us believe that that ruler maintained the traditional dignity of the sovereigns as Defenders of the Faith. As we have already remarked, Sāluva Nṛsiṃha appeared like Indra pledged to uphold the cause of the Dēvas, when he was seated on an elephant during the usual royal perambulations in the south.³

But no Vijayanagara monarch could put forth such substantial claims for the honour of defending and promoting the Hindu Dharma as Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya. Sōmanātha in his *Vyāsayōgicharitam* showers an uncommon eulogy on that ruler which, but for the fact that it is confirmed by foreign as well as Indian sources, would have been given hardly any credence by students of history. Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya was the crest jewel of kings—शिरोमणिः भूपतीनां, and when he died, after making obeisance to the celebrated Vyāsarāya, his *guru*, it seemed to the people that Kṛishṇa himself had departed from the ken of mankind at the end of His *avalāra*.

तत्र समहीपतिः भगवंतं यतिमघवतं नमस्कृत्य विदांवर

परलोकं यथाधिरोहिणीमिव तस्य महतीम आशिषम्

आदरेणादाय प्रयाणे लीलाविषयीकृत नंदनस्य देवकी

नंदनस्य पुनरपि स्मरयन्नब्रौकः कंदवानि बहुजन्म

सुकृतेन वासववास्तव्य भावमभजत४

This encomium lavished on Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya is to be traced to the feeling of patriotism and benevolence which characteriz-

¹ E.C., VIII., Nr. 1, p. 126.

² *Ibid.*, Tl. 5. text, p. 418.

³ *Ante.*, Vol. I., Chapter V.

⁴ *Vyāsayōgicharitam*, Intr., pp. clxi, clxxii, 66, 76-7.

ed that able champion of the Hindu Dharma, and which made the people believe that his rule was like a shower from heaven blossoming the world at the commencement of spring.

तदनु समस्तभुवनमंगलकंदलसमयसलिलधारायमाणशासनचातुरिकः¹

How ardent Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya himself was that his people as well as posterity should judge him as the Defender of the Dharma can be gathered from the concluding lines of his own composition styled *Jāmbhavatī Kalyāṇa*, where, with the characteristic humility of a truly noble mind, he prays that the fruits of his rule might last to the remotest periods of time:

धर्मं पाद चतुष्टयेन कृतवत् स्थैर्यं समालंबतां । चातुर्वर्ण्यं
उपैतु कर्म सततं स्वस्वाधिकारोचितम् । शेषश्माधरनायकस्य
कृपया सप्तार्णवीमध्यगं रक्षन् गामिह कृष्णराय
नृपतिः जीयात् सहस्रं समाः ।²

Foreigners, who personally interviewed the great ruler, have given us many details about the grandeur of his court and the number of his troops. But none has given such an admirable sketch of his character and person as Paes. It is worthwhile to take his words into account in our estimate of the greatest monarch southern India has ever seen. "This king," says Paes, "is of medium height, and of fair complexion and good figure, rather fat than thin; he has on his face signs of small-pox. He is the most feared and perfect king that could possibly be, cheerful of disposition and very merry; he is one that seeks to honour foreigners, and receives them kindly, asking about all their affairs whatever their condition may be. He is a great ruler and a man of much justice, but subject to sudden fits of rage, and this is his title—'Crisnarão Macacão, king of kings, lord of the greater lords of India, lord of the

¹ *Vyāsavyōgicharitam*, p. 66. Cf. The popular conception of the same ruler as given in *E. C. X.*, CB. 4, p. 198, op. cit. (*Ante.*, Vol. I., Chapter IV), and in the two triumphal verses composed by the court poets during his campaign of Konḍavidu, *The Rāyāvachakamu*, *The Sources*, p. 122, op. cit. (*Ante.*, Vol. I., Chapter IX.)

² *Jāmbhavatī-Kalyāṇa*, *The Sources* p. 143; Venkoba Rao, *Vyāsavyōgicharitam* Intr., p. clxxxiii.

three seas and of the land.' He has this title because he is by rank a greater lord than any, by reason of what he possesses in (?) armies and territories, but it seems that he has (in fact) nothing compared to what a man like him ought to have, so gallant and perfect is he in all things."¹ Coming as this does from a foreigner who was ignorant of the ideas of Hindu Dharma, it confirms the fear, love and esteem in which the people held Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya the Great.

SECTION 2. *The Hindu View of Life*

DHARMA could only be realized by co-ordinating three other aims which have ever been associated with it. In the words of Manu,—“(Some declare that) the chief good consists in (the acquisition of) spiritual merit and wealth, (others place it) in (the gratification of) desire and (the acquisition of) wealth, (others) in (the acquisition of) spiritual merit alone, and (others say that the acquisition of) wealth alone is the chief good here (below); but the (correct) decision is that it consists of the aggregate of (those) three.”² Manu, therefore, combines the two-fold path of progress (*pravṛtiti*) and of abstinence (*nivṛtiti*) to secure liberation or self-realization. This ideal remained unchanged till the mediaeval days. Thus does Śukra explain the rules of social polity: “The activities of all creatures are known to have happiness for their end. There can be no happiness without morality. So one should be devoted to morality (dharma). Let one not try to get mōkṣa without trying to acquire the other three (*viz.*, dharma, artha and kāma), and let them constantly follow (the path of) mōkṣa without discarding the other three. This is the (golden) mean in all religions”.³ Here is “a profound appreciation of the totality of human interests” which “lies, unless we are greatly mistaken, at the root of the sociological ideas of the Hindus”.⁴

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 246-7. On p. 247, n. (2). Sewell in connection with the word Macacão, writes. “A mixture, apparently, of *Mahā*, ‘great’ and ‘Shāh’”. The word may as well stand for “*Mahārāya*. B.A.S.

² *Manu*, II, 234, pp. 70-1.

³ *Śukranīti*, III, ll. 2-5, p. 102.

⁴ Ghosal, *Hind. Pol. Theor*, p. 7 (1st ed.), p. 7 (2nd ed.).

Inscriptional evidence proves that the Hindu monarchs were Defenders of the Dharma; foreign travellers attest to the fact that their Empire, specially in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was almost unrivalled for its riches and splendour. The Vijayanagara monarchs realized that material wealth was indispensable for the attainment of freedom of any kind. There was of course nothing new in this: Śukra had already expressed the mediaeval view in the following words: "Man is the slave of wealth, not wealth of anybody. So (one) should always carefully labour for wealth. Through wealth men get virtue, satisfaction and salvation"¹. The ultimate significance of such a conception was indeed profound; it meant that the life of an average citizen was to be governed by considerations of material wealth rather than by those of metaphysical calculations. We may be permitted to repeat that there is no definite evidence to prove that the mediaeval treatise of Śukrāchārya influenced the thought and action of the Hindu rulers. Nevertheless we may assert, on the evidence of both foreign and indigenous accounts, that the Vijayanagara monarchs achieved remarkable success in co-ordinating the apparently divergent lines of action enunciated by legists from Manu down to Śukrāchārya.

Whether in Vijayanagara times the distinction between the rich and the poor was as acute as is depicted in the *Śukranīti*², and whether they adopted the "eight good ways and means" of acquiring wealth, mentioned by the mediaeval lawgiver³, it is not possible to say; but if one could judge from the opinions of writers of a later age, one may venture to remark that in Vijayanagara too there must have been as invidious distinctions between the rich and the poor as are mentioned, for example, by Vēmana. This writer tells us that "If one be possessed of wealth they look upon him as the god of love; but if he falls into poverty, and is unable to rise and *help himself*, be he as

¹ *Śukranīti*, V. ll. 77-9, p. 264; Sarkar, *Pos. Back.* II, P. I, p. 79.

² *Śukranīti*, III., 363, 369-70, 373-5, p. 116; Sarkar, *Pos. Back.*, II, P. I, p. 78, seq.

³ *Śukranīti*, III., ll. 364-7, p. 116; Sarkar, *ibid.*, pp. 79-80.

Cupid himself, they look upon him as a Pariah."¹ If this was the heritage which was left by Vijayanagara to the people of the seventeenth century, we may well imagine that in its own days it could not have been free from those ideas of wealth and poverty which are usually associated with material prosperity.

SECTION III.—*Some Features of Life in a Hindu Family*

A. Pre-Vijayanagara

With these general notions of the aims and means of the Hindu Dharma, we may now ascertain, with the fragmentary evidence before us, a few facts concerning life in a Vijayanagara family. There is reason to believe that in the earliest periods of Indian history, the conception of home or family life was highly elevated, embracing as it did relationship in blood as well as in service. We have a pleasant glimpse of such a state of life in the edicts of Aśoka.² Even in the seventh century A. D., the Hindu home was not much shorn of its antique simplicity. Bāṇa in his description of his own life gives us a sketch of the stages through which a diligent Brahman passed;³ and in the following account he tells us that "the religious mendicants were intent on worshipping the shrines, having washed their feet and hands in the outpour of their water-pots; the fire, with the sacred grass spread round it, was blazing up, with its hands purified by the sacrificial vessels."⁴ Then, again, he speaks of the little folk at home: "the children were beginning to long to go to sleep, having enjoyed a good lying in bed while listening to the long stories of the old nurse", when the dreadful mouth of early night was beginning to yawn. Rājyavardhana lay down his sword in sorrow; and Harsha, perplexed and pained at his brother's attitude, gave vent to his feelings in an admirable soliloquy, in the course of which he gave further proof of the great love he bore to his brother.

¹ Vēmana, *Verses*, Bk. II., v. 25, p. 58. (Brown) See also pp. 84—101, 113. See *infra*, Chap. II, Section I.

² Mookerjee, *Asoka*, p. 103.

³ Bāṇa, *Harshacharita*, p. 66.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

He could not think of accepting the charge of sovereignty which was "like a rain of cinders on a drought parched wilderness, scorching one already scorched." He is unable to find out the reason of Rājyavardhana's renunciation. "This is unworthy of my lord. Again, although in this world a prince without pride, a Brahman without greed, a saint without anger, an ape without tricks, a poet without envy, a trader without knavery, a fond husband without jealousy, a poor man not an eye-sore, a hunter without cruelty, a mendicant with a Brahman's learning, a contented servant, a grateful dicer, a wandering ascetic without gluttony, a misanthrope with a soft tongue, a truthful minister, and a King's son without vice are all equally hard to find, yet my Lord himself has been my instructor."¹ The figure of the noble Harshavardhana stands out in bold relief against the characters he has described in his speech.

Friends, children and wealth—these three constituted worldly happiness. The inscriptions of the twelfth century supply equally interesting features about the life in a *Karṇāṭaka* home. According to a record dated A. D. 1176, the most essential factors which could give happiness to a family were the following—*pañcha-sūnā* or cutting, grinding, cooking, carrying water, and sweeping; *strī-mōha* or love of women; *parigraha* or land, house, cattle, grain, bipeds, quadrupeds, conveyance, bed, servants and vessels. These formed the three *garavas* which were as indispensable to the house-holder as they were harmful to the hermit.² With the inclusion of a very minor but significant article, lamps, which is mentioned in A. D. 1195³, we may venture to assert that the pre-Vijayanagara conception of home life included almost all things required for domestic happiness.

B. Vijayanagara

The uniformity in the Hindu system of home life is seen when we compare the ideas of the twelfth century with those

¹ Bāṇa, *Harshacharita*, p. 68.

² E. C., II., No. 66, p. 22, n. (2) (2nd ed.)

³ *Ibid.*, No. 349, p. 153.

of mediaeval times. The eight sources of wealth and enjoyment, as given in a copper-plate record dated A. D. 1403, were houses, both kinds of land (wet and dry), cattle-folds, woods, waste grounds, land filled with game, rivers and hills—*mandirani dvi-vidham kshētram gōshṭam cha vanam ēva cha khilī bhūtam cha yat kshētram mṛiga-vāsas lathaiwa cha nadi-parvala-bhōgaś cha aṣṭa-bhōgaḥ prakīrtitāḥ*.¹ Then again in a record dated A. D. 1583 we are told that *Daḷavāyi* Basavi Nāyaka was blessed by the people with health, wealth, cattle, gold, sons and grandsons, in order that he might live a long and unobstructed life.²

The Hindu lawgivers have ascribed all happiness resulting from the acquisition of the above mentioned attributes to one of the four stages into which, according to them, wordly life may be divided. These four stages or orders, as is also well known, are those of the *brahmachārin* or student, *grihasta* or house-holder, *vānaprastha* or hermit, and *bhikṣu* (or beggar) or ascetic. Without dwelling at length on the specific duties pertaining to every one of the four orders, which are mentioned in detail by the lawgivers,³ we may observe that according to the Hindus great importance was attached to the *grihasāśrama* or the order of the house-holder. This is evident from the following in the code of Manu: "As all living creatures subsist by receiving support from air, even so (the members of) all orders subsist by receiving support from the house-holder. Because men of the three (other) orders are daily supported by the house-holder with (gifts of) sacred knowledge and food, therefore (the order of) house-holders is the most excellent order."⁴

The respect in which this stage of life was held by the people of Vijayanagara is described in an inscription dated Śaka 1438 (A. D. 1516). Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, in the presence

¹ E. C., XII, Si. 95, p. 101, text, p. 300.

² *Ibid.* XII, Si. 3, p. 88.

³ *Manu.*, II., 71, seq. pp. 43, seq.; III., 1, seq., p. 74, seq.; VI., 1, seq., p. 198, seq.; VI., 38, seq., p. 205, seq.; *Vasīṣṭha*, VII., 1—3, p. 40, *Baudhāyana*, II., 6, II, 12, seq., pp. 258—9.

⁴ *Manu.*, III., 77—8, p. 89; *Cf. Śānti Parva*, Sec. LXVI. pp. 213—4.

of Viṭṭhalēśvara on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadra river, conferred the village of Māṇḍya, otherwise called Kṛishṇarāya-puram, together with certain hamlets, to Gōvinda Rāja, son of Varadāchārya, and grandson of Anantāchārya, on whom Venkaṭēśa after diligent search had placed the garland of flowers.¹ The story alluded to in this inscription is briefly told by Rice. Anantāchārya, it appears, was a disciple of the reformer Rāmānujāchārya and the only one among his disciples who volunteered to accept the duty of daily preparing the garlands for the god Venkaṭēśa of Tirupati. This he did solely from *bhakti* or devotion to his *guru*. Gōvinda Rāja, who was twelfth in descent from Anantāchārya, was, it is said, a confirmed ascetic. The god learning the distress of his parents at their son's remaining a bachelor and the threatened extinction of the family, appeared to him while at penance, and announcing that his devotion was accepted, threw a garland over him, at the same time directing him to marry and serve thenceforth as a householder.² Whatever may be the value attached to this anecdote, it is significant that in an inscription of A.D. 1516 there should be an allusion to the excellence of the *grihastāśrama* and the piety of Anantāchārya.

We shall presently give examples of private charity testifying to the attachment which existed between members of a family. There cannot be a doubt that in the conduct of household duties, the people in Vijayanagara must have observed most of the orthodox rules which have ever governed a Hindu family. Even the princes of the Saṅgama dynasty, who were certainly not of the Brahman caste, seemed to have vigorously adhered to the regulations enjoined by the lawgivers on the

¹ E. C., III., Md. 115, p. 52. Even now the representative of Anantāchārya's family is the only person, it is said, who is garlanded on visiting Tirupati. Rice gives the memorial verse repeated on this occasion at Tirupati. *Ibid.*, Intr., p. 24, n. (2).

² E. C., *ibid.*, Intr., *ibid.* Mr. R. Narasimhāchar tells us, however, that the epithet "on whom Venkaṭēśa placed a garland" does not apply to Gōvinda Dikshita but to the progenitor of his family, Anantāchārya. *My. Arch. Rept.* for 1908, p. 21.

dvija or the twice-born castes. Kumāra Karṁpaṇa, as we saw in connection with the army, at dawn performed his ablutions as prescribed in the *śāstras*, and then started on his southern campaign.

On one important aspect of their home life we have much evidence. This is their filial love which may have been instrumental in bringing together into closer relationship the various conflicting elements in the political and social life of the people. The love of the parents for their children is a most remarkable feature of the Hindu family. Even so late as in A.D. 1720 foreigners were struck by it. Father Bouchet wrote to Father Balthus the following—" . . . it is most certain that, there is no nation in the world where parents are more fond of their children; the tenderness of the Fathers and Mothers in this respect is beyond imagination".¹ This referred to the people of the south.

In the light of this observation it is not too much to say, we believe, that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and earlier, perhaps when orthodoxy was rampant among the people, the attachment of the parents to the children and the regard of the latter for the former must also have been especially noticeable. This only can explain the following epigraphs which deal with the filial love of the people. Honnana Gauḍa, son of Chikkaṇa Gauḍa, of Ānevāḷa, in about A.D. 1430, erected the basti of Brahma-dēva and Padmāvati, in order that Bommaṇṇa Gauḍa, the son born to him might obtain merit.² What precisely they meant by the phrase *might obtain merit* (*puṇyav āgabēk eṇdu*) is told to us in a record dated A.D. 1590 which says that Piriya Rājayya Dēva Mahā-arasu, son of Śrīkaṇṭha Rājayya, king of Nañjarāyapaṭṭaṇa, in order that his (?) adopted son Prāṇadhāreya Piri-Oḍeyar might attain to Kailāsa, made in his name a grant of Pirisamudra for the lights of the Kārttika-*pūjā* of the god Annadāni-Mallikārjuna of Śrīgiri.³ As regards the attachment which a mother felt

¹ Lockman, *Travels of the Jesuits*, III., p. 50.

² E. C., IV., Hs. 62. p. 90.

³ *Ibid.*, Hs. 121, p. 95.

for her daughter, we have an epigraph dated A. D. 1530 which relates that when Vīra Bhairava Oḍeyar was ruling over Kārkaḷa, and his younger sister Kāḷa Dēvī was protecting the Bāguñji-sīme, on the death of her daughter Ramā Dēvī, she gave in her name gifts in kind and money for the offerings of the god of Kallabasti in Tuḷuva.¹

There are many instances of the care with which children commemorated their love and respect for their parents. The *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Vīra Mallappa Oḍeyar's son Bukkaṇṇa, evidently of the royal family, in order that *dharma* might be to Mallappa Oḍeyar, in A.D. 1355 made a grant of vessels for the god Dāmōdara of Bannūrgaṭṭa.² Harihara Mahārāya in A.D. 1376 "in order that his father the Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēśvara Bukka Rāya might obtain union with Śiva, and through the removal of his sins acquire the favour of Paramēśvara", bestowed the village of Hebasūr, renamed Bukkarāyapura, to Brahmans of all *gōtras*.³ The same ruler Harihara II, "in order that merit might be to his forefathers," while in the capital in A.D. 1388, granted to a Brahman called Malli Bhaṭṭa the village Ayyarasanahalli in the Turvekere-sthala, together with its thirteen hamlets.⁴ Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya the Great in A.D. 1513 granted six villages to the temple of Hazāra-Rāma at Harīpe for the spiritual welfare of his parents, Narasaṇṇa Oḍeyar and Nāgājīyammā.⁵ Achyuta Rāya in Śaka 1455 (A.D. 1533-4) gave as a gift the village of Doṇḍavaṭi in Kurugōḍu-sīme, to the god Bukkēśvara-dēva, consecrated by himself, in the name, and for the merit, of Narasaṇṇa Nāyaka's mother Bukkammā.⁶ An undated epigraph records that the same monarch granted as a gift the village Chitikanahāḷa to the temple of Prasanna-Virūpāksha of Jenetegallu, Bellary district, for the merit of his father Narasaṇṇa Nāyaka.⁷

¹ E. C., VI., Kp, 47, p. 84.

² E. C., IX., An 87, p. 119.

³ E. C., IV., Yd. 46, p. 59.

⁴ E. C., XII., Tp. 9, p. 44.

⁵ *My. Arch. Report* for 1920, p. 37.

⁶ 195 of 1913.

⁷ 196 of 1913.

As in other matters, the monarchs set here an example to the nobles and the people. Bayappa Nāyaka in A.D. 1374 in order that, *dharma* might be to his father, whose name is effaced in the record, and to his mother Chalō Nākitti made grants of land in his own Maṇṇe to Gaṅga Dēva Oḍeyar.¹ Mallanṇa Oḍeyar, son of Dēva Rāya I, was the governor over the great city of Bemmattanakallu-paṭṭaṇa in A.D. 1411. That merit might be to his mother Mallayave, he made a grant of Kanchiganahalli, (location described), to provide for the decorations and festivals of the god Hiḍambanātha.²

This spirit did not disappear in the later ages of Vijayanagara history. In the reign of Kṛishṇa Dēva Raya, his *kāryakarta* (Agent) Mahārāja Koṇḍamarusayyagāru, in A.D. 1520-1, caused to be constructed a tank at Anantasāgara for the religious merit of his mother Sankāyammā and his father Timmarusayya.³ Koṇḍamarusayya's precedent was copied by his son Rāyasta (i.e., Rāyasa) Ayyaparusayya, who, in Śaka 1447 (A.D. 1525-6), gave the village Jālavaṭi to the temple of Mallikārjuna Dēva at Kambadūru, Anantapur district, "in order that Rāyasta Koṇḍamarusayya may dwell in heaven".⁴ Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka, son of Sōlūr Basavappa Nāyaka, in A.D. 1530, granted the village of Hārōhalli, in the Śivanasamudra-sthala, for the decorations and offerings of the god Tiruveṅgaḷanātha of Singāpura, in order that merit might be to Achyuta Rāya Mahārāya and to his own father Basavappa Nāyaka.⁵ The *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Raghupati Rāja Mahā-arasu in A. D. 1538 made a grant of land in order that merit might be to Sirugammā, who was evidently his mother.⁶ The commander of the gate (of the palace) [*bāgila-daḷavāyi*] of Achyuta Rāya, Veṅgala Rāja, in A.D. 1542, in order that merit might be to his father Viṭha Rāja (i.e., Viṭhṭhala Rāja) and to the god Viṭhṭhala, caused the Kukka-

¹ E. C., IX, Nl. 53, p. 38.

² E. C., XI, Cd. 14, pp. 5-6.

³ Butterworth-Chetty, *Nellore Ins.*, I., pp. 203-4.

⁴ 97 of 1913,

⁵ E. C., IX., Bn. 28, p. 8.

⁶ E. C., VI., Ck. 127, p. 52.

samudra to be constructed.¹ Timmaṇṇa Nāyaka and Koṇḍana Nāyaka, in A.D. 1546, in order that merit might accrue to their father, whose name is not given in the record, granted land for the god Vīrabhadra (of ?)². The *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Jagannātha Rājayya, in A. D. 1550, granted for the offerings and the tenth day festival of the god Chennigarāya of Tuṟuvekere, the village of Buvanahaḷḷi, in Sampa . . . sīme, in order that his father might obtain merit.³ In the same year Vidyādharamahāpātre-arasu gave to Lakshmīpati-ayya, a learned Brahman, the village of Haḷḷadapura of the Kallahāḷḷi-sthala in the Terakaṇāmbi-sīme, in order that merit might accrue to his mother, whose name is effaced in the inscription, with the usual presentation of coin and pouring of water.⁴

Sometimes such grants which commemorated maternal and paternal affection also described their patriotic sentiments. A *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, whose name is effaced in the epigraph dated A.D. 1551, granted the village of Oḍagere, with all rights, for the god Mūlasthāna-liṅga, in order that merit might accrue to Sadāśiva Mahārāya, to Rāma Rājayya, and to his own father Gōpa Rājayya.⁵ In the same year the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Rāja Aubhalēśvara Dēva Mahā-arasu granted the village Bilanakōṭe, in the Gūlūr-sīme, for the god (obviously of the local temple) in order that merit might be to Sadāśiva Mahārāya and to his own father.⁶ In A. D. 1554 Pāpi Dēva Chōḷa Mahā-arasu, son of Veṅgaḷa Rāja of the Sūrya-vaṁśa, granted the village called Uparikarahāḷḷi, also called Veṅgaḷapura, situated in the Rāyadurga kingdom, for the god Tiruveṅgaḷanātha of Ambaligere, in order that merit might accrue to his father⁷. Of a similar nature is the gift made in Śaka 1478 (A. D. 1556-7) of Bāgināyinapalle to the temple of Mādhavēśvara at Rāyagiri, by the

¹ E. C. VI, Kd. 160, p. 32.

² E. C., XI., Cl. 46, pp. 102-3.

³ E. C., XII., Tp. 6, p. 43.

⁴ E. C., IV., Gu. 36, p. 42.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Gu. 54, p. 45.

⁶ E. C., IX., N1. 72, p. 47.

⁷ E. C., XI., Hr. 22, p. 107.

Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kṛṣṇa Mahārāja of Āravīti family for the merit of his father Viṭṭhalarāja.¹ In the reign of Sadāśiva Rāya, his betel-bearer Era Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka's son Venkaṭādri Nāyaka, in A.D. 1559, granted the village of Narasāpura for the god Chennakēśava of Guṇḍeṛi, in order that merit might accrue to his father.² About the same year, Vīra Rāja Oḍeyar, son of Śrīkaṇṭha Oḍeyar, in order that he, his father and mother might obtain merit, made a grant of the village of Bekkare to the temple of the god Annadāni-Mallikārjuna of Śrīgiri.³ In A.D. 1559 the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Nārāyaṇa Rāya, in order that merit might accrue to his father and mother, made a grant of the villages Viṭṭasandra and Nañji-guḷi for the offerings of the god Mallikārjuna.⁴ Era Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka, the betel-bearer to the Emperor Sadāśiva in A.D. 1561, in order that merit might accrue to his father Bayyappa Nāyaka and his mother Koṇḍammā, granted the village of Kāḍaji for the ghee, *chhatra*, and necessary offerings of the god Harihara of Kuḍaḷūr.⁵ In A.D. 1569 Harati Abbaṇa Nāyakayya's son Kenchappa Nāyaka gave the village of Kānubeyanahalli, in the Hiriyūr-sīme, for the god Rāmēśvara, "in order that merit might accrue to our Abbaṇa Nāyakayya."⁶ Saṅte-Bennūr Hanama Nāyaka's son Rājappa Nāyaka, in A.D. 1571, in order that merit might accrue to his father and mother, set up the goddess Lakshmī (of Bhāgyapura or Bāgūr).⁷ In A.D. 1576 Bayyappa Nāyaka's son Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka, evidently the same as the one mentioned above, gave to Viṭṭhala Bhaṭṭa a grant of land for an *agrahāra* at Gaḷi-gekeṛe, also named Rāmapura *agrahāra*, in order that merit may accrue to his mother Rāmammā.⁸ Sōde Immaḍi Arasappa

¹ 105 of 1913.

² E. C., XI., Hk. 21, p. 118.

³ E. C., IV., Hn. 88 p. 92.

⁴ E. C., IX., Ht. 2, p. 88.

⁵ E. C., XI., Dg. 18, p. 29.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Hr. 79, p. 113.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Hk. 115, p. 132.

⁸ E. C., IV., Yd. 59, p. 62.

Nāyaka, in A.D. 1591, in order that merit might accrue to his mother Changammā, repaired the *agrahāra* of Kōḍi-Koppa.¹

The citizens were in no sense behind their princes and rulers in recording their love to their parents. During the viceroyalty of Yadugiri Virūpāksha Rāya, in about A.D. 1382, Gotṭi Śeṭṭi, who had received from the hands of the viceroy Huṇasavalli, for an *agrahāra* to his house, constructed the Nāgasamudra, in the name of his father Nāga Śeṭṭi, and dividing the *agrahāra* into fifteen shares bestowed them on Brahmans.² In A.D. 1395, when Immaḍi Bukka Rāya was ruling from Muḷuvāyi, Chinnappa, who was in charge of the village Hodali in Bilusone-nāḍ, in order that merit might obtain to his father Mācha Gaṇḍa and his mother Melayakkā, set up a *dīpa-māle* stone pillar for the god Vighnēśvara.³ Appalayya in A.D. 1409-10 constructed a temple of Chenna-kēśavaradēva and Ranganāthasvāmi, for the religious merit of his parents Mādhava-Jōsyulu and Jābālikā.⁴ Bankarasa's son Viṭhappa, in A.D. 1415, with the consent of his relatives, formed the villages of Beḷali and Kittāḍūr into an *agrahāra*, named after his mother Akkāmbikāpura, and dividing it into twenty-two shares gave them to Brahmans.⁵ Tippe Śeṭṭi of the Vijayanagara treasury (*Vijayanagarada kōshada*), in A.D. 1423, dedicated to the god Tirumala of Chikka Honnūru the tank (*taṭāka*) which he had constructed in order that merit might accrue to his father and mother.⁶ On Lāyadakere Śirumi Śeṭṭi, of Hiriyakere town, dying at Koḍakani in A.D. 1449, his three sons Vira Śeṭṭi, Malli Śeṭṭi, and Honne Śeṭṭi, "on the day on which he came to his setting (or end), at the moment of Vṛishabha-lagna, set up the god Vṛishabha", and made specified grants for the god's offerings, and for other

¹ E. C., VIII. Sb. 447, p. 77.

² *Ibid.*, Tl. 167, p. 197.

³ E. C., X., Bp. 54, p. 279.

⁴ Butterworth Chetty, *Nellore Ins.* I., pp. 256-6.

⁵ E. C., VIII. Tl. 218, p. 210.

⁶ E. C., IV., Hs. 27, p. 86.

purposes.¹ An unknown donor in about A.D. 1506 in the reign of Kathāri Sāluva Immaḍi Narasinga Rāya Mahārāya, granted land in the twelve villages of Tiru-Śivamandur-sthaḷa, belonging to Kōḷāla-*chāvaḍi*, to Kēsarasa's son Sōmayagār, in order that the donor's parents and "twenty one generations before," him might attain to the world of merit.² In A.D. 1515 Parvata Nāyaka, the son of Malli Śeṭṭi, in order that merit might be to his father and mother, erected a pillar of stone from the hillock in front of a temple, the name of which is effaced in the inscription.³ Beṅkachiya Gauḍa in A.D. 1524, with the same object, gave a village as a *pura* to Viranṇa Oḍeyar for the performance of Śiva worship.⁴ Elasūr Samani Gauḍa, in about A.D. 1534, granted the house-tax, in order that merit might be to his father and mother, *guru* and posterity.⁵ Hanumantayyar in Śaka 1459 (A.D. 1537-8), gave a gift of money to provide for the offerings of the god Kāḷahastīśvara at Kāḷahasti, Chittoor district, for the merit of his parents.⁶ A grant was made by the *Kandāchāra* Nāyaka Timmappa-ayya, for gods and Brahmans in Kurugōḍu, in A.D. 1545, that merit might be to his parents as well as to Sadāśiva Rāya.⁷ Sivanaya Gauḍa's son Dēvaya Gauḍa, in about A.D. 1550, for the merit of his mother, granted Kadumanapura and Sūlibele to Suttūr Chennaya Dēva's disciple Namaśśivāya Dēva.⁸ Sugaṭūr Timmappa Gauḍa-ayya, the Agent for the affairs of Rāma Rāja Tirumala Rāja Mahā-arasu, in A.D. 1559, "in order that merit might be to his father, mother, *guru* and *daiva*," made a grant of Simasandra of the Nañjigūḷi village, belonging to the Sugaṭūr-sīme, for the god Mallikārjuna of Nañjigūḷi.⁹ Mārāya

¹ E. C., VIII. Sb. 18, p. 4.

² E. C., IX., Ht. 121, p. 103.

³ E. C., XII., Tm. 3, p. 2.

⁴ E. C., IX., Ht. 57, p. 94.

⁵ E. C., XII., Kg. 19, p. 35.

⁶ 175 of 1924.

⁷ E. C., X., Gd. 19, p. 214.

⁸ E. C., IX., Ht. 69, p. 95.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Ht. 1, p. 88.

Gauḍa, the second son of the great Āvaṭi-nāḍ Prabhu Moleya Bayiraya Gauḍa, in A. D. 1575, granted (lands ?) in order that his father Moleya Baira Gauḍa, his mother Hiriya Bāyi, and his forefathers might obtain merit, for the god Śrīkaṇṭhēśvara.¹ Hariapa of the palace, son of Nārāyaṇappayya of the gold treasury, in order that his mother Timmammā, might "obtain a permanent abode in Brahma-lōka", purchased the village of Heggaditikoppa in A. D. 1583, and gave it as a gift for the god Viśvanātha of the Maleyāḷa *maṭha* of Amarēndrapuri-śrīpāda at Tīrthahaḷli.² The village of Upparahāḷli which was a royal gift from Śrīraṅga Rāya, to Tirumale Penugoṇḍe, was granted by the donor for the offerings of the local god, in order that his father Hiriya-Bōrappa Gauḍa and his *guru* might obtain merit.³ In A. D. 1608, during the reign of Veṅkaṭapati Dēva, Mummaḍi Temmayī Gauḍa, son of Sugaṭūr Immaḍi Tammaya Gauḍa, granted the Kōṭūr-Hosahaḷli village, renamed Virapura, in the Kōḷāla-sīme, to Mahādēva, disciple of Nagaralēśvara-dēva, Śivaputra of the Chatra-gōtra, "in order that merit may accrue to our mother and father."⁴ So late as about A.D. 1661, Amesīya-ayya, (son) of Virūpaya-ammā, in order that his mother might obtain merit, made for the god Sōmanātha of Haradūr a grant to provide for a *maṭha* and a perpetual lamp.⁵

The desire of the people that *puṇya* or *dharma* might accrue to their parents, was also extended to the other members of the family. *Avasarada* Chandraśēkharaṇḍa, in the name of his father-in-law *Avasarada* Dēmarasayya, in A. D. 1534, made a grant to provide for a *chhatra* for sixty Brahmans, and for the offerings of a god. The inscription which is defaced at the end contains, however, the words "by order of Achyuta Rāya-mahārāya".⁶ In A. D. 1599, during the reign of Śrīraṅga Rāya, Veṅkaṭa Kṛishṇājjammā, meritorious wife of

¹ E. C., X., CB. 27, p. 204.

² E. C., VIII., Tl. 172, p. 199.

³ E. C., X., Gd. 25, p. 216.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Kl. 241, p. 67.

⁵ E. C., IV., Hs. 75, p. 91.

⁶ E. C., XI., Dg. 46, p. 57.

Immaḍi Hiri-Kempayya-Gauḍaraiyya, the Yaḷahaṅka-nāḍ-prabhu, caused to be given by means of a *dharma-sādhana* stone inscription the Veṅkaṭakṛiṣṇasāgara village in Kuṇigil, for the maintenance of an *agrahūra* in order that "our father-in-law Immaḍi-Kerṇpe-Gauḍaraiyya and our mother-in-law Lingājammā may obtain merit."¹

Rulers as well as people have also left behind them evidence of their regard for their wives. Piriya Rājaya Dēva, son of Śrīkaṇṭha Rājaya, king of Nañjarāyapaṭṭaṇa, in A. D. 1590, in order that his crowned queen might attain to Kailāsa, in her name, at the moment of Śivarātri, made a grant of Virūpākshapura for the god Annadāni-Mallikārjuna of Śrīgiri.² In Śaka 1384 (A. D. 1462-3), a gift of a flower garden was made to the temple of Mallikārjuna at Śrīśailam, Kurnool district, by Vairāgi Sāntayya for the merit of his wife, Siddammā.³ Sometimes it was a whole family which came in for a share of the donor's devout prayers. For the attainment through *dharma* of royal fortune and all the chief objects of human desire by her king Rāmachandra-Bādāmi-prabhuvarmā, son of Bādāmi-Prabhuvaramā, and grandson of Nilakaṇṭha-prabhuvaramā, his wife, Tulajā Bai, created a *dīpa-mālā* in the Harihara-Kshētrā "for the promotion of her own family," in A. D. 1519.⁴

But it is not to be supposed that the Vijayanagara age was not made up of people whose egotism directed them to grant lands, and compelled their subordinates to perform acts of charity, as a token of their filial love. In A. D. 1553, Lingaṇṇa Nāyaka, son of Chennarāya Oḍeyar of Dānavisa, set up the Virūpāksha-liṅga and erected a *satra* for five Brahmans, "in order that our mother and father and ourselves may obtain union with Śiva."⁵ Sometimes the nobles made no endeavour to hide their desire to give themselves the first preference in

¹ E. C., XII., Kg., 12, p. 34.

² E. C., IV., Hs. 103. p. 93.

³ 39 of 1915.

⁴ E. C., XI., Dg. 37, p. 47.

⁵ E. C., VI., Kg. 17, p. 78.

their prayers for eternal happiness. Dēvoḍeyar of Kōṭe, in about A. D. 1572, granted the village of Jagaṇakōṭe for the god Bayirava of Bayal-nāḍ, in order that there might be merit for himself, his son and grandsons.¹ Egotism could not go to a further extent than in the case of Perama Nāyaka, son of Mallappa Nāyaka of Arakeṇe, who did not think it derogatory on his part to give rent-free land, in about A. D. 1577, for the offerings of the god Basavēśvara of Pañjanahaḷḷi, "in order that thereby merit might accrue to himself."² The deplorable tendency of compelling people to do works of merit for the sake of the nobles is best illustrated in a record dated A. D. 1612-13, which relates that, during the reign of Veṅkaṭapati Dēva, Veṅkaṭapati Nāyaingāru (whose descent is stated) sent for Rudrappa, the officer placed over the *sīma* of Kullūr, and addressed him thus: 'You have restored the sluice of Anaṇṭa-sāgaram tank which was in disrepair; you have constructed the eastern weir of Kaluvāyi tank and are keeping the tank in good order. Deeds of charity like topes, topes in tanks, wells, etc., are of meritorious services. So construct the eastern weir of Kollūr tank for the religious merit of my father Kōmera Timmanayāḍu.' And poor Rudrappa forthwith built thirty-three stone-posts on the tank weir, side-walls on the two sides and a flight of steps in stone!³

These instances of aristocratic arrogance do not, however, eclipse the unfeigned endearment of the larger masses of people throughout the history of Vijayanagara. What exactly was in the minds of the parents and their children in those days, how deeply the former loved the latter, and what delight the young folk gave to their elders cannot unfortunately be determined from any contemporary record. But if it is true that in A. D. 1720, the tenderness of the parents towards their children, according to the evidence of a Jesuit priest, was a marked feature of the social life of the people; if it is allowed that that

¹ E. C., IV., Hg. 71, p. 75.

² *Ibid.*, Gu. 42, p. 43.

³ Butterworth-Chetty, *Nellore Ins.* I., pp. 246-7.

was a great heritage which the people of Vijayanagara left behind them; and if we realize that the region where the Hindu Empire came into being was Karṇāṭaka, then, we may be permitted to complete the picture of a Hindu home of the mediæval times by listening to a poet who, although he belongs to post-Vijayanagara days, has given us a description of the domestic circle which is as true of the times in which he lived as it is of those of Vijayanagara and of our own. This is how Lakshmīśa depicts the joy which a child radiates in a Hindu household :

ಕಂದನಾಡುವ ಬಾಲಲೀಲೆಯಂ ನೋಡಿತೊದ |
 ಕೊಂದಿದಿನಿವಾತನುರೆ ಕೇಳ್ವ ಮುದ್ದಿನ ಮುದ್ದೆ |
 ಯಂದದಂಗೆವನೆತ್ತಿ ಕೊಂಡು ನಳಿತೋಳ್ಳ ಕಿಂದಪ್ಪ ಕೆಂಗುರುಳ್ಳ ಕೊಲೆವ ||
 ಮುಂದಲೆಯ ಕಂಪನಾಘ್ರಾಣಿಸಿ ತೊರೆದಜೊಲ್ಲ |
 ಚೆಂದುಟಿಯ ಬಾಯ್ತೆ ರೆಯನ್ನೈದೆ ಚುಂಬಿಸಿ ಸೊಗಸು |
 ಗುಂದದಾಯೆಂದು ಪಂಚೇಂದ್ರಿಯ ಪ್ರೀತಿಯಂ ಪಡೆವರಿನ್ನಾ ವಕ್ಕೃತರೊ ||
 ತೇಲ್ದೊಸರಿಸಿ ಮೇಲುದಂಸೆಗಳೆವ ಕಮಲಮಂ |
 ಪೊಲ್ಲ ಕಣ್ಣೊ ನೆಯಿದೆ ತಾಯಮೊಗಮ ನೋಳ್ವ |
 ಕಾಲ್ವ ದಿಗಳಂ ಬಿದಿರಿ ತಡವರಿಸಿ ಕೈಯಿಡುವ ಬಾಲಂಗೆ ಮೋಹದಿದೆ ||
 ಜೋಲ್ದೊಲವ ಹಾರಮಂ ಸರಿದು ಮುಯ್ಯಿಗೆ ಸಾರ್ಚೆ |
 ವಾಲ್ದೊರೆದ ಮೊಲೆಯೊಡಿ ಕೂಡೆ ತೊಟ್ಟಿಲೊಳಿಟ್ಟು |
 ಸಾಲ್ದ ಸೈಪಿದೆ ಜೋಗುಳವಾಡಿ ತೂಗುವಳದೇಂ ಸುಕ್ಕೃತಿಯೊ ಧರೆಯೊಳು || ¹

¹ *Jaimini Bhārata*, Sandhi, 18, vv. 20-21, p. 228 (Karibasava Sastri): pp. 426-7 (Siddhalinga). To get an idea of children at play, *ibid.*, Sandhi 19, vv 50-1, p. 471.

CHAPTER II

THE SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

SECTION I. *The Castes* *A. Preliminary Remarks*

THE frequent occurrence of the two phrases *varṇāśrama-dharmaṅgaḷan(n)u pālisutta* and *sakala-varṇāśrama-dharmaṅgaḷan(n)upālisutta* in the inscriptions indicates that the Vijayanagara monarchs were fully aware of the great social problems which confronted them as custodians of the Hindu Dharma. Long before they had assumed the reins of government, the purely Aryan institution of the four *varṇāśramas* had already taken deep roots in the soil of southern India.¹ Both in the Karṇāṭaka and Tamil lands, the rulers considered it their duty to protect the *varṇāśrama-dharma* in its proper sphere. We are told in a copper-plate grant dated A. D. 517, that the Gaṅga king Koṅgaṇi-Vṛiddha-Rāja, also called Durvinīta, was "like Vaiśvasvata Manu able for the protection of the castes and religious orders which prevailed in the South".² About A. D. 650 the great Jaina āchārya Arishṭha Nēmi having left the whole group (*gaṇa*) consisting of the four castes (*chātur-varṇa*) and having given up food, etc., mounting on the Kaṭavapra, attained perfection.³ The existence of the four castes among the Jainas is proved by an inscription which probably belongs to the middle of the tenth century A. D. This record commemorates the death of Chāmakabbe and A'yvaśāmi. Chāmakabbe is described as the supporter of the Jaina assembly (*Śravaṇa-saṅgha*) of the four castes. A'yvaśāmi was the son of the *Prīttuvī-ṣaramēśvara mahānūygara Rēchayya*, suppor-

¹ Barnett, *Hinduism*, p. 53, *seq*; Srinivasa Aiyangar, *Tamil Studies*, pp. 61, 66; Ghosal, *Hind. Pol. Theor.*, pp. 44-5 (1st ed.). On the origin of caste, read Oldenberg, *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, 1897. pp. 267-290.

² *E. C.*, IX, DB. 68, p. 73.

³ *E. C.*, II, No. 11, p. 4; text p. 3 (2nd ed.).

ter of the Jaina assembly of the four castes.¹ Chāmuṇḍa Rāya, in an epigraph dated about A.D. 893, is thus described: "A sun in the shape of a jewel adorning the crest of the eastern mountain the Brahma-Kshatra race, a moon in the shape of the splendour of his fame in causing to swell the ocean the Brahma-Kshatra race, a central gem to the pearl necklace of Lakshmī procured from the Rōhaṇa mountain the Brahma-Kshatra race, a strong wind to the fire the Brahma-Kshatra race."² Two prominent castes, therefore, are clearly suggested in the praise given to Chāmuṇḍa Rāya.

The four *varṇāśramas* and the duty of protecting them became more and more prominent in the later ages. The Hoysala Queen Śāntala Dēvī, in A.D. 1123, is said to have been the cause of the elevation of the four *samayas* (or creeds).³ We are told that in A. D. 1157 "the Brahmans and others of the four castes, the four religious orders, Brahma and the gods" were engaged in gifts of learning.⁴ Gaṅgeyana Māreya and his wife Bāchale, in A. D. 1232, requested the king Iruṅgōḷa Chōḷa to make a grant of land for the daily services of Pārśva-nātha Jīnēśa and for the distribution of food to the four castes.⁵ Jaganakere Kalle Gauḍa, the great *nāḍ-prabhu* under the Hoysala king Sōmēśvara Dēva, in A. D. 1242, is described to have been "the upholder of the four castes" (*chatus-samaya-samud-dharaṇa*).⁶

Side by side with the question of protecting the four prominent castes, whose existence in southern India in early times is proved by the instances we have cited above, there arose another need in connection with what the people said to be the *sakala-varṇāśrama*. This term has been used with much latitude, and may have been originally intended to mean the

¹ *My. Arch. Report* for 1912-13, p. 31.

² *E. C.*, II, No. 281, p. 126 (2nd. ed.), No. 109, p. 169 (1st ed.).

³ *Ibid.* No. 132, p. 60 (2nd ed.).

⁴ *Rice, My. Ins.*, p. 191.

⁵ *E. C.*, XII, Pg. 52, p. 125.

⁶ *E. C.*, IV, Kr. 76, p. 111, text, p. 316. Under the Pāṇḍyas some sections of the castes like the *sāliyars* had streets for themselves. 269 of 1913; Rangachari, *Top. List.*, I, SA. 61, p. 131.

eighteen castes which formed a sort of an extension of the four original *varṇāśramas*.¹ We are, it is admitted, in the dark as to the precise meaning and function of the eighteen castes. But it is not improbable that they may have had something to do with the Right Hand and Left Hand sections of the people. These shall be separately treated anon. Here, however, we may observe that the adjustment of the duties of, and the distribution of patronage to, the four *varṇāśramas* and the eighteen castes was indeed a problem which called forth the ingenuity of the Vijayanagara rulers. For, in addition to the need of reconciling the differences between the various communities, without lowering in any way the prestige of the Hindu monarchs as promoters of the Dharma, there was the grave question of defending the country against an ever-watchful enemy who was waiting for an opportunity of crushing the Hindu Empire. The fact that the monarchs of Vijayanagara were able to achieve both these ends for a considerable length of time, in spite of the many short-comings in their political system, is enough to prove that, so far as the social side of their history is concerned, they must have conferred on the people those advantages of person, property and religion which assured them the heartiest co-operation of the people in times of grave political crisis. The existence of the four great *varṇāśramas* and the eighteen subsects proved no barrier to them. On the other hand, their public avowal to promote *sakala-varṇāśrama-dharmas*, may have been partly responsible for their success. Instead of championing the cause only of the four original *varṇas*, they took upon themselves the duty of protecting all the *varṇas*. This meant that, especially in regard to the various sects and subsects, on condition that these latter confined themselves to their own *svadharma* or duties proper to their individual caste, they could reasonably expect of their rulers the same patronage which was extended by the State to

¹ The Eighteen Castes or *samayas*, we admit, may have been only conventional divisions. On the other hand, they may also refer to religious orders. Cf. *Lākuḷāgama samaya* mentioned in a record dated A.D. 1177. E. C. V, Ak. 62, p. 135.

the four great *varṇāśramas*. Only in this light can we understand the co-operation between the Vijayanagara Government and their people for the realization of the most urgent need of the hour—guarding the interests of the country against a relentless enemy.¹ The history of the Hindu State viewed from this standpoint becomes interesting as the record of a people who, although divided into four main groups with their numerous subdivisions, yet lived to turn the times in which the monarchs struggled to maintain the honour of the land, into an age of intense social and intellectual activity.

We go to many of the foreign travellers in vain for details about the numerous communal subdivisions in the Empire. To the foreigners, unacquainted with the customs of the people, it sometimes appeared that the land was made up only of one class; and at other times, of three great divisions. In addition to the vague notices of the Hindu subjects which we find in the writings of most of the foreign travellers, there is another consideration which depreciates the value of their accounts in this particular connection. It is that their narratives contain conflicting statements, especially as regards the character of the people. Varthema in about A.D. 1500 observed the following: "The people are of a tawny colour; they go naked and bare-footed, and wear nothing on the head."² Linschoten in A.D. 1583 is more vehement in his wholesale condemnation of the people of the Karṇāṭaka: "They are so miserable, that for a Penie they would indure to be whipped, and they eate so little, that it seemeth they live by the Aire, they are likewise most of them leane, and weake of limbes, of little strength and very Cowards, where by the Portuguals doe them great outrage and villanie, using them like Dogs and Beasts"³. A still more pronounced view of the people, this time of the eastern coast, is from the pen of John Nieuhof, who writes thus about Madura in A. D. 1662: "The Inhabitants of those places are

¹ Cf. S. K. Aiyangar, *Some Contributions*, p. 302.

² *Varthema*, Jones, p. 121; Temple, p. 49; Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 118.

³ Linschoten, *Purchas, Pilgrims*, X, p. 264.

very black and strong; they are deceitful and cunning, make little account of their Wives, but generally keep two or three Harlots, by whom they have sometimes sixteen or eighteen children".¹

If these sweeping assertions had been corroborated by the evidence of other foreign travellers, one might have accepted them as valid. But the remarks of more impartial eye-witnesses make us believe that the above mentioned observations were the result of ignorance and prejudice which may be said to be characteristic of those who went to the East with the idea of learning something about the pagan people of India. Other foreigners have left behind them more favourable proof of the character and classes of the Hindu people. According to Barbosa there were three sections of the people. "In this kingdom of Narsyngua there are three classes of Heathen, each of which has a very distinct rule of its own, and also their customs differ much one from the other.

"The principal of these is that of the King, the great Lords, the Knights and fighting men, who may marry, as I have said, as many women as they wish, and are able to maintain: their sons inherit their estates: the women are bound by very ancient custom," to commit *sati*.² This was not entirely true: the kings, especially of the Saṅgama and Tuḷuva dynasties, can hardly be said to be of the same class to which the great nobles like the Brahman Viṭṭhaṇṇa Oḍeyar and Kampalli *alias* Aṇṇam, and the Brahman-generals like Mādhava Rāya, Sāluva Timma and Nādeṇḍla Gōpa Mantri belonged. We shall deal with them subsequently.³ Neither were the rulers and the nobles, during the time Barbosa visited Vijayanagara (A.D. 1504-14), of the same castes which composed the fighting men—the Bēḍars, the Muhammadans, and others. But the account of Barbosa is nevertheless valuable. Among the Heathens "is another class of people whom they

¹ Churchill, *Voyages*, II, p. 295; Satyanatha, *Nayaks*, p. 327.

² *Barbosa*, *Dames*, I, pp. 212-13; Stanley, p. 91.

³ *Infra*, Chapter III, The Brahmans,

call Bramenes ",¹ about whom we shall have to speak in detail subsequently. There was one more class of people. " There is in this kingdom also another class of folk very like unto the Bramenes, who wear round their necks certain cords of twisted silk, from which hangs a cloth bag containing a stone the size of an egg, which they say is their god. These also are much regarded and held in respect, nor will any man do them harm by reason of their reverence they have for that stone, which they call *Tambarane* ".² These could only be the Liṅgāyats or Jaṅgamas.

Whether these went "naked and bare-footed", as Varthema makes us believe, will be seen in connection with the dress and habits of the people. As regards the colour of the people, Barbosa says: " The natives of this land (Vijayanagara) are Heathen like himself (the king); they are tawny men, nearly white ".³ Paes tells us the following about their industrious character: " There are working people and all other kinds of men who are employed in business, besides those who are obliged to go into the field; there are also a great number of Brahmans ".⁴

The erroneous nature of the observations of Linschoten is seen when we read the account of the very people whom he calls "*Canariins*" (or people of Kanara or the Kaṇṇāṭaka) in the history of the most uncompromising critic of the Hindus. Firishtah writes thus: " The country of Canara (Carnatic) is in length, from north to south, from the Krishna to Sata Bund Rameswur, six hundred coss, and its breadth, from west to east, one hundred and fifty, from the shores of the Indian ocean to the boundaries of Tulingana. The people speak in some parts the Canarese, and in some the Tulingy language, and are so brave that they advance to battle with songs and dances; but their ardour does not last ".⁵ On the law-abiding nature of

¹ *Barbosa*, Dames, I. pp. 217-18; Stanley, pp. 93-4.

² *Barbosa*, *ibid.*

³ *Barbosa*, Dames, I., p. 205; Stanley, p. 87.

⁴ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 280.

⁵ *Firishtah*, Briggs, II, p. 337.

the people, the same historian continues : " His (*i.e.*, the Emperor's) country was well peopled, and the subjects submissive to his authority ".¹

The following given by Martin Correa (A.D. 1528) is in striking contrast to the deceitful and cunning character of the people mentioned by Nieuhof. " Two pictures may be given from one voyage of Martin Correa up the coast in 1521, of which it was said, as it was of many others, that it was an unnecessary expedition, as the people they robbed were but poor people who neither followed the sea nor did evil to any one. Landing at one place, Correa marched up country with 25 men till he came to a large country-house with court-yards and gardens, and many poor, both men and women, sitting round. Seeing the Portuguese, a man accosted them courteously, who was the almoner of a wealthy Muhammadan gentleman who lived there retired from the world and who spent his money in alms giving. Presently the owner himself came out and treated them with hospitality. When a friendly understanding had been arrived at, Correa had the curiosity and the naivety to ask him why he gave alms and what satisfaction he could get from it. A little later, among the captives Correa took, was an old man past work, who offered £ 3 for his liberty, and asked that as he had no friend he might be allowed to fetch the money himself. Correa, more in jest than earnest, gave him his liberty and made him swear on his sacred thread, for he was a Brahmin, to bring the money back. A few days latter, to the amazement of the Portuguese, the old Brahmin returned with half the money and eight fowls in lieu of the rest—all that he had been able to scrape together. To the credit of the Portuguese they refused to take anything from him ".²

¹ *Firishtah*, Briggs., II., p. 338.

² Whiteway, *The Rise of the Portuguese Power in India*, pp. 28-9. See also p. 28 where it is said that "when St. Thome (in A.D. 1559) was held for ransom for the intolerant acts of some Jesuits and Franciscans, the Raja of Vijayanagar kept such faith with the Portuguese that, as one of them says, such humanity and justice are not to be found among

SECTION. 2. *The Castes in Detail*

Having seen the futility of relying on some of the foreign travellers for information about the four castes and their subdivisions, we may now attempt to glean as much information as possible about them from epigraphical and literary sources. The most prominent name amongst the four *varṇas* is of course that of the Brahmans. These deserve a treatment for themselves. A section equally important, although outside the pale of the orthodox group of the four *varṇāśramas*, was that of the Jainas. The significant part played by these in the religious and to a great extent in the commercial life of the people will be discussed in a subsequent paper

While we have some definite details about these, practically nothing can be gathered about the second recognized division of the *varṇāśramas*, the Kshatriyas. It may not be too bold to suggest that Kshatriyas, as known especially to the history of northern India, were not native to the soil of the south.¹ This we infer from the absence of the name Kshatriya in two stone records written in cave characters and Prakrit language, dated about A.D. 150 and A.D. 250 respectively. In these the Brahmans are mentioned together with a Brahman endowment, the Vedas, the cows, the *dharma* and the soldiers. These last are called *abhaṭa* and not Kshatriyas.² But by A.D. 450, the idea of the Kshatriyas had already reached the south. In that year Mayūraśarma, the Kadamba king, defeated the Pallavas of Kañchī. This epigraph tells us that "through the Kshatras Brahmanhood is (reduced to mere) grass"; and that his successor Kākushtha, while protecting his subjects, honoured "the chief twice-born with the best of his wealth".³ There was another name which was associated with the Brah-

Christians". For a later account of the courage of the soldiers, read Satyanatha, *Nayaks*, p. 275. The pertinent remarks of Sewell on the character of the Portuguese may also be read here. *For. Emp.*, pp. 177-8.

¹ But the Vanniyaṇs or Vanniyaṇs, as narrated below, are spoken of by some as the non-Aryan Rajputs of the south.

² *E. C.*, VII., Sk. 263, 264, p. 143, text, pp. 325-6.

³ *Ibid.*, Sk. 176, pp. 113-14.

mans and Kshatriyas—the Brahma-Kshatriya, whose representative we have in the famous viceroy over Ārāga, Viṭṭhaṇṇa Oḍeyar.¹ But neither about this race nor about the other called the Ārshēya Kshatriya can we find out anything in epigraphs. Rājanātha Rāutta, son of Viśvanātha Rāutta, in A.D. 1526, in the reign of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, is said to have been an Ārshēya-Kshatriya². In the *Bakhair of Rāma Rāja*, as noted in connection with the army, we have a contingent of Kshatriyas, who may have been enlisted in the Vijayanagara service as fortune-seekers from the north, towards the beginning of the sixteenth century. Yet, in spite of the paucity of materials, we come across the incessant claims of the rulers to be the promoters of the four *varṇāśramas*. It may be that the nobles and other high dignitaries, because of their prowess, were included among the Kshatriyas, who have ever been associated with all that is noble and chivalrous in Indian history.

One reason which may explain to a certain extent the absence of the name Kshatriya in the history of Vijayanagara is that the vitality of the Hindu Empire was due to the activities of the commercial and agricultural classes. These, as will be evident from the observations we shall make in connection with the corporate life of the people, vindicated their rights and privileges in the numerous grants they made to the provincial rulers; and helped to increase the material prosperity of the country upon which, among other things, depended the success of the Vijayanagara arms. Our assumption that the middle classes were mainly responsible for the greatness of Vijayanagara is in a way borne out by the praise given to the generals in terms of their achievements rather than in those of their Kshatriya descent. From the very beginning of Vijaya-

¹ The origin of the Saṅgama dynasty has been discussed in Volume I, Chapter I. As regards the beginnings of the Sāluva dynasty, it is rather a thorny question. We know, as stated elsewhere, that both Sāluva Timma and Sāluva Gōvinda Rāja were Brahman generals. The Telugu *Jaimini-Bhāratamu* traces the origin of the Sāluvas to the Yadu-vaṁśa. See Ramayya Pantulu, *Ep. Ind.*, VII., p. 76; E. C., X., Intr. p. xxxv; Viṭṭhaṇṇa Oḍeyar, will figure in the Chapter on Brahmins, *Infra*. See also E.C., VI., Kp. 52-3, pp. 86-7.

² E. C., XI., JI. 41, p. 88.

nagara history the tendency was to ignore the Kshatriya claims of generals, and to describe them with the usual titles of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* and the like, and with an account of their brave deeds. It is true that for the present we are unable to prove the veracity of the documents which give us these details. We are told in A. D. 1355, for example, that the great general Mallinātha who, as we remarked in an earlier connection, acquired greatness on the Turuka, Seuna, Telunga, Pāṇḍya, and Hoysala armies, was also honoured by the "Suratāla King" (the Bāhmani Sultan) "as the brave of a foreign army".¹ We have to remember in this connection the solid contributions to the State by the Jaina generals like Irugappa Daṇḍanāyaka and others in order to know that, from the infancy of the Empire, the privilege and honour of defending the country had already been monopolized by people who never belonged to the Kshatriya caste.

Among the middle classes of southern India mention must be made of the wide group which comprised the Śeṭṭis or Chetṭis. These have figured prominently in the early history of both the Karṇāṭaka and Tamil lands. In the Karṇāṭaka, for example, in the twelfth century they are said to have had different sections among them. Thus in A. D. 1150 the *gavaṛegas*, *gātrigas*, *śeṭṭis*, *śeṭṭiguttas*, *aṅkakāras*, *bīras*, *bīra-vaṇigas*, *gandigas*, *gāvunḍas*, and *gāvunḍa-svāmis*, as mentioned elsewhere, are all classed together.² Of all these subsections, the Śeṭṭis exercised remarkable influence in Vijayanagara times. They had their own heads of caste to whom sometimes even the feudatories were compelled to petition for granting dues and sanctioning gifts to local temples. Thus, in about A. D. 1402, the Vīra Śaiva Vīra Pratāpa Chōḷa Rāja (who, we may incidentally note, assumed the imperial titles of *Mahārājādhirāja*, etc.) "having made a representation to (with numerous titles) certain *śeṭṭis* (named), the heads of the caste", they

¹ E. C., XI., Cd. 2 and 3 p. 2, op. cit.

² E. C., VII, Sk. 118, p. 87. See *Infra*, Social Institutions. Section on Guilds.

agreed to grant certain specified payments and to permit him to levy specified taxes.¹ Some of these *Ṣeṭṭis* rose to great prominence at the provincial courts. One of them was the royal *Śrēshṭhi* *Ambuvaṇa* at the court of *Dēva Rāya*, the *Sāluva* ruler of *Gērasoppe*.²

We may record the observations of Barbosa on these people. "First of these races whom I call foreigners who dwell in Malabar is a caste called *Chatis*, natives of the province of *Charamandel* of which I shall speak further on. They are tawny men, almost white, and fat. The more part of them are great merchants, and they deal in precious stones, seed pearls and corals, and other valuable goods, such as gold and silver, either coined or to be coined. This is their principal trade, and they follow it, because they can raise or lower the prices of such things many times; they are rich and respected; they lead a clean life, and have spacious houses in their own appointed streets; they also have their own houses of worship, and idols different from those of the natives of the land. They go naked from the waist up, and below gather round them long garments many yards in length, little turbans on their heads and long hair gathered under the turban. Their beards are shaven, and they wear finger marks of ashes mixed with sandal-wood and saffron on their breasts, foreheads and shoulders. They have wide holes in their ears,³ into which an egg would fit, which are filled with gold with many precious stones, they wear many rings on their fingers, they are girt about with girdles of gold and jewellery and even carry in their breasts great pouches in which they keep scales and weights of their gold, and silver coins and precious stones. Their sons also begin to carry them as soon as they are ten years of age, they go about changing small coins. They are great clerks and accountants, and reckon all their sums on

¹ See. Volume I, Chapter IV, Section 5, B.; *E.C.*, IX, Bn. 96, p. 19, op. cit.

² *E. C.*, VIII, Sa. 55, p. 101, op. cit. Dames [Barbosa, II., p. 71. n. (1)] has some interesting remarks to make on the origin of the word *ṣeṭṭi*.

³ Cf. Barbosa's account of the Banyas, whom he calls *Baneanes* of Gujarat. Dames, I, p. 114, and 114, n. (3).

their fingers. They are given to usury, so much so that one brother will not lend to another a ceitil,¹ without making a profit thereby. They are sober and orderly in eating and spending. They speak a tongue which differs from that of Malabar as it is with the Castilians and Portuguese. They marry as with us, and their sons inherit their property. If her husband dies the wife never marries again, young as she may be ; if the wife dies the husband may marry again, and if she offends he may poison her without any punishment. They manage their own affairs, the Kings may not enquire into their crimes ; they do justice to one another with which the King is satisfied. When they die, their bodies are burnt ; they eat everything save the cow only".² The same traveller writes thus about the Chet̃tis of Chōlomaṇḍala which he calls *Chara-mandel*. "The more part or all of the Heathen merchants or Chatis who live throughout India are natives of this country, and are very cunning in every kind of traffic in goods."³

Of equal importance as the Śet̃tis or Chet̃tis were the members of the trading and artisan class called the Vira Pañchāḷas. Thus do they boast about their antiquity and greatness in a record dated A. D. 1372 : "... all the Vira Pañchāḷa (s), the originals of the Manu race, of incomparable character . . . delighting in Parabrahma, creators of the fourteen worlds . . . of unshaken joy, of daily pure and enlightened salvation, self-known and self-manifest ; by their authority as the original men, making (?) in Tungaḷa (or Tungaḷale) of Beṇḍukaliyūr, hundreds and thousands of inquiries of all manner of seeds and plants ; versed in weighing and comparing, in Vedas, science, logic, grammar, poetry, in pronouncing distinctly the palatals and labials, in training horses and ele-

¹ "A very small Portuguese coin of copper which took the place of the *dinheiro* in the reign of D. Joao. (1481-95)". *Barbosa, Dames*, II, p. 73, n (1).

² *Barbosa, Dames*, II, pp. 70-3.

³ *Barbosa, Dames*, II, pp. 125-6 Cf. the account of the *Komajis* given by Metthwold, *Relations*, pp. 15-17. Here he describes also the *Jaṅgamas*, *Kāpus* and the prostitutes.

phants, and in holding the breath charged with perfume ; passed masters in reading, writing, arithmetic, and the deception of (?) skilful people . . . perfumers of Sarasvatī with rare jasmine ; ornaments in the ears of Sarasvatī; distinguished for cities ; island forts, hill forts, forest forts . . . five foundations . . . domes, pinnacles, create and the sixteen signs of the original house, the sign of the sacrificial hall, the sign of the pit for consecrated fire, the sign of slopes, etc., according to standard rules, for these and all other signs; authorities for the creation of . . . mansions...adorners of Śrīparvata ; deeply learned in all the science of language and the purāṇas to the utmost limits ; fond of and merciful to war elephants... accomplished as Rāmā ; boon lords of Pindōtipura"—such were the Vīra Pañchālas of Terakaṇāmbi.¹

In later Vijayanagara history there seems to have been some restriction placed over the Vīra Pañchālas in a few unspecified areas. This we infer from a record dated A. D. 1632, which informs us that : "...a śāsana was granted to the followers of the Pañchāla god as follows : within the boundaries fixed from . . . to the western gate, you may perform your festivals and marriage processions".² In the fourteenth century, however, the artisan classes were wealthy and of some consequence. In about A.D. 1396, the five classes of artisans presented the tax they had to pay to the goddess Banna of Bandaṇike in Nāgara-khaṇḍa-nāḍ.³

The Kaikkōḷars (or Keyikōḷars) were also a prominent community. Somewhere about A.D. 1370, the Kaikkōḷars of Haṭṭalakōṭe secured a remission of taxes imposed on them from the Viceroy Chikka Kaṁpaṇa Oḍeyar, son of Bukka Rāya⁴. These Kaikkōḷa weavers have also figured in the revenue history of Vijayanagara detailed in the previous pages.

¹ E. C., IV, Gu. 34, p. 42, text, p. 105.

² E. C., XI, Hr. 46, p. 110.

³ E. C., VII, Sk. 241, p. 138.

⁴ E. C., IV, Ch. 97, p. 13.

Another class which was likewise responsible for the material prosperity of the land was composed of Redḍis. These exercised considerable influence in the Telugu provinces of the Empire. They come into prominence from the times of Dēva Rāya II. The Redḍi chief Pāṇṭa Mailāra is said to have pleased his royal master Dēva Rāya II by destroying wicked kings by his wisdom and valour, by paying homage to the Vijayanagara ruler, and by giving him great gifts. This is related in a record dated A.D. 1428-29.¹ The military achievements of Krishṇa Dēva Rāya were of course responsible for a close co-operation of the Redḍis with Vijayanagara. This is suggested in the epigraph dated A.D. 1515-16, which says that the Gaṅga-Redḍi chief Gaṅgādhara, son of Viṭṭa (Chinṭa?), requested the Emperor to give the learned Brāhmaṇa Sūraya—who had foretold that many forts in the Telugu land would pass into the hands of Vijayanagara—the village Nāgulavaram.² These Redḍis may have helped the cause of the great movement for colonizing the south, and this may explain their presence in the districts of Trichinopoly, Coimbatore and Salem.³

Much as one would like to know about the Tuḷuva Vēllālērs, it is unfortunate that contemporary records throw no light on their history. They are, as we shall narrate presently, mentioned in connection with the Kurumbars.⁴

One class of the people who have now taken to agriculture but who, during Vijayanagara times, it is presumed, found employment under the Nāyakas of Madura and the various Pāḷeyagāraṣ as peons and armed retainers,⁵ were called the Tōṭṭiyans, also known as Kambalattār. These had their own

¹ Butterworth-Chetty, *Nellore Ins.*, I, v. 17, p. 153.

² *Ibid*, I, pp. 127-8.

³ Rangachari locates them around these districts, *I. A.*, XLIII, p. 138.

⁴ For an account of the Tuḷuva Vēllālērs, read Pate, *Tinnevely Gaz.*, I, pp. 101, 105-7, 137-42; Hemingway. *Trichy Gaz.* I, pp. 100-01; Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of S. India* q.v. On the Tuḷuva Vēllālērs and the Chōḷa king Adondai Chakravarti, read, Taylor, *Cat. Rais.*, III, pp. 431-2; Ellis, *Mirasi Right*, p. 57, *seq.* (1852 ed.); *Uyar-tuḷuva-Vēllālē Charitra-curukkam* (Madras, 1911).

⁵ Nelson, *Mad. Country*, P. II, p. 81.

communal organization. In about A.D. 1369, in a joint resolution issued by the Tōṭṭiyans of Pulliyūr-nāḍu, as we have seen, it was decided that he who did not pay was declared to be an outcaste from the *nāḍu*, the assembly, the *pañchāḷaṇ*, the *paṛai*, and the eighteen *nāḍus*.¹

About the Gauḍas of the Kaṛṇāṭaka, who must have been also instrumental in improving the agricultural condition of the country, we have some indirect evidence, especially in connection with the social activities of the people.

A less important community which, as we related above,² rose in the royal estimation towards the middle of the sixteenth century was that of the barbers. We may be permitted to recount one or two facts already given in connection with these people. It appears that about A.D. 1547-48, some heads of the barber community made a request, the nature of which is not specified anywhere, to the Emperor Sadāśiva. This seems to have been the result of their skill having been recognized by the great Regent in A.D. 1545. At least so we are told in the inscriptions which give us these details. In that year Rāma Rāja Oḍeyar, being pleased with the barber Koṇḍōja, exempted the barbers of the country from certain taxes.³ The inscriptions of the next year (A.D. 1546) merely mention that the barbers of the whole country secured this privilege.⁴ If this were really so, why they should have made a petition to Rāma Rāja in A.D. 1555, or "propitiated the Emperor" in A.D. 1547, cannot be understood. In the former year we are told that "Timmōja-Koṇḍōja having made application to Rāma-Rājayya, and the latter having made application to Sadāśiva-Dēva-Mahārāya, the Rāya remitted to the barber Timmōja-Koṇḍōja and his family throughout the four boundaries of the

¹ E. C., IX., Ht. 103 (a), p. 101. *op. cit.* For further remarks on the Tōṭṭiyans or Tottiyans, see Nelson, *Mad. Country*, p. 82; Rangachari, *I. A.*, XLIII, pp. 135-6. It is not improbable that these were in some way connected with the Pañchāḷas, B. A. S.

² See Volume I, Chapter IV. Financial Administration, Section 9. Customs and Other Minor Sources: Miscellaneous Sources of Revenue.

³ E. C., XII, Tp. 126, p. 66; E. C., VI, Tk. 13, p. 105.

⁴ E. C., XI, Hk. 11, p. 117, Hk. 110, p. 131.

kingdom he ruled," certain specified taxes.¹ An inscription of A.D. 1547-48 relates that Timmōja, Koṇḍōja and Bhadri of (the town of) Bādāvi, having propitiated the king (*rāyara mech [chchi]si bēdikōṇḍa sammam [bam]dha*) that ruler (Sadāśiva Rāya), "in connection with a request they had made", granted them a *mānya* land.² Whatever the nature of the application may have been, there cannot be a doubt that great concessions were shown to the barber community as a whole.

It is true that the presence of the barber is necessary in the conduct of certain rituals and ceremonials of the Hindus. Thus in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* : "Thereupon they enclose a place north of the hall, and place a vessel of water in it; beside this the barber takes up his position. He (the sacrificer) then shaves his hair and beard, and cuts his nails. For impure, indeed, is that part of man where water does not reach him. Now at the hair and beard, and at the nails the water does not reach him: hence when he shaves his hair and beard, and cuts his nails he does so in order that he may be consecrated after becoming pure."³ While describing the *chūḍākarma* ceremony or tonsure of the child, the *Gṛihya Sūtra* says : "To the barber the vessels of grain. To the barber the vessels of grain" which are filled with rice, barley, sesamum, seeds and beans.⁴

The fact that the services of the barbers were called into requisition during certain ceremonials does not explain the marked favour which the Hindu Government showed them in

¹ E.C., XI. Mk. 6, p. 90, text, p. 246. *Timmōja-Koṇḍōjanu dinnaham māḍalāgi*.

² Fleet, *I. A.*, X, p. 65. Here it is not the skill of one man "named Mangada Timmoju Kondoja of the town of Badavi", that is spoken of, as Heras writes (*Aravidu*, pp. 48-9), but the work of three barbers that is to be noted. The Bādāmi inscription clearly says *ivaru mūvaru rāyara* etc. Manggalla Timmōja seems to have been the barber of Rāma Rāja. See *A. S. R.* for 1908-9, p. 198, n (5). We cannot determine whether this Manggalla Timmōja was the same Timmōja-Koṇḍōja of Mk. 6 given above. See also Butterworth-Chetty, *Nellore Ins.*, II, pp. 664-6.

³ *Sat-Brah.*, P. II, III, Kāṇḍa, I, Adhyāya, 2 Brāhmaṇa, 2, p. 6. See *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁴ *Gṛihya Sūtras*, (Śāṅkhāyana), P. I Adhyāya, 28 Kāṇḍa, 6 and 24, pp. 55, 57.

the sixteenth century. Neither does the statement that the Emperor and the Regent were pleased with the skill shown by the barbers. If it were merely a question of honouring a particular section of the people, and especially the heads of a community or guild, the Vijayanagara rulers, as we shall enumerate in a subsequent place, would, according to the custom of the age, have bestowed on them the usual rewards in the shape of dress, *ināms*, and grants of land. As regards the view that the Government desired to commemorate the social services of a community, we may remember that there were more important sections of the people whose existence was as necessary for the well being of the country as that of the barbers themselves. We may conjecture, therefore, that there must have been a special occasion which necessitated the granting of remission to the barbers. The most important examples of remissions we have given above centre round the Tumkur, Chitaldroog (or Chitradurga) and Kalāḍgi districts of the Mysore State and the Bombay Presidency.

Now, in these parts of Karṇāṭaka there lived some ancient tribes whose subjugation was a matter of necessity for the Vijayanagara rulers. Among these tribes were the ancient Kurumbars who, according to tradition, held sway over certain unspecified localities even during Vijayanagara times. In their attempts to break the power of these tribes, the monarchs may have partially utilized the services of a community like the barbers, who, because of their vocation which brought them into touch with all classes of people or because of some particular reasons to be narrated presently, were best fitted to give the Government information about the ancient tribes. In this connection we may note that Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya had laid down a definite policy as regards the tribes in the following words: "It is always advisable to entrust the government over wild tribes inhabiting hills and forests to heroes who have fallen from great positions. It would not affect the king much whoever succeeds in the struggle between them. If the people of the forest (wild tribes) multiply in any state the trouble to the king and his people

would not be small. The king should make such people his own by destroying their fears. Because they are people of very little advancement, faith and want of faith, anger and friendship, bitter enmity and close friendship, result from (very little) insignificant causes...The first wild forest tribes can be brought under control by truthfulness (keeping one's engagements with them)..."¹

The great monarch does not speak, it is true, of the barbers and the Kurumbars in his maxims. Nevertheless the spirit of his broad-minded policy is significant in the light of the events that followed soon after. The most numerous concessions which the barbers received fall within the reign of Sadāśiva Rāya. It is not unreasonable to suppose that as a result of the policy of conciliation inaugurated by Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, the State must have set itself to the task of winning over the tribes; and that in the realization of their object, which may have been only towards the end of Achyuta Rāya's reign, they may have received some aid from the barbers. Now this conjecture of ours presupposes three considerations: the marked tendency which the Government showed to the Kurumbars (or Kurubars) after the times of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya; the hereditary enmity of the Kurumbars and the barbers; and, finally, the importance of the Kurumbars in the areas which we have associated with the barbers above.

Tradition throws much light on the origin and power of the Kurumbars. They claimed descent from the Yādavas.² "Their occupation is chiefly to take care of a kind of goats, with the hair of which they make blankets, and sell them. But there are other *Curumbars* whose office is to rule the land; others who make and sell chunam or lime; and some are hunters who live by the chase".³ One of their southern centres was called Pattipulam (Immuḍipaṭṇam).⁴ But what con-

¹ *Amuktamālyada*, vv. 221-225, *J. I. H.* IV, pp. 66-7.

² Taylor, *Cat. Rais.* III, p. 368. These Kurubars are also identified with the Mallars or Vedars. *Ibid.*, p. 399.

³ *Ibid.* p. 369.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 399. Taylor says the following: "Certain old coins have been found there. Remains of their fort appear. Roman coins have

cerns us is the following information supplied by the same source: "The ancestors of these people were engaged in the great war of the *Pāṇḍavas*. Their descendants were afterwards dispersed in various places. These were *Jainas*. A proverb is current concerning them (from a particular incident) that their eyes are on their shoulders. From a custom common among them of having their heads shaved on the death of one of their number, they were massacred in one day, by barbers. The place is called *Narambur*. A detail of their forts, twelve in number is given.

"A *Sannyasi* who had seen a book written by the *Curumbar*, states, that they were numerous and powerful before the time of *Adondai*, and of the *Jaina* religion. Various other matters concerning them are rather doubtfully mentioned; but it is stated that they certainly held power as late as the time of *Krishna-rayer*; when, in consequence of their pride the *Vellarhas* engaged certain barbers to massacre them; and besides, the troops of *Krishna-rayer*, also with those of the *Wiyalavar* poligars, further destroyed them".¹

Another account gives some further interesting details which brought about the estrangement between the Kurumbars and the Vijayanagara Government. "Under the *Rayer's* government (i. e., obviously of *Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya*) the *Curumbars* ruled in many districts. They constructed forts in the various places. They tried to make the *Muthaliers* and *Vellarhas* render them homage, to which the others did not consent; and the *Curumbars* in consequence greatly troubled them. Still they did not submit. Accordingly in betel gardens, and in many other places they constructed very low wicket gates, so that the Hindus, coming to them, must be forced to bow on

been found there. The people had a town on the sea shore, for the purpose of trading." *Ibid.*, p. 399. On the Kurumbars Mr. R. Gopalan's paper on "*The Historical Value of the Mackenzie MSS* (read at the Sixth Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Madras 1924) may also be consulted.

¹ Taylor, *ibid.*, pp. 399-400.

entering. But the *Muthaliars* and *Vellarhas* instead of entering head foremost thrust feet in first; and thus treated the *Curumbars* with contempt. As the latter had power in their possession, they vexed the said tribes. These, at length, went to a barber, and promising a gift of land, asked of him counsel how to destroy the *Curumbars*. The barber gave them encouragement: he then went to the houses of all his tribe; and engaged their services by promise. It was the custom of *Curumbars* that, if one of their people died, the whole family should shave the head. One of the seniors of the tribe of *Curumbars* died, and, by custom, the whole tribe at one time sat down to have their heads shaved. The aforesaid barber, on this occasion, charged all his associates each one to kill his man, which they did, by each one cutting the throat of the person shaved. The women, thus suddenly widowed, had a great pile of fire kindled, into which they leaped and died, execrating their enemies."¹

But we have not yet explained the appearance of Vijayanagara forces on the scene. We read another account of the same people in order to know what Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, and the "Wiyalavar" Pāḷeyagāras, had to do with them. We are told the following in their tradition: "Anciently the *Curumbar* ruled in this country (Chingleput district). *Adondai Chōlan*² came from Tanjore, and destroyed them; and having acquired the title of *Adondai chacraverti*, he established in their place the *Kondai katti vellarhar* (agriculturists who bound up their hair as women do). In those days the *Vannier* or *Putti* people, by permission of the ruler of the country, built this fort for themselves, as their own, (at "*Tiruvidai churam*")...The measures of that fort, as now found, are from south to north, 1,141 feet, east to west, 1,200 feet. The breadth of its outer-

¹ Taylor, *Cat. Rais.* III, p. 420. Here we are also told that the ruins of the Kurumbar forts "are still visible", and that some "very old walls" near Sadras, are seen. The Muthaliars and Vellarhas referred to above were the Mudaliars and the Vēllājers. B. A. S.

² For an account of Adondai Chōlan, read Taylor, *ibid.*, pp. 426-7, in addition to the reference given above.

wall was 20 feet. Around it there was a moat 30 feet broad...While ruling with considerable power, they rejected all claims of customary tribute from superior kings. They (i. e., "*Candava rayen* and *Chettu rayen*") were both illustrious but *Canda rayen* was the most warlike of the two...When the *Rayer* (i. e., obviously Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya) came to invade him, as the drums were beaten at several hill-stations, the *Rayer* did not know in which the chief was; and at length, the latter, watching his opportunity, fell on the *Rayer's* forces, and made great slaughter. The *Rayer's* general being greatly incensed came with a greater force; and, during four months an uncertain war was carried on, the chief's place not being known; while night and day he harassed the troops of the invader. The *Rayer* now desisted from open war; intending to effect his object indirectly. *Candava rayen* had greatly vexed the agriculturists, that *Anondai chacraverti* had placed in the land. The *Vellarhars*, in consequence arose in a body, and went to *Kṛishṇa-rayer*, who sent the *Wiyalayer* (the people of a Poligar) against *Candava*. That Poligar being beaten, retreated; and sent spies to inspect the fortress, that he might discover how to overcome *Candava*. The spies discovered that, in intervals of rest from war, *Candava* was entirely enslaved by the leader of a band of dancing girls; and announced the circumstance to the chief of the *Wiyalavar* tribe. He came to *Cupuchi* and gave her the offer of four bags of gold as a bribe to cut off the head of *Candava*; to which, induced by avarice, she consented; and appointed a time for the Poligar, and his people to come. They came as appointed. *Cupuchi* gave *Candava* poison in a cake from her own hands, which speedily took effect. She cut off his head; and, putting it in a dish brought it to the appointed place, and gave it to the Poligar people. (But she was beheaded by the Poligar's people in turn, and *Chettu rayen* cut off the heads of her hundred companions in a tank which is called to this day *Pinnai yeri*, "the Lake of Corpses")...The *Wiyalavar* Poligar came with his troops, and fell on the fort. During twenty-six days, fighting was carried on with great loss on both sides; till at length, the attacking Poligar took the

fort ; which, after that time, became a dependency of the *Anna-gundi* (Āneguṇḍi) kings, who protected the agriculturists".¹

We may record one more legend before we draw our own conclusions. " This fort (" at *Marulam*, near Canchi in the *Utra-melur* district ") of mud, was formerly built by the *Curumbars*, covering more than forty acres of ground, with two boundary-walls, and was long ruled by them. In the time of *Krishna rayer*, his dependent the *raja* of Chingleput, fought with them ; and, after some time, the *Curumba* chief was unjustly put to death. The *Curumbars* were destroyed ; and *Timma raja*² took that fort. He gave it as a jagire to one of his near relatives, named *Govinda raja*. He built two temples ; and established an *agrahāram* or alms-house, for the *Brahmans*."³

Divested of fable, the probabilities in the above account may be summarized thus : The Kurumbars originally spread over the Karṇāṭaka and Tamil lands, were destroyed by the Tamil king Ādonḍai Chakravarti ; consequently, the Kurumbars of the south disappeared as a political factor in the Tamil land ; their place was taken by the Tuḷuva Vēllālers and the Vaṇṇiyars, both of whom were given to agriculture ;⁴ and the Vaṇṇiyars continued the traditions of the Kurumbars of rejecting all claims of customary tribute from superior kings. This came into conflict with the imperialistic policy of Vijayanagara. Failing to subdue the Vaṇṇiyars by honest means, the State had recourse to deceit and achieved its end by means of a dancing girl. But it protected the agriculturists whose leaders it had subjugated.

¹ Taylor, *Cat. Rais.*, III., pp. 427-9.

² Sāluva Timma ?

³ Taylor, *ibid.* III., p. 433. See p. 431 where an account of the forts built by the Kurumbars in the Tamil land is given.

⁴ The Vaṇṇiyars are called by Taylor " fire-race, a tribe of low cultivators ". *Ibid.*, III., p. 427. On the Vaṇṇiyars, see *ibid.*, III., pp. 90, 427. The name Vaṇṇiyar has been traced to the Sanskrit *vahni*, *agni*. Oppert, *M. J. L. S.* for 1887-8 ; *Org. Inkb.*, p. 118, *seq.* ; S. K. Aiyangar, *I. A.*, LII., p. 368.

Now to turn to the Kurumbar: the same policy of levelling down the authority of the tribes, which the rulers of Vijayanagara made clear in the instance of the Vaṇṇiyars, was extended to the Kurumbar as well. Their tradition tells us that Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya with the aid of the ruler of Chingleput destroyed their stronghold at "*Marutam*, near *Canchi* in the *Utra-melur* district". We may assume that the Kurumbar ceased to exist as a thorn on the side of the Hindu State in the eastern and southern parts of the Vijayanagara Empire. But they were still powerful in the Karṇāṭaka which seems to have been their earlier home. This is again told to us in another account of theirs, which deals with the ancient history of the *Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam*. "After the deluge, the country was a vast forest, inhabited by wild beasts. A race of men arose, who, destroying the wild beasts, dwelt in certain districts. There were then, according to tradition, no forts, only huts; no kings, no religion, no civilization, no books, men were naked savages; no marriage institutions. Many years after, the *Curumbar* arose in the *Carnata* country; they had a certain kind of religion; they were murderers; they derived the name of *Curumbar* from their cruelty. Some of them spread into the *Dravida dēsam*, as far as the *Tondamandala* country. They are now found near *Utra melur*; but more civilized".¹

If the Vijayanagara monarchs planned for the wiping out of the Kurumbar chiefs in the Tamil land, they must also have done the same in the Karṇāṭaka where, as we related in an earlier connection, there were the Bēḍars and the other tribes of the Male-rājya, who gave infinite trouble to the Government. All the traditional evidence we have cited above goes to prove that the Hindu State was benevolent towards the agriculturists (the Vēllālers and the Vaṇṇiyars); that these, especially the Vēllālers, were the traditional enemies of the Kurumbar whom they had supplanted in the Tamil land; and that the Vijayanagara Government by siding with the Vēllālers and other agricultural sections of the people, launched forth a

¹ Taylor, *Cat. Rais.*, III, pp. 430-1.

policy of breaking the power of the Kurumbars, especially in the Karṇāṭaka, since their strongholds in the Tamil country had already been destroyed by Ādoṇḍai Chakravarti and Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya himself.

How can these considerations be made to square with the historical facts before us? To prove that the Kurumbars as a large section of the people existed only in the Karṇāṭaka in the Vijayanagara times, we may note the evidence of a contemporary traveller. Linschoten, as we have already seen elsewhere, thus writes about them:—"The Canariins and Corumbiins are the Countrimen, and such as deale with Tilling the Land, Fishing and such like labours...They are in a manner blacke, or of a darke browne colour, many of them Christians, because their chief habitation and dwelling places are on the Sea-side, in the Countries bordering upon Goa, for that the Palm-trees doe grow upon the Sea coasts, or upon the bankes by River sides."¹ Linschoten of course wrote in A.D. 1583. The fact that many of them were Christians around Goa does not invalidate our assumption: on the other hand, the evidence of Linschoten tends to prove that the Kurumbars were to be seen prominently in the districts round Goa.

Now, the inscriptions dealing with the remissions to barbers centre round Bādāmi, and extend over a region which cover the Kalāṇḍgi, Chitaldroog, and Tumkur districts. There is nothing improbable in the Kurumbars, after having lost their hold over the Tamil country, being really powerful in the Karṇāṭaka, especially in its western parts, during the times of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya. That monarch attempted to subjugate them, and, as their traditions inform us, was successful only with those in the eastern districts of his Empire. His policy was continued by Achyuta Rāya who, as we shall presently narrate, also gave to the Kurumbars of the Karṇāṭaka patronage; but the majority of the Kurumbars must have stoutly opposed the claims of the Vijayanagara rulers for the mastery of the Male-rājya. On failing to subdue them by honourable means, the Vijayanagara Government

¹ Linschoten, *Purchas, Pilgrims.*, X, p. 262.

yuṇḍu, Bhaṇḍāramu, Peddapānāyuṇḍu, Bōrisū Bairineṇḍu, ditto Nāgatāta, Avasaram Basivineṇḍu, Kirtilayyāṅgāru, and people of various *gōtras* in the royal abodes of the above and others, (thereupon) the people of the Yādava *gōtra* rejoicing besought Kṛishṇarāya Mahārāya to bestow upon Gaṅgā Paramēśvarī the village of Dēvara Donakoṇḍa which is the principal seat of the Nandagōpa caste and the Baḍugula caste (?) ". Accordingly the Emperor caused a charitable edict to be issued granting the aforesaid village for providing offerings and food to Gaṅgā Paramēśvarī.¹

The Karaṇams, who sometimes appear as a separate community,² have been dealt with while describing the financial administration of the country.

Among the lower classes we must mention the Dombara community which supplied jugglers to the country. They seem to have been common in the Telugu³ and Kaṛṇāṭaka parts of the Empire. Abdur Razzāq and Linschoten have left us some details about the people. The remarks of the former will be read in connection with the games and amusements of the people. Linschoten in A. D. 1583 thus writes : " They have likewise many South-saiers and Witches, which use Jugling, and travell throughout the out Countrie, having about them many live Snakes, which they know how to bewitch, and being shut up in little Baskets, they pull them out and make them dance, twine and winde at the sound of a certaine instrument, whereupon they play, and speak unto them. They wind them about their neckes, armes, and legges, kissing them, with a thousand other devises, onely to get money. They are all for the most part verie skilfull in preparing of Poysons, wherewith they doe many strange things, and easilie poyson each other; their dwellings and

¹ Butterworth-Chetty, *Nellore Ins.*, I, p. 316.

² Rangachari, *Top. List*, I, Cd. 458, p. 614. Rāma Rāja Tirumala Rājaya Dēva exempted the Karaṇams of Niḍujuvvi from their taxes in Śaka 1470, Kīlaka.

³ Rangachari, *I. A.*, XLIII, p. 139. See *Ibid.*, pp. 138, 141-2, for an account of the Saurāshṭras.

Houses are verie little and low, covered with Straw, without windowes, and verie low and narrow doores, so that a man must almost creepe upon his knees to goe in; their Householdstuffe is Mats of straw, both to sit and lie upon, their Tables, Table-clothes, and Napkins, are made of the great Indian Fig-leaves, they serve them not onely for Tables, Sheets, and other Linnen, but also for Dishes, wherein they put their meat, which you shall likewise see in the Grocers, and Potheccaries shops, to put and wrap in all things whatsoever they have within their shops (as we doe in Paper). They likewise joyne them together in such sort, that they can put both Butter, Oyle, and such liquid stuffes therein, and also whatsoever commeth to hand. To dresse their meat they have certaine Earthen pots wherein they seeth Rice, and makes holes in the ground, wherein they stampe it, or beat it with a wooden Pestell, made for the purpose, and they are so miserable, that they but the Rice in the Huskes, as it groweth on the ground, and some of them have Rice sowed behind their House to serve their necessarie use. They use to drinke out of a Copper kanne with a spout, whereby they let the water fall downe into their mouthes, and never touch the Pot with their lippes. Their Houses are commonly strawed with Kowdung, which (they say) killeth Fleas".¹

The same traveller mentions another people about whom many foreign witnesses have left their reminiscences. These were the Jōgis. Varthema has a great deal to say about a certain "King of the Iogbe" "a man of great dignity", who ruled over 30,000 people. But this was in northern India.² Barbosa has a very ingenious explanation to offer about the origin of the Jōgis. It appears that on the country passing into the hands of the Muhammadans, the Heathens (i. e., the Hindus), "unwilling to stay under the power of the Moors, go

¹ Linschoten, *Purchase, Pilgrims.*, X. pp. 247-8. The remarks following about the same people (p. 248) may also be noted.

² *Varthema*, Jones, p. 111; and p. 111, n (1). See *Hobson-Jobson* on the Joges, Jogues, or Jōgis (Yōgis), for notices ranging from the thirteenth to the nineteenth centuries.

forth (for the most part of them) from that land and assume poor attire, resolving to go through the whole world sojourning in no place whatsoever; and this continue to do until they die during their pilgrimage".¹ Barbosa was told this by one of the Jōgis. "I have oft times asked them wherefore they went about thus, to which they replied that they always carried these iron chains as a penance for the great sin they had committed, in that they were unwilling to endure taking arms for the defence of their honour, and had allowed themselves to be overcome by a wicked people like the Moors; and that they went naked as a token of their great loss of honour, because they had submitted to be deprived of their lands, and houses in which God had brought them up. And now, they said, they wished for no property, as they had lost their own and they ought rather to have died; and that they smeared themselves with ashes to remind them of dust and ashes they were made, and to these they must return; all else was falsehood".²

Paes also noticed them in Vijayanagara. While describing a temple in a city called "Darcha" (identified with Dhār-wār) Paes says: "It has three entrance gates, which gates are very large and beautiful, and the entrance from one of these sides, being towards the east and facing the door of the pagoda, has some structures like verandahs, small and low, where sit some *Jogis*..."³ In a later passage he describes the gates of the great capital and the slaughter of beasts. "There is present at the slaughter of these beasts a *jogi* (priest) who has charge of the temple, and as soon as they cut off the head of the sheep or goat this *jogi* blows a horn as a signal that the idol receives that sacrifice. Hereafter I shall tell of these *jogis*, what sort of men they are."⁴

But since Paes "forgot to fulfil this promise",⁵ we may turn again to Barbosa for a description of these people.

¹ *Barbosa*, Dames, I, p. 230.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 231-2.

³ Sewell, *For, Emp.*, p. 241.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 255.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 255, n (1).

"These men possess nothing of their own, for they have lost whatever estates they once had; they go naked and barefoot, they wear nothing on their heads, and they hide their nakedness only with bands of Moorish brass, on which hang girdles of many coins which dangle on both sides; these are the width of four fingers, cylindrical in shape, with many figures carved on them (both of men and women). These they wear so tight that they make their bellies stand out over them. (And from the same band a strip of this brass passes behind between the buttocks, so as to form a cod-piece in front.)

"To the corners of these bands their waist cloths are attached, when they wish to fasten them in their clasps, and all so tight that it gives them great pain. Besides this they carry heavy iron chains on their necks and waists. Their bodies and face are smeared with ashes. They carry a small horn or trumpet, on which they blow, and whithersoever they come they call out and demand food, more especially at the houses of worship, or those of kings, or great Lords. They go about in bands, like the Egyptians with us, nor is it their custom to abide long in one place, but a few days only. These men are called *Jogues* or *Coamerques*, which is as much as to say 'servants of God.'"¹

Barbosa was not far wrong when he said that these Jōgis, given over to a wandering life, never settled in one spot. Nevertheless at Kadri in Tuḷuva-nāḍu, a province of the Vijayanagara Empire, the Jōgis have had one of their most famous centres. Pietro della Valle in A. D. 1624 visited "the famous Hermitage of *Cadiri*", to see the "*Batinate*, (Pāṭh Nāth?) called King of the *Gioghi*, who lives at this day in his narrow limits of that Hermitage, impoverished by *Venk-tapū Naieka*."²

¹ *Barbosa*, I, pp. 230-1. *Coamerques*, according to Dames, is *svāmi rishi*, p. 231, n (1).

² Pietro della Valle, *Travels*, II, pp. 345-6. Here follows a detailed account of the Jōgi Nāth of the Kānapāthis of Mangalore. *Ibid.*, pp. 346-57. For an account of these Kānapāthis, see Leonard, *I. A.* VII, pp. 298, *seq.* Eastwick, *Handbook of Madras*, p. 302, may also be read in this connection.

Pimenta in A. D. 1599 speaks of "twentie Priests which they call Jogues, which threw themselves from the highest pinnacle of the Temple" at Ginjee, for a remarkable cause described in detail by the same traveller.¹

The Maravas of the south, especially round about Rāmnād, also are to be noted while dealing with the castes. The success of the Portuguese in converting large numbers of these fisherfolk proves that the Sētupatis of Rāmnād,² the provincial rulers of Madura, and the Vijayanagara kings had failed to justify their claims as protectors of the religious interests of the Hindu people.

There were other people who proved a fruitful field of enterprise among the Christian missionaries. These were the Paraiyans. It is difficult to determine when these people were driven to the position of an untouchable class, whose presence caused pollution as bewailed by Vēmana.³ What status these occupied along with the Bōyees, the Erkelas,⁴ and the Kallars also cannot be found out. These last are mentioned in an effaced epigraph dated only in the cyclic year Bhāva but assigned to the times of Virūpaṇṇa. It tells us that the fees to be paid to the temple of Parvatagiriśvara at Kuṇṇāṇḍār-Kōyil, Pudukkoṭṭai State, by Kaḷḷa Vēḷaikkārar for the protection afforded to them, were fixed.⁵ We are also unable to find out much about the Bēḍars (or Vēḍars), some of whom, as related above, caused commotion in the Kaṇṇāṭaka,⁶ and about the *Pāntacurhis*. About the latter we have the following in tradition: They were originally Jainas but were destroyed by the *Brahmans* in the times of *Adondai*; and some embraced the *Brahmanical* system. They had the custom of putting their old people,

¹ Pimenta, *Purchas, Pilgrims*, X. p. 208.

² Read Heras, *Aravidu*, p. 354, and *passim*.

³ Vemana, *Verses*, Bk. III, vv. 226-30, p. 148 (Brown). See *Infra*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 97, (n). On the Pariahs, read Metthwold, *Relations*, p. 19

⁵ 368 of 1914.

⁶ The Bēḍars attacked the ruler of Nāñjarāyapaṭṭaṇa in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. *My. Arch. Report* for 1925, pp. 14-15. For Vēḍars, see Taylor, *Cat. Rais.* III, p. 409.

when very infirm, into vessels of baked earth, and leaving them to die." They were found mostly round *Paduvur*.¹

C. *Colonization of the South and Some Social Questions at Issue*

The influx of the northern communities into the south was not without its abiding effects on the social history of the people. They are generally called by the name *Baḍuga*, *Baḍaga*, or *Vaḍucker*. Some maintain that the most prominent among the northern colonists were the Telugu *Tōṭṭiyans* or the *Kambaḷattārs* mentioned elsewhere.² This assumption is strengthened by the notices in tradition of the heads of the *Dōṭiyah* people who followed the fortunes of *Nāgama Nāyaka* to the south, and who were rewarded by him with the seventy-two *pāḷeyams* described in an earlier connection.³ While it is not improbable that the Telugu people may have been called by the name *Baḍaga* from the fact of their having hailed from the north (or *baḍagu*), it would be more proper to include in that general appellation other people also who were not Telugus. For it is quite likely that the *Karṇāṭaka* rulers—such as the monarchs of *Vijayanagara* essentially were till the rise of the *Āravīṭi* family,—may have also induced the people of the *Karṇāṭaka* to settle in the fertile regions of the south. Our assumption that the term *Tōṭṭiyans* could not have referred only to those who came from the Telugu land is supported by the statement of an inscription dated A. D. 1369, which, as we have seen, speaks of the *Tōṭṭiyans* of *Pulliyūr-nāḍu*. Moreover, the colonists who went to the south were also made up of people like the *Paṭṭu-nūlkārans* of *Surat* who were certainly not of the Telugu origin.⁴

When the *Baḍagas* or northerners migrated to the south, a social upheaval was bound to follow, in spite of the endeavours of the monarchs to maintain the *sakala-varṇāśrama*

¹ Taylor, *Cat. Rais.*, III, p. 399.

² Rangachari, *I. A.*, XLIII, pp. 135-6. On some notices on the *Baḍugas*, see Heras, *Q.J.M.S.*, XV, p. 182, n (40); *Aravidu*, p. 150. n (4)

³ Taylor, *ibid.*; *O.H.M.S.S.*, II, p. 21, op. cit.

⁴ Nelson, *Mad. Country* p. 87.

dharma of the people.¹ It manifested itself in various problems some of which we shall deal with here. Firstly, there was the question of the change in the status of the earlier inhabitants. The new-comers entered the Tamil land essentially in their capacity as conquerors ; and the old inhabitants found themselves consequently relegated to a lower position in social and political spheres. This may have been one of the causes why the ancient classes were compelled to give up their traditional profession and to take up menial work. The Śemmans, for example, who were originally Tamil leather weavers, sank to the position of menial servants in the village after the advent of the Telugu or Kannaḍa Mādigas.² Perhaps it was during this age, when the hereditary trades of the old inhabitants were usurped by the new-comers, that there arose the nefarious distinction between caste and caste, person and person, culminating in what has been known in our own days as the institution of untouchability. If this is admitted, then the degradation of such an ancient community like the Paraiyans, from the position of minor servants of the village *āyagāras* and masters of the soil, to that of slaves and unclean classes is not unintelligible.

Coupled with this exchange of duties that resulted in the older inhabitants being compelled to take up menial work of all sorts, there is another fact which may have also been responsible for the degradation of the earlier inhabitants. This was their close relationship with the foreigners, some of whom unfortunately won for themselves notoriety in the country. It is a deplorable fact that the morality of the Portuguese was at a hopelessly low ebb, especially in Goa. Linschoten, for example, gives a long and painful description of the state of affairs about the Portuguese in that city.³ Even so late as A. D. 1623 Pietro della Valle wrote thus in connection with the

¹ Wilks compares the Telugu colonists with the Roman colonists. *Sketches*, I, p. 15, (1810) ; I, p. 9, (1869). See also Caldwell, *History of Tinnevely*, p. 48 ; Rangachari, *I. A.*, XLIII, p. 113.

² Srinivasa Aiyangar, *Tamil Studies*, p. 85.

³ Linschoten, *Purchas, Pilgrims.*, X, pp. 240-2.

Portuguese : " For being themselves in these matters very unrestrain'd (not sparing their nearest kindred, nor, as I have heard, their own Sisters, much less their Foster-children in their Houses) they conceive that all other Nations are like themselves . . .".¹ Both because of political and commercial reasons the Portuguese were constrained to be on the most intimate terms with the people of Vijayanagara. In an era when orthodoxy was allowed to dictate terms in almost every sphere of life in the Hindu Empire, and when there were no organized attempts on the part of the Hindus to understand the civilization of the foreigners, it is not surprising that a people like the Paraiyans, forced to seek service under the foreigners, should have been declared to be outside the pale of the uncompromising society of those days. Whether we are correct in assuming this or not, we may note that the worst types of orthodoxy have always been found in those parts of the south where the Portuguese have most freely mingled with the people,— Malabar, Cochin, Travancore and the region round Madura.²

The reason why ideas of pollution should have ever risen in the minds of the people is because of another consideration which may have been the result of the migration of the Baḍagas to the south. This was as regards the social divisions and the consequent rigidity of the caste system.³ We shall deal with some aspects of these in connection with social legisla-

¹ Pietro della Valle, *Travels* I, p. 161. See also *ibid.*, p. 161, n (1); Mandelslo, *Travels*, Lib. II, p. 84. (Davies); Sarkar, *Pos. Back.*, I, p. 72. It is a well known fact that menial servants of Europeans in southern India have been, as they are to this day, Holeyas and Faraiyans. B. A. S.

² In the Kārṇāṭaka also we have the same state of affairs; but the history of that region contains at least one place where the Holeyas are permitted to enter a temple. This is at Mēlukōte. See *E. C.*, II, p. 180, n. (7) (1st ed.). For a detailed account of the social and religious privileges enjoyed by the Paraiyans, read Oppert *M.J.L.S.* for 1887-8, *Org. Inhab.*, p. 78, *seq.* On some interesting remarks on the Paraiyas and Valaiyans, see Cammiade, *Q.J.M.S.* X, p. 156.

³ An inscription dated A. D. 1433 begins thus: "Superior to the Varnāśramas, superior to caste differences, superior to *karmas*, freed from avarice-Akhaṇḍa muni do I reverence, the chief of munis". *E. C.*, VIII, Tl. 14, p. 165.

tion under Vijayanagara. How poets and moralists of the mediaeval times waged war against the growing danger of caste rigidity and untouchability, which were eating into the life of the Hindu people, is told by Sarvajña, Kanaka Dāsa, Kapilar, and Vēmana, whose exquisite poems add to the rich heritage of the Karnāṭaka and Telugu poetry.¹ We may be permitted to quote two verses from Sarvajña and Vēmana on the question of untouchability. Thus says Sarvajña:

జాతిహీనర మనెయ జోతి తాం హీనవే?
 జాతివిజాతియేనబీడ ! దేవనోలి
 దాతనే జాత ! సర్వజ్ఞ |
 యాతటిదుఱువేను? నాతరదు సాలదే?
 జాతివిజాతియేనబీడ ! దేవనోలి
 దాతనే జాత సర్వజ్ఞ ! || 2

This may be compared with the following by Vēmana:

మాలవానిసేల పహిమిద నిందింప
 నొడల రక్తమాంసమొకటిగాదె ?
 వానిలోన మెలగువాని కులంచేది ?
 మాలవానినంటి మరినీళ్లమునిగేయ,
 మూలకర్మచేత మాలడయ్యె,
 సేలదెలియలేరొ యీ సరపశువులు,
 మాదిగమనవద్దు మరిగుణమొ నరిన,
 మాదిగని వనీవు, ముగువ దేడె,
 మాదిగె గుణమున్న మరి ద్విజాడగునయా ?²

¹Branett, *The Heart of India*, pp. 94, seq., 109, seq., Rice, *Kan. Lit.* p. 73. (2nd ed.), for the date of Sarvajña. But see *Kavicharite*, II, pp. 532-3.

² Sarvajña, Kittel, *Anthology*, p. 106. Cf. Rice, *Kan. Lit.*, p. 73.

³ Vēmana, *Verses*, Bk. III., vv. 227-9, p. 148 (Brown). "Why should he constantly revile the Pariar? Are not his flesh and blood the same as our men? And of what caste is He who pervades the Pariar as well as all other men? Why should you plunge in water to purify yourself if a Pariar touches you? He becomes what he is in consequence of sins in a former birth: how stupid are those who cannot understand this? Call not him an out caste who possesses a good disposition. Did not the hermit Vasistha take a Pariar wife? How can he be called a Brahman whose qualities are those of a Pariar?" See also *ibid.*, vv. 128, 217-220.

The rigidity of the caste system was in itself in some measure responsible for another outstanding feature of the times—the attempts made by the lower castes to acquire the privileges enjoyed by the members of the higher classes. This is evident from the few notices we have of a section called the Vipravīnōdins¹. From the way in which Vēmana derides the endeavours of those who longed to aspire to the status of higher castes, we may infer that in the latter half of the seventeenth century, if not in the Vijayanagara age itself, some of the lower orders must have asserted their own individuality and claimed a sort of equality with the higher castes. Vēmana says:

కూద్రతనుపోయె, కూర్చుడుగానని,
ద్విజాడనుకొనుటెల్ల తెలనిలేమి
ఇక్కడెసగు పసిడి యీడను వచ్చునా ?²

The Vipravīnōdins are mentioned in Vijayanagara times. Certain Vipravīnōdins undertook in Śaka 1476 (A. D. 1554-5), in the reign of Sadāśiva Rāya, to perform the Kārtika *pūjā* of the god Hanumānta of the *agrahāra* village Raganahālu, situated in the Uruvakonḍa-sime attached to the Rayadurga-

223-5, 231, 235-7, pp. 81, 146, 147, 149, 150. This liberal spirit is really to be traced to the early times of Tamil history. We have the following in Nāḷadiyār:—

“When men speak of ‘good caste’ and ‘bad caste’ it is a mere form of speech, and has no real meaning. Not even by possessions, made by ancient glories, but by self-denial, learning, and energy is *caste* determined.” Ch. XX, 195, p. 125, (Pope).

¹ Vipravīnōdins, as explained by Mr. Brown, were a class of Brahman jugglers. In the Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts, the Vipravīnōdins are no longer Brahmans but Sūdras. It is evident that the profession followed by the Vipravīnōdins must have lowered them in rank, in later times. *E. Report* for 1913, p. 123.

² “To say ‘Sūdraism has left me, I am no Sūdra, I am a Brahman’ is all folly; though brass resembles gold, can it be esteemed its equal?” Vemana, *Verses*, Bk. II, v. 96. p. 74 (Brown). Śukrāchārya himself was no advocate of the sanctity of birth. “Not by birth are the Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaiśya, Sūdra and Mlēcchha separated, but by virtues and works. Are all descended from Brahmā to be called Brāhmaṇa? Neither through colour nor through ancestors can the spirit, worthy of a Brahman be generated.” *Sukraniti*, I, ll. 75-8. p. 8. Evidently a movement to relax the rigidity of the caste system had already been set on foot in the middle ages. B.A.S.

vēṇṭhe in the Mūḍa-nāḍu district of the Hastināvāli-vaḷita.¹ Two years later (Śaka 1478) some Vipravinōdins made a grant of the Vipravinōdi income realized from the *agrahūra*-village Chinahōtūru in Vurōkoṇḍa-vēṇṭhe for the Dhanurmāsa worship of the god Chennakēśvara of the same village.² In the same year (Śaka 1478=A.D. 1556-7), a gift (of taxes and dues) was made by a number of Vipravinōdins, who belonged to various *śākhās* and *sūtras*, to the *mahājanas* of Chauḷuru.³ An undated inscription, assignable to the times of Sadāśiva Rāya, informs us that a gift of lamps was made for the temple of Hanumaṇta-dēva at Manneya-samudra, surnamed Dēvarāya-pura, which was an *agrahūra* in Penugoṇḍa-rājya, for the merit of all Vipravinōdins.⁴ The Vipravinōdin community in Śaka 1480 (A.D. 1558-9) made a gift of the Vipravinōdi income from the village of Guntakallu to the gods Mūlasthāna Bhōgīśvara, Kēśava Perumāḷ, and Virēśvara of the same place.⁵

While these epigraphs show that the Vipravinōdins exercised some influence in the sixteenth century, evidence is not forthcoming to prove that they asserted their rights and strove to secure the rank and privileges of Brahmans. Perhaps future research may enlighten us on this point, and enable us to know that the Vipravinōdins, like the Kammālas, the Kaikkōḷars, and the Dēvaṅgas,⁶ perturbed the social atmosphere of the times. There is nothing improbable in the Vipravinōdins struggling against the pretensions of the Brahmans, if it is true that they originally belonged to the priestly class. Moreover, even among Śūdras there seems to have been a similar movement to rise higher in the social scale. This is inferred from a Tamil copperplate which speaks of a Śūdra priest consecrating a king in the presence of a Vijayanagara official. The record dated Śaka 1518, cyclic year Hēviḷambi (A.D. 1596) states that, in the reign

¹ 402 of 1920.

² 403 of 1920. Chinahōtūru is in Gooty tāḷuka, Anantapur district.

³ 586 of 1912; Rangachari, *Top. List.* I, Ap. 44, p. 7.

⁴ 97 of 1912; Rangachari, *ibid.*, I, Ap. 94, p. 16.

⁵ 395 of 1920.

⁶ Srinivasa Aiyangar, *Tamil Studies*, p. 109.

of the Emperor Veṅkaṭapati Dēva, a Śūdra priest joined with a large number of other Śūdras and made one Kaṇḍiya Dēvar king of Vṛiddhāchalam, in the presence of Muttu Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka.¹

A fourth feature which was inevitable in an age which had great material prosperity was that related to the difference between rich and poor people. We can only assume that such disparity between the wealthier and humbler classes which existed in Bedar must also have been noticeable in Vijayanagara. Nikitin gives us an account of the state of affairs in Bedar. "The land is overstocked with people; but those in the country are very miserable, while the nobles are extremely opulent and delight in luxury. They are wont to be carried in their silver-beds, preceded by some twenty chargers caparisoned in gold, and followed by 300 men on horseback and 500 on foot, and by horn-men, ten torch bearers and ten musicians"². But, as we said in connection with the observations of Nuniz on the revenue administration of Vijayanagara, we have to take into consideration here the prosperous condition of the people as described by Paes and Barbosa, and the evidence of numerous records testifying to the generosity of the citizens who gave grants for charitable and religious purposes.³

Finally, we may note one more peculiarity of the times. It was the impetus which the social differences gave to an institution which existed long before the advent of the sons of Saṅgama. And this was the division of the society into two main classes called the Right Hand and Left Hand sections.

¹ Sewell, *Lists*, II, C. P. No. 75, p. 9. Sewell considered Muttu Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka to be the ruler of Madura. But Rangachari identifies him with Muttu Kṛishṇappa, son of Vaiyappa Kṛishṇappa Koṇḍama Nāyaka. *Top. List*, I, S.A. 144 and 199, pp. 146, 154-5. The question whether the Śūdras are qualified for the knowledge of Brahmans is discussed by Rāmānuja. *Vēdānta Sūtras, with the Commentary of Rāmānuja*, Adhyaya, 1, Pada 3, 32, pp. 336-7. (S.B.E. Vol. 48).

² Major, *India*, p. 14; Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 104.

³ *Supra* Chapter I, Section 2.

SECTION 2. *The Right Hand and Left Hand Sections*A. *Origin of the Valāṅgai or Right Hand and Iḍaṅgai or Left Hand Sections*

We tread on slippery ground when we approach the question of the origin of the Iḍaṅgai and Valāṅgai classes. Nevertheless it is interesting to know some details in connection with these two important sections of the people from traditional as well as epigraphical sources.

The mythical origin of one of these classes, the Iḍaṅgai or Left Hand section, is thus given in an inscription dated in the fortieth regnal year of the Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga III: "While, in order to kill the demons (that disturbed) the sacrifices of the sage Kaśyapa, we (the ninety-eight sects of the *Iḍaṅgai* classes) were made to appear from the *agnikuṇḍa*, (*i.e.*, the sacrificial fire-pit), and while we were thus protecting the said sacrifice, *Chakravartin* Arindama honoured the officiating sage-priests by carrying them in a car and led them to a Brāhmaṇa colony (newly founded by himself). On this occasion we were made to take our seats on the back side of the car and to carry the slippers and umbrellas of these sages. Eventually with these Brāhmaṇa sages we also were made to settle down in the villages of Tiruveḷḷarai, Pāchchil, Tiruvāṣi, Tiruppiḍavūr, Ūrrattūr, and Kārikkāḍu of Ścnnivala-kūrṅgam (all of which are places now situated in the Trichinopoly district). We received the clan name *Iḍaṅgai*, because the sages (while they got down from their cars) were supported by us on their *left* side. The ancestors of this our sect having lost credentials and insignia (?) in jungles and bushes, we were ignorant of our origin. Having now once learnt it, we, the members of the ninety-eight sub-sects enter into a compact, in the fortieth year of the king, that we shall hereafter behave like the sons of the same parents, and what good or evil may befall any one of us, will be shared by all. If anything derogatory happens to the *Iḍaṅgai* class, we will jointly assert our rights till we establish them. It is also understood that those who, during their congregational meetings to settle their communal

disputes, display the *birudus* of horn, bugle and parasol shall belong to our class. Those who have to recognise us now and hereafter, in public, must do so from our distinguishing symbols—the feather of the crane and the loose-hanging hair(?). The horn and the conch-shell shall also be sounded in front of us and the bugle blown according to the fashion obtaining among the *Idaṅgai* people. Those who act in contravention to the rules shall be treated as enemies of our class. Those who behave differently from the rules (thus) prescribed for the conduct of *Idaṅgai* classes shall be excommunicated and shall not be recognised as Śrutimāns. They will be considered slaves of the classes who are opposed to us.”¹

According to another tradition Karikāla Chōḷa divided the people into these two parties, assigning ninety-eight tribes to each and apportioning to their use distinctive flags and musical instruments for use at festivals and funerals.²

T. W. Ellis in his edition of a portion of the *Kuṛal* wrote the following about the origin of the two classes: “Intercourse with foreign nations, the extension of commerce, and other circumstances have in latter times materially altered the manners of the olden time and infringed the privileges of the landed proprietors, but they have not been able to prevent a lively tradition of them remaining, and this has given origin to the dissensions between the factions denominated *Valang-caiyār* and *Idungcaiyār*, or, as commonly though improperly called, the *right* and *left hand castes*; the former including the whole of the agricultural tribes, who endeavour, under a different order of things, to maintain their ancient pre-eminence; the latter, including chiefly the trading and manufacturing tribes, who endeavour, and in modern days generally with success, to evade it.”³

¹ *Ep. Report* for 1913, p. 109. See also *ibid.*, pp. 99-102; *Ep. Report* for 1914-15, pp. 15, 106.

² Crole, *Chingleput Manual*, pp. 33-4.

³ T. W. Ellis, *Kuṛal*, p. 44, (Madras, 1816), quoted by Oppert *M. J. L. S.*, for 1887-8. *Org. Inhab.*, pp. 85, n, (56), 86.

Dr. A. C. Burnell was of the following opinion : " The distinction arises primarily from the landowners and their serfs being the heads of one class, and the Brahmans, artisans and other interlopers forming the other. But the constituent castes of either party vary ".¹

Dr. Gustav Oppert, whose exposition of the subject contains many interesting details, opined thus : " The influence of the Jainas was perhaps strongest in towns where the artisan classes form an important and powerful portion of the population, while the Brahmans appealed to the land-owning and agricultural classes, whom they won over by their entreaties or by threats. The Brahmans have not joined and strictly speaking do not belong to either side, but their interests lie mainly with the right side. As in various localities the same castes have embraced different sides, it is difficult to assign to all a permanent position. Yet, on the whole, the principal parties on both sides are always the same ".²

Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar brings forward some other considerations in addition to those adduced by Dr. Oppert. Among the causes which, according to Mr. Aiyangar, gave rise to the Iḍaṅgai and Vaḷaṅgai sections, the following were prominent: the political dissension which led to the final overthrow of the powerful kingdoms of the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas;³ the aspirations of certain castes to rise higher in the social scale;⁴ and the communal feeling (existing between the Jainas and the Brahmans), and between the different sections of the people due to the difference in food, occupation and physical environment.⁵ Mr. Aiyangar finally comes to the conclusion that "the arrangement of the Dravidian castes into two grand divisions (the right and left hand) took place at Kanchipuram under the

¹ Burnell, *I. A.*, II, p. 274; Oppert, *M.J.L.S.* for 1887-8, *Org. Inhab.* p. 86.

² Oppert, *ibid.*, p. 90.

³ Srinivasa Aiyangar, *Tamil Studies*, p. 105.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 73, 92, 101-3, 106, 110.

royal command of a Chōḷa king"¹ (in about A. D. 1010 in the times of Rājarāja Chōḷa).

Dr. Barnett thus writes about the arguments put forward by Mr. Aiyangar: "It (i.e., the division of the posts of the temple staff and their quarters into those of the Right Hand and Left Hand) seems to be connected with the well known separation of the non-brahmanic castes of the South into those of the right and those of the left hand. In the temple of Kālī at Conjeeveram the right hand^v castes worshipped in one *maṇḍapa*, the left hand castes in another. If this view is correct, Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar must be wrong in his theory that the division of the castes arose about A. D. 1010 from the distinction of the two armies of Rājarāja Chōḷa into that of the right and that of the left hand. I believe the converse to be the truth : the division seems to have been in existence long before the eleventh century, and was indicated by the separation of the castes in public worship ; and Rājarāja made use of the principle (or at least the name) to classify his armies".²

While the assumption that the division "seems to have been in existence long before the eleventh century" is justifiable, we may suggest that there was one cause which writers have failed to take into consideration as regards the origin of the two sections. This was due not so much to the difference in "the altered manners of the old times" resulting from the intercourse with foreign nations and the consequent extension in commerce, nor to the distinction which "arises primarily" from the landowners and Brahmans being the heads of two rival social groups, but to the fact that in the south extraordinary prominence has been given to the minute details of etiquette and privilege on socio-religious occasions which have deeply influenced the life of the Tamil and Kārṇāṭaka

¹ Srinivasa Aiyangar, *Tamil Studies*, p. 100. On the origin of these classes, see also Hemingway *Trichy. Gaz.*, I, p. 92; Nelson, *Mad. Country*, P. II, p. 6; Kearne, *I.A. V.*, p. 353, *seq.*; Richards, *Salem Gaz.*, I, P. I, p. 126.

² *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 81. ns. 4-7. See *Infra*, The Pallava-Kadamba Controversy.

people. We shall explain in a subsequent section these questions of honours and etiquette before and during Vijayanagara.

So profoundly have these trifling details affected the life of the people that the division seems to have cast asunder even the Brahmans. This is inferred from the following account styled *Idaṅkai Vaḷankai Kaifiyut*": "This relates to the great dispute between the *Vaishnava-Brahmans*, with their followers, who have the epithet of right-hand, and *Saiva Brahmans*, with their followers, termed left-hand. The dispute is stated to have arisen from the usage of a *Garuda* banner, or flag bearing the eagle or kite of *Vishnu*, as a device. The right of bearing this banner, and the question of which of the two classes it belonged, created so hot a dispute, that the matter was referred in arbitration to *Vicrama-Chola-deva Perumāl*, in *Cali yuga* 4894, *Paritabi* cyclic year. That prince caused the old copper-plate records at *Conjeevaram* to be disinterred and examined, and legal authorities to be consulted. As a consequence the claim of the *Saivas* to the *Garuda* banner was admitted; but another result was, the more accurate distinction and definition, of what rights and privileges were proper to the two classes; and what were not so. The book further contains an enumeration of the classes or castes, into which the two lines of *Vaishnavas* and *Saivas* became divided; and of the *Pariars* and others, who range under the right-hand class. These castes, on both sides, are stated to be ninety-eight. The sub-divisions are those of persons having castes; that is, not *Pariars*".¹

Since we know that the early and mediaeval canonists have nothing to say about the Right Hand and Left Hand Sections, we may dismiss the idea mentioned in the above account that there was any legal sanction behind the two divisions. From the foregoing *Kaifiyut*, which is obviously of the modern times,² as well as from the earliest account relating to the times of Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa III, we may suppose that the

¹ Taylor, *Cat. Rais.*, III, p. 7.

² Kaliyuga 4894, Paridhāvi=A. D. 1792. Sewell, *Siddhantas*, p. 218.

conflict arose round what was essentially a question of social etiquette and honours.¹ But we confess that it is impossible to find in what manner this problem was related to that of the intermixture of castes about which there is definite evidence in a record written in the Tamil-Grantha characters. This inscription, which is unfortunately effaced, informs us that the people registered the opinions of Gautama, Nārada, Yājñavalkya and other authorities regarding the origin, duties and privileges of certain mixed (*anulōma*) castes.² From the manner in which even the lowest castes are grouped together with the highest, it seems that the division of the people into the Right Hand and Left Hand sections was a sort of challenge to the ancient *varṇāśramas*, at least so far as petty social privileges were concerned. This explains why the Vaishṇava Brahmans are clubbed together with the Pariars who are called the Vaḷaṅgai-mattar or friends, the toddy-drawers, the Kannagiḍans, the Sāliyans, (weavers), the Kōmaṭi, and the Vellāḷans or agriculturists, in the Right Hand faction, and the Śaiva Brahmans, the Śeṭṭis, the Paḷḷis, the Kammāḷans (or artisans) and the Chucklers, in the Left Hand division.³

¹ Srinivasa Aiyangar, *Tamil Studies*, pp. 96, seq. 106-7; Taylor, *Cat. Rais.*, III, p. 351; Abbe Dubois, *Hindu Manners and Customs*, I, pp. 25-6 (1897 ed.); Richards, *Salem Gaz.*, I, P. I, pp. 125-6. See also *S. I. I.*, III, P. I, p. 46, seq.; 562 of 1893; 151 of 1905; *Ep. Report* for 1921, p. 103. The petty differences have effected even the humblest of classes. The Chakkili women, who belong to the Right Hand class, it is said, deny marital rights to their husbands who belong to the Left Hand faction, Nelson *Mad. Country*. P. II, p. 7. Oppert gives in detail the insignia of the two classes. *M. J. L. S.* for 1887-8, *Org. Inhab.*, p. 90 n. 59, seq.

² 558 of 1904.

³ For a detailed account of the various subjects of the Iḍaṅgai and Vaḷaṅgai communities, see *Madras Manual of Administration*, III, pp. 1036-7; Oppert, *M. J. L. S.* for 1887-8, p. 85, seq.; Buchanan *Journey Through Malabar*, I, p. 77, seq. In what way this classification can be connected with the Kadamba-Pallava controversy mentioned in the Shikarpura stone inscription of Mayūrasarma dated about A. D. 450 cited above, I cannot make out. But it is curious to note that at Kañchi, where that Kadamba monarch overcame the Pallavas, these differences between the Right Hand and Left Hand sections are most rigorously observed. "In this city the differences between these two classes are more marked than in any other place as evidenced by the existence of Vaḷaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai temples, Vaḷaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai *mandapas*, and Vaḷaṅgai and

B. *Some Historical Notices of these Classes*

Although we know little about these classes themselves, their antiquity is proved beyond doubt by literature and inscriptions.¹ We shall very briefly allude to these two sources. The earliest reference, if it could be accepted,—and if we are justified in assuming that the eighteen castes were in some manner related to the two divisions,—is that contained in a copper-plate grant dated A. D. 459 of the reign of the Gaṅga king Koṅgaṇi Rāja. This inscription records the gift of ten *khaṇḍuga* of paddy land below the Mēlūr tank (in the Sīḍlaghaṭṭa tāluka), to Kādasvāmīśva, a Taitiriya Brāhmaṇa, by the king “free from all eighteen castes”.² Somewhere in the fifth century A. D., therefore, the two divisions may have originated.

In the early part of the eleventh century, they had already come to stay in the Kaṇṇāṭaka. An inscription dated Śaka 976 (A. D. 1043) of the times of the Western Chāḷukya king Sōmēśvara, mentions interesting details about the dancing girls of the temple of Sūḍi or Sūṇḍi, Dhārwar district. Among them we have the names of the Right Hand dancing girls and Left Hand dancing girls.³ In the Tamil country the existence of these two factions in the eleventh century is proved by a record dated A.D. 1072 of the reign of Kōv-Irāja Kēsarivaṇmar, *alias* Śrī-Rājendra Śōḷa Dēvar. The members of the two classes say the following: “We (the inhabitants of the Eighteen vishaiya), the great army of the right hand class armed with great weapons (*perumbaḍai-valaṅgai-mahāsēnai*) and (?) Padan-

Iḍaṅgai dancing girls”. *Ep Report* for 1921, p. 103. As we have seen, the first time the two divisions are mentioned is in A. D. 459.

¹ *Ep Report* for 1921, p. 103.

² *E. C.*, IX, DB. 67, pp. 71-2; Rice, *I. A.*, V, p. 136; *My. Ins.*, pp. 289-90. But Fleet does not accept the evidence of this grant. *I. A.*, XXX, pp. 221-2. See also *Ep. Ind.*, III, pp. 160, n. (3), 162. The eighteen castes, as Dr. Barnett suggests, “is a conventional number going back to the Jātakas and continuing down through mediaeval times”. But in view of the fact that these ten castes are, as will be shown in the next section, grouped as professional castes (221 of 1910), they are taken here to mean the 18 sub-divisions of the larger groups that formed the Iḍaṅgai and Valaṅgai class. See also section on the Guilds. B. A. S.

³ Barnett, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, ll. 23-6, p. 82, op. cit.

gaṇḍu—have caused śāsanam to be engraved on stone to the effect that...". The details that follow dwell at great length on the solidarity of the members of the Right Hand division, and on the social and customary sanction which these two classes had secured in the eleventh century.¹ A record of Rājendra Chōḷa Dēva I., (A. D. 1101-41), mentions the Vaḷaṅgai classes.² Some grant was made by the representatives of the eighteen castes in A. D. 1189 in the times of the Hoysala king Vīra Ballāḷa.³ A record dated about A. D. 1206 informs us that Balava (Right) Jakkaiya's (son) Eḍava (Left) Jakkiya was ruling in Diḍuga.⁴ Kāchi Dēva, a feudatory of Narasiṃha II, is said to have been the *sēnā-nāyaka* of the Left Hand section in an inscription dated A. D. 1224.⁵ "The eighteen castes with both sects of Nānā-Dēśis at their head", as related in a record dated A. D. 1280, "having placed the diamond *bayasaṇige* in Harihara and sat down", granted certain specified dues for the festival of the god of that town.⁶ In the thirteenth century, in the reign of Kulōttuṅga III, certain *Śrutimāns* of Uṛrattūr, held a meeting in the *maṇḍapa* called Uttamaśōḷaṅ of the Siddharatnēśvara temple of Uttattūr, Trichinopoly district, on behalf of the ninety-eight subdivisions of the Iḍaṅgai classes.⁷ The eighteen *samayas* are mentioned in a record dated A. D. 1330.⁸

References to these factions are also found in Tamil literature. In the *Tondaimaṇḍala-Śatakam* there is reference to

¹ E.C., X., Mb. 49 (a), pp. 86-7, Mb. 119, p. 106.

² 341 of 1907. In the *Ep. Report for 1921*, p. 103, it is wrongly said that this epigraph is the earliest record which mentions the two factions. The fact that we have inscriptions in the Kārṇāṭaka which speak of the two classes prior to the times of Rājendra Chōḷa Dēva, explodes the theory that they originated only in the Tamil land in the eleventh century at the command of a Chōḷa king. B.A.S.

³ E.C., XII., Si. 104, p. 103, text, p. 303.

⁴ E.C., V., P. I., Cn. 265, p. 237. This is a curious example of a father and son belonging to the opposite sides. B.A.S.

⁵ *My. Arch. Report for 1914-15*, p. 54.

⁶ E.C. XI., Dg. 59, p. 61.

⁷ 489 of 1912; S. K. Aiyangar, *S. India*, p. 22.

⁸ E.C. X., Kl. 70, p. 19.

the curbing down of the insolence of the Kaṇṇālar (*Kaṇṇālar-kurumbadaḍakki*) from which we may infer that the Vellālas (agriculturists) and Kammālas (artisans) were not on friendly terms. The Tamil poet Kamban, though he makes no reference to the agricultural classes, in seven stanzas in his *Ereḷu-pādu*, praises the artisans who were naturally proud that nothing could be done without their help.¹

C. *Iḍaṅgai and Vaḷaṅgai Classes in Vijayanagara*

The earliest mention of the two classes in Vijayanagara history is in the reign of Kaṁpaṇa Oḍeyar, son of Bukka I. The inscription, which is dated A. D. 1362, deals with the joint-activities of all the farmers and subjects of the great Kayivāra-nāḍu, and all (of both sects) of Nānā-Dēśis in Pekkuṇḍra, and of the 18 castes, in connection with the establishment of a fair at Kayivāra.² From the use of the phrase “Śrīvaishṇavas of the Eighteen Districts” and the “sons of forty-eight generations”, used in the famous inscription dated A. D. 1368³, we may infer that both the Jains and the Śrīvaishṇavas came under the general designation of the Vaḷaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai classes. An epigraph of about the same date (? A. D. 1369) ends with an incomplete imprecation—“whoso of the eighteen castes...”⁴ A record dated only in the cyclic year Duṇḍubhi but assignable to the Śaka year 1305 (A. D. 1383-4) refers to a fight between the Right Hand and Left Hand Sections which lasted for four years.⁵ By order of Mallāṇa Oḍeyar, as related in an inscription dated in the cyclic year Dhātṛi (Śaka 1319=A.D. 1397-8), a gift of the taxes payable by the eighteen professional castes (*paṭṭadaḍai*) of Paḍi-Tiruvallidāyam, was made to the temple of

¹ *Ep. Report* for 1921, p. 103.

² *E.C.*, X., Ct. 95, p. 263. A record dated Śaka 100303 (?) informs us that certain privileges were granted to the seventy-four subdivisions of the Pañchālas by Harihara Mahārāya for their having made the entrance throne (*hajāra simhāsana*) of the palace. Bhikshāvṛitti Tāttayya, the six *darśhanas*, and the eighteen *samayas* are also mentioned. The date of the inscription is clearly wrong. *Ep. Report* for 1918, p. 175.

³ *E.C.*, II., No. 136, p. 180; (1st ed.); *E.C.*, IX., Ma. 18, p. 54.

⁴ *E.C.*, IV., Yl. 64, p. 33.

⁵ 422 of 1905.

Tiruvallidāya-muḍaiya-Nāyanār.¹ We are told in a record dated Śaka 1371 (A. D. 1448-9) that Paḍaiviḍu belonged to Toṇḍaimaṇḍala of the Right Hand and Left Hand sections.² The 947 families of the *hāṇes*, mentioned in an inscription of A. D. 1455 of Maṇivalli, Honnāvūru, etc., evidently refer to the subdivisions of the Vaṇṅai and Iḍaṅgai classes in the Kaṇṇāṭaka.³ The *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Rāmaya Dēva, with certain gaḍas (named), in about A. D. 1528, made a grant of land (specified), to the *guru* of the Right Hand sect, the Eḍiyūr *dandi*, Virappa Oḍeyar.⁴ An inscription of the times of Achyuta Rāya, dated wrongly in Śaka 1554 (for 1454), Naṇḍana, informs us that the Vaṇṅai and the Iḍaṅgai divisions comprised ninety-eight castes, and that an agreement was made among the weavers to contribute some money for the maintenance of a *maṭha*.⁵ As remarked elsewhere, in A. D. 1535, in the reign of the same monarch, his household treasurer Rāmappayya remitted the marriage tax "to every one of the eighteen castes" in the Būdihāḷa-sime.⁶ The 101 families of the eighteen castes are mentioned in a record dated A. D. 1589.⁷

SECTION 3. *Sati*

A. *General Remarks*

We now come to a social institution of Vijayanagara which, both because of its inherent brutality and acquired notoriety, has been associated with all that is savage and uncompromising

¹ 221 of 1910.

² *S. I. I.*, I., p. 110. See also *Ep. Report for 1905*, p. 58; Richards, *Salem Gaz.*, I., P. I, p. 125, n (2), op. cit.; Srinivasa Aiyangar, *Tamil Studies*, p. 73.

³ *E.C.* VIII., Nr. 65, text p. 397. *Hāṇe* cf. *paṇa*, *E. C.*, IX., Intr. p. 2.

⁴ *E.C.*, X., Kl. 152, p. 53.

⁵ 103 of 1906; Rangachari, *Top. List.*, I., SA. 606, pp. 200-1.

⁶ *E. C.*, XII., Ck. 5, p. 71, op. cit.

⁷ *E.C.*, IV., Hs. 15, p. 84. For some further remarks, see Srinivasa Aiyangar, *Tam. Studies*, p. 93; *seq.*, Majumdar *Corp. Life*, p. 92. A comparison may be made, other things being granted, between the Right Hand and Left Hand sections of Vijayanagara and the Deccani and the Abyssinian groups of the Muhammadans. See Chowdhuri, *I.H.Q.*, IV., 4, p. 723.

in Hindu life. This is the well known sati or *sahagamana* or the burning of Hindu widows on the funeral pyre of their husbands. We are concerned here primarily with its prevalence under Vijayanagara, and incidentally with its existence in southern India prior to the rise of the sons of Saṅgama. The little but definite information we have of the rite, both from the inscriptions and from foreign travellers, enables us to examine a few of the general notions of this vile custom which has been rightly condemned as a defect of the Hindu social system. It is generally stated that sati was a universal practice in India.¹ According to the evidence of a writer whose book has gained considerable popularity in some circles, the sati system originated in the caste to which the nobles belonged. "It was originally in the noble caste of Rajahs that the *suttee* originated."² The same critic has brought forward another feature of sati which has found favour with almost all writers on Indian history. "Although the ancient and barbarous custom which imposes the duty on widows of sacrificing themselves voluntarily on the funeral pyre of their husbands has not been expressly abolished, it is much more rare nowadays than formerly, especially in the southern parts of the peninsula."³ The above statement contains two divergent views which may be noted: that it was an ancient custom which imposed a *duty* on widows, and that the latter *voluntarily* sacrificed themselves on the funeral pyre.

Whatever may be the hideous turn which this rite took in the ages following the disappearance of the Empire of Vijayanagara, one could hardly be justified in viewing it as an insti-

¹ Cf. Iswari Prasad, *Med. Ind.* p. 437—"The practice of Sati was common, and the Brahmans freely commended this sort of self-immolation".

² Abbe Dubois, *Hindu Man. & Cust.* II., p. 361 (1897 ed.).

³ *Ibid.*, II, p. 359. See Max Muller's Preface to the same (Vol. I, p. viii) where it is said that in 1817 sati was less common in the south than in Bengal where 706 cases were reported. The following may be read on sati: Wilkins, *Modern Hinduism*, pp. 374-8, 381, 388; Max Muller, *Vedic Religion*, p. 32; Colebrooke in *As. Res.*, IV. p. 41, seq.; Mandelslo, *Travels*, Lib. I, p. 32 (Davies, 1669); Peter Mundy, *Travels*, II, pp. 34-6 (Hakluyt); Tavernier, *Travels*, P. II, Bk. III., p. 171 (1678 ed.); Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, I, pp.

tution of the mediaeval times from the reports of eyewitnesses and writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is necessary that we should record the evidence of foreign travellers and inscriptions to know the extent of its popularity under Vijayanagara.

B. *Description.*

Duarte Barbosa gives us a vivid picture of sati in the first half of the sixteenth century. He speaks of the three classes of people in the Hindu Empire, each with "a very distinct rule of its own", and while describing the "principal of these" to which "the King, the great Lords, the knights and fighting men" belonged, he says: "...their sons inherit their estates: the women are bound by very ancient custom, when their husbands die, to burn themselves alive with their corpses, which are also burnt. This they do to honour the husband. If such a woman is poor and of low estate, when her husband dies she goes with him to the burning ground, 'where there is a great pit' in which a pile of wood burns. When the husband's body has been laid therein, and begins to burn, she throws herself of her own free will into the midst of the said fire, where both their bodies are reduced to ashes. But if she is a woman of high rank, rich, and with distinguished kindred, whether she be a young maid or an old woman, when her husband dies she accompanies the aforesaid corpse of her husband to the aforesaid burning ground, bewailing him; and there they dig a round pit, very wide and deep, which they fill with wood (and a great quantity of sandal wood therewith), and when they have kindled it, they lay the man's body therein, and it is burnt while she weeps greatly. Wishing to do all honour to her husband she then causes all his kindred and her own to be called together, that they may come to feast and honour her thereby, all of whom gather together at the said field for this ceremony, where she spends with them and with her kindred

185 *seq.* (Rev. ed. 1896); Thomas Bowrey, *Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, p. 38; *Jahangir's India*—The *Remonstrantie* of Francisco Pelsaert pp. 78-90 (Trans. by Moreland—Geyl. 1925). A most recent contribution on the subject is by Mr. E. Thompson *Sattee* (London, 1928).

and friends all that she has in festivities with music and singing and dancing and banquets. Thereafter she attires herself very richly with all the jewels she possesses, and then distributes to her sons, relatives and friends all the property that remains. Thus arrayed she mounts on a horse, light grey or quite white if possible, that she may be the better seen of all the people. Mounted on this horse they lead her through the whole city with great rejoicings, until they come back to the very spot where the husband has been burnt, where, they cast a great quantity of wood into the pit itself and on its edge they make a great fire. When it has burnt up somewhat they erect a wooden scaffold with four or five steps where they take her up just as she is. When she is on the top she turns round thereon three times, worshipping towards the direction of sunrise, and this done, she calls her sons, kindred and friends, and to each gives a jewel, whereof she has many with her, and in the same way every piece of her clothing until nothing is left except a small piece of cloth with which she is clothed from the waist down. All this she does and says so firmly, and with such a cheerful countenance, that she seems not about to die. Then she tells the men who are with her on the scaffold to consider what they owe to their wives who, being free to act, yet burn themselves alive for the love of them, and the women she tells to see how much they owe to their husbands, to such a degree as to go with them even to death. Then she ceases speaking, and they place in her hands a pitcher, full of oil, and she puts it on her head, and with it she again turns round thrice on the scaffold and again worships towards the rising sun. Then she casts the pitcher of oil into the fire and throws herself after it with as much good will as if she were throwing herself on a little cotton, from which she could receive no hurt. The kinsfolk all take part at once and cast into the fire many pitchers of oil and butter with which they hold ready for this purpose, and much wood on this, and therewith bursts out such a flame that no more can be seen. The ashes that remain after these ceremonies are thrown into running streams. All this they do in

general without any hindrance ; as it is the custom of all. They who do not so, they hold in great dishonour, and their kindred shave their heads and turn them away as disgraced and a shame to their families...This abominable practice of burning is so customary, and is held in such honour among them, that when the King dies, four or five hundred women burn themselves with him in this way, for which they make the pit and the fire to such a size that they can hold any number who may wish to throw themselves in ; and for this too they keep ready great store of sanders-wood, eagle-wood, brazil-wood, and also of gingelly oil and butter to make the fire burn better. Some of these women throw themselves in suddenly while the king is burning, others with the ceremonies I have just described, and such is the rush as to who shall be burnt with him that it is a frightful thing ".¹

Before we proceed with the accounts of other foreign travellers, we may estimate the value of Duarte Barbosa's narrative on the strength of his own evidence. His description is so realistic that one may accept it as genuine but for the fact that it contains certain inconsistencies. In one place he says that it was a very ancient custom which compelled the women to perform sati : "the women are bound by very ancient custom, when their husbands die, to burn themselves alive with their corpses which are also burnt"; and then he presently adds, "she throws herself of her own free will into the midst of the said fire ", suggesting thereby that there was some element of option that was allowed to the unfortunate women of the times. This latter idea is strengthened by Barbosa's other statement that "she does and says so firmly, and with such a cheerful countenance, that she seems not about to die". Evidently the women of Vijayanagara, victims as they were of an age-long orthodoxy and priest-craft, could put death to shame by assuming a cheerful countenance on such an awful

¹ *Barbosa*, Dames, I, pp. 212-16; Stanley, pp. 91-3. Nicolo dei Conti in the first half of the fifteenth century, also gives an account of sati. Major, *India*, pp. 6, 24. It "probably also refers to Vijayanagar, although it is not expressly mentioned". Dames, *ibid.*, p. 213, n (1).

occasion. This is, however, a point on which there may be a plurality of opinion. But Barbosa contradicts himself in his assertions. In one passage he tells us that sati was confined to the caste to which the King, the great lords, the knights and fighting men belonged; but at the end of his description he asserts that "it is the custom of all". As related elsewhere, the king, the lords, the fighting men and the knights of Vijayanagara never belonged to one class.¹ Moreover Barbosa assures us that this custom did not prevail among the Brahmans and the Jaṅgamas or Liṅgāyats, nor among the Cheṭṭis.² Consequently, it could not have been the custom of all.

There is one more consideration against Barbosa. From his description of the sati performed by the wives and queens of the Vijayanagara king, it appears that he witnessed personally one of those sad events. For he gives us the number of women who died with the king—four or five hundred; he speaks of the ~~great~~ pit and huge fire that was lit in it; and he says that "Some of these women throw themselves in suddenly while the king is burning, others with the ceremonies I have just described, and such is the rush as to who shall be burnt with him that it is a frightful thing". Now, we may be permitted to repeat one or two statements we made while describing the country in general. Duarte Barbosa "was in the service of the Portuguese Government in India from about 1500 till about 1516 or 1517".³ He gives us no date in his own writings,⁴ and it is difficult, if not impossible, to find out when he was in Vijayanagara. We know that his book was completed in A.D. 1517-18.⁵ Between the years when he is said to have visited

¹ Cf. Dames, "The three classes into which Barbosa divides the Hindus do not correspond with the actual caste division, but are such as would be likely to strike an observer from Europe, viz, the King and nobility, secondly, the Brahmans and thirdly the members of the Liṅgāyat sect, which was very important at Vijayanagar." Barbosa, I, p. 212, n. (3).

² Barbosa, II, p. 73, op. cit.

³ Dames, Barbosa, I, Intr. *ibid*, p. xxxiii. See *ante* Volume I., Chapter II., p. 43.

⁴ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 128 n, (1).

⁵ Dames, *ibid*, I, p. xlv. According to Barbosa's own Preface as given in Stanley, he finished writing his book in A.D. 1516. Preface Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 128, n. (1).

India, two Vijayanagara monarchs had died—Sāluva Nṛsiṃha (A.D. 1496-1506) and Vīra Narasiṃha (A.D. 1504-9). The fact that Barbosa has not a word to say about either of these monarchs suggests that he may not have visited Vijayanagara till after the death of Vīra Narasiṃha in A.D. 1509. This supposition of ours is borne out by the statement of Barbosa about the wars which the ruler of Vijayanagara waged against the neighbouring states. "This king of Narsyngua is oftentimes at war with the King of Daquem and the King of Otisa (who is another Heathen king), which is also situated in the interior; and all these do one another all the injury they can".¹ The rulers referred to here are, of course, the Muhammadan Sultans of the Deccan and the king of Orissa. Fragmentary as the evidence for the reign of Sāluva Nṛsiṃha is, we may admit that that powerful king may have been at war with the "King of Daquen and the King of Otisa", especially when we know that shortly after A. D. 1489 in order to aid Qāsim Barid of Ahmadabad against Yusūf Ādil Khān of Bijapur, he seized the two important strongholds of Mudkul and Raichur.² Further, Rājanātha Diṇḍima in his *Sāluvābhyaṇḍayam* informs us that Sāluva Nṛsiṃha marched against Kaṭiṅga, besieged the capital, and compelled its ruler to surrender. Then, again, the same writer tells us that the Vijayanagara ruler at the instance of a chief who is called Kuṭavāchalēndrataṭavāsin, invaded Nāga-maṇḍala, stationed a garrison there, and while desiring to conquer Pṛithugiri, he was attacked by a Muhammadan army. He won a complete victory over the Muhammadans and justified his titles *Dharaṇīvarāha* and *Sāluvēndra*.³ According to Rājanātha Diṇḍima, who was the court poet of Sāluva Nṛsiṃha, the latter undertook his expedition against Kaṭiṅga soon after his coronation.⁴ We know that Sāluva Nṛsiṃha came to the throne in A.D. 1496. We may allow two or three years

¹ *Barbosa, Dames, I., pp. 223-4.*

² *Sewell, For. Emp., p. 113.*

³ *Sāluvābhyaṇḍayam, The Sources, pp. 91, 94, 98.*

⁴ *Ibid., pp. 93-4.*

for this campaign, and place the event in A. D. 1498 or 1499. Barbosa could never have been in the Hindu capital while the ruler undertook a war against the "King of Otisa", for the earliest date given to Barbosa is, as related above, A.D. 1500. There is one more point which we may note in this connection. Rājānātha, in spite of the fact that he describes the conventional tour of his royal master to Benares (Kāśī), does not mention anywhere the Sultans of the Deccan in the course of his narrative. These significant details make it impossible for one to believe that the ruler referred to by Barbosa could have been Sālūva Nṛsiṃha. As regards Vīra Narasiṃha, it is not impossible that affairs at the capital were too engrossing to allow him to think of extending his frontiers in the north. We come now to Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, who, as is well known, led his campaigns against the Sultans of the Deccan and the king of Orissa. The ruler mentioned by Barbosa has, therefore, rightly been identified with Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya.¹ This monarch ruled from A. D. 1509 to 1529.² We conclude, therefore, that Barbosa could not have any opportunity of witnessing the death of a Vijayanagara king who waged wars against the "King of Daquen and the King of Otisa"—in or about A. D. 1509 or A. D. 1514.³

This rather lengthy digression into the veracity of the account of Barbosa helps us to understand the narrative of Fernao Nuniz. "This kingdom of Bisanaga is all heathen. The women have the custom of burning themselves when their husbands die, and hold it an honour to do so. When their husbands die they mourn with their relations and those of their husbands, but they hold that the wife who weeps beyond measure has no desire to go in search of her husband; and the

¹ *Barbosa*, Dames, I, p. 223, n. (1).

² *Rice, My. and Coorg*, p. 118.

³ *Barbosa* left India in A.D. 1516. or 1517 *Dames*, I, p. 223, n. (1) *op. cit.* Stanley says that Barbosa was an eye-witness: "Though Suttee has been so often described, the account of it in these possess much interest and novelty, probably from having been written by an eye-witness, before that institution was disturbed by European influence". Preface, pp. x-xi.

mourning finished their relations speak to them, advising them to burn themselves and not to dishonour their generations. After that, it is said, they place the dead man on a bed with a canopy of branches and covered with flowers, and they put the woman on the back of a worthless horse,¹ and she goes after them with many jewels on her, and covered with roses; she carries a mirror in her hand and in the other a branch of flowers, and (she goes accompanied by) many kinds of music, and his relations (go with her) with much pleasure. A man goes also playing on a small drum, and he sings songs to her telling her that she is going to join her husband, and she answers also in singing that so she will do. As soon as she arrives at the place where they are always burned she waits with the musicians till her husband is burned, whose body they place in a very large pit that has been made ready for it, covered with much firewood. Before they light the fire his mother or his nearest relative takes a vessel of water on the head and a firebrand in the hand, and goes three times round the pit, and at each round makes a hole in the pot; and when these three rounds are done breaks the pot, which is small, and throws the torch into the pit. Then they apply the fire, and when the body is burned comes the wife with all the feasters and washes her feet, and then a Brahman performs over her certain ceremonies according to their law; and when he has finished doing this, she draws off with her own hand all the jewels that she wears, and divides them among her female relatives, and if she has sons she commends them to her most honoured relatives. When they have taken off all she has on, even her good clothes, they put on her some common yellow cloths, and her relatives take her hand and she takes a branch in the other, and goes singing and running to the pit where the fire is, and then mounts on some steps which are made high up by the pit. Before they do this they go three times round the fire, and then she mounts the steps and holds in front of her a mat that prevents her from seeing the fire. They

¹ Read a note on this by Dames, *Barbosa*, I, p. 214, n. (1).

throw into the fire a cloth containing rice, and another in which they carry betel leaves, and her comb and mirror with which she adorned herself, saying that all these are needed to adorn herself by her husband's side. Finally she takes leave of all, and puts a pot of oil on her head, and casts herself into the fire with such courage that it is a thing of wonder ; and as soon as she throws herself in, the relatives are ready with fire-wood and quickly cover her with it, and after this is done, they all raise loud lamentations. When a captain dies, however many wives he has they all burn themselves, and when the King dies they do the same."¹

There is another eye-witness who has left to us an account of sati. Caesar Frederick (A. D. 1567) writes thus : " And in the time I rested there (Vijayanagara City) I saw many strange and beastly deeds done by the Gentiles. First, when there is any noble man or woman dead, they burne their bodies : and if a married man or woman die, his wife must burne herself alive, for the love of her husband, and with the body of her husband : so that when any man dyeth, his wife will take a month's leave, two or three, or as shee will, to burne herself in, and that day being come, wherein she ought to be burnt, that morning she goeth out of her house very earely, either on Horseback or an Elephant, or else is borne by eight men on a small stage : in one of these orders shee goeth, being appa-
 led like to a Bride, carried round about the Citie, with her hair down about her shoulders, garnished with Jewels and Flowers, according to the estate of the party, and they go with as great

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 391-3. As regards the account of Nuniz, the following might be observed : " It (i.e. Barbosa's narrative) may be compared with the similar description given by Fernão Nuniz which agrees with it in so many details as to make it probable that Nuniz had seen a manuscript of Barbosa's work". Dames, *Barbosa*, I, p. 213, n. (1). But the difference between the two accounts is in the following : Barbosa speaks of a light grey or quite white horse ; Nuniz writes about a worthless horse. Barbosa makes a woman who is going to commit sati give a speech ; Nuniz is silent about it. Barbosa speaks of a pitcher full of oil ; Nuniz also mentions this detail but adds a mirror and flowers. Neither of these travellers has anything to say about the inexplicable lemon carried by a woman. But, as we shall see, a later traveller observed this detail. B.A.S.

joy as Brides doe in Venice to their Nuptials : she carrieth in her left hand a looking-glasse, and in her right-hand an arrow, and singeth through the Citie as she passeth, and saith, that she goeth to sleepe with her deere spouse and husband. She is accompanied with her kindred and friends untill it be one or two of the clocke in the afternoone, then they goe out of the Citie, and going along the Rivers side called Nigondin (Ānegunḍi), which runneth under the walls of the Citie, untill they come unto a place where they use to make this burning of Women, being widdowes, there is prepared in this place a great square Cave, with a little pinnacle hard by it, foure or five steps up : the aforesaid Cave is full of dried wood. The woman being come thither, accompanied with a great number of people which come to see the thing, then they make ready a great banquet, and she that shall be burned eateth with as great joy and gladnesse, as though it were her Wedding day: and the feast being ended, then they goe to dancing and singing a certaine time, according as she will. After this, the woman of her own accord, commandeth them to make the fire in the square Cave where the drie wood is, and when it is kindled, they come and certifie her thereof, then presently she leaveth the feast, and taketh nearest kinsman of her husband by the hand, and they both goe together to the banks of the aforesaid River, where she putteth off all her jewels and all her clothes, and giveth them to her parents or kinsfolke, and covering herself with a cloth, because shee will not bee seene of the people being naked, she throweth herselfe into the River, saying: O wretches, wash away your sinnes. Comming out of the water, she rowleth herselfe into a yellow cloth of fourteen braces long : and againe she taketh her husbands kinsman by the hand, and they goe both together tp to the pinnacle of the square Cave, where the fire is made. When shee is on the pinnacle, she talketh and reasoneth with the people, recommending unto them her children and kindred. Before the pinnacle they use to set a Mat, because they shall not see the fierceness of the fire, yet there are many that will have them plucked away, shewing therein an heart not fearfull, and that they are not affraid of

that sight. When this silly woman has reasoneth with the people a good while to her content there is another woman that taketh¹ a pot with oyle, and sprinkleth it over her head, and with the same shee annointeth all her body, and afterwards throweth the pot into the fornace, and both the woman and the pot goe together into the fire, and presently the people that are round about the fornace throw after her into the cave great pieces of wood, so by this meanes, with the fire and with the blowes that shee hath with the wood throwen after her, she is quickly dead, and after this there groweth such sorrow and such lamentation among the people, that all their mirth is turned into howling and weeping, in such wise, that a man should scarce beare the hearing of it. I have seene many burnt in this manner, because my house was neere to the gate where they goe out at the place of burning : and when there dyeth any Great Man, his wife with all his slaves with whom hee hath had carnall copulation, burne themselves together with him".¹

John Huighen Van Linschoten in A. D. 1583 wrote thus : " When the Bramenes die, all their friends assemble together, and make a hole in the ground, wherein they throwe much wood and other things : and if the man bee of any great account, they cast in sweet Sanders, and other Spices, with Rice, Corne, and such like, and much Oyle, because the fire should burn stronger. Which done, they lay the dead Bramenes in it : then commeth his wife with musike and many of her neerest friends all singing certaine praises in commendation of her husbands life, putting her in comfort, and encouraging her to follow her husband, and goe with him into the other world. Then shee taketh all her Jewels, and parteth them among her friends, and so with a cheerfull countenance, she leapeth into the fire, and is presently covered with Wood and Oyle : so shee is quickly dead, and with her Husbands body burned to ashes..."²

¹ Caesar Frederick, *Purchas, Pilgrims*, X, pp. 94-6.

² Linschoten, *Purchas, ibid.*, pp. 256-7, Cf. Metthwold, who gives a singular reason why sati was in fashion in India. "It is amongst these Indians a received history that there was a time when wives were

Barradas narrates the events that happened in A. D. 1614 on the death of Veṅkaṭapati Rāya I : " Three days later the King died at the age of sixty-seven years. His body was burned in his own garden with sweet scented woods, sandals, aloes, and such like ; and immediately afterwards three queens burned themselves, one of whom was of the same age as the King, and the other two aged thirty-five years. They showed great courage. They went forth richly dressed with many jewels and gold ornaments and precious stones, and arriving at the funeral pyre they divided these, giving some to their relatives, some to the Brahmans to offer prayers for them, and throwing some to be scrambled for by the people. Then they took leave of all, mounted on to a lofty place, and threw themselves into the middle of the fire, which was very great. Thus they passed into eternity ".¹ Floris confirms him in his statement that the three queens of Veṅkaṭapati committed sati. Floris writes thus : " On the five and twentieth came the newes of the death of Wencatadraba King of Velur, after his fiftie yeares raigne, and that this three wives (of whom Obyama Queene of Paleocatte was one) had burned themselves quickly with the Corps " ².

Pietro della Valle is the only traveller who mentions the lemon held by a woman ready to die. He speaks of the affairs at Ikkēri in A. D. 1623. " As we return'd home at night we met a Woman in the City of *Ikkeri*, who, her husband being dead, was resolv'd to burn herself, as 'tis the custom with many Indian Women. She rode on Horse-back about the City with face uncover'd, holding a Looking-glass in one hand and a Lemon in the other, I know not for what purpose ; and

generally so luxurious (immoral) that, to make way for their friends, they would poyson their husbands ; which to prevent a law was made that, the husbands dead, the wives should accompany them in the same fire, and this law stands yet in force in the Iland of Baly not far from Java ". *Relations of Golconda*, p. 28. Metthwold gives us a detailed description of sati, pp. 28-9. This explanation savours much of the Portuguese profligacy spoken of elsewhere in this treatise, and whatever may be the truth as regards its antiquity in other lands (see Thompson, *Suttee*, p. 44), it is not applicable to India. B.A.S.

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 224.

² Floris, *Purchas, Pilgrims*, III., p. 338.

beholding herself in the Glass, with a lamentable tone sufficiently piteous to hear, went along I know not whither, speaking or singing, certain words which I understood not ; but they told me they were a kind of Farewell to the World and herself ; and indeed, being uttered with that passionateness which the Case requir'd and might produce they mov'd pity in all that heard them, even in us who understood not the Language. She was follow'd by many other Women and Men on foot, who, perhaps, were her Relations ; they carry'd a great Umbrella over her, as all Persons of quality in *India* are wont to have, thereby to keep off the Sun, whose heat is hurtful and troublesome. Before her certain Drums were sounded, whose noise she never ceas'd to accompany with her sad Ditties, or Songs ; yet with a calm and constant Countenance, without tears, evidencing more grief for her Husband's death than her own, and more desire to go with him in the other world than regret for her own departure out of this : a custom, indeed, cruel and barbarous, but withall of great generosity and virtue in such Women and therefore worthy of no small praise. They said she was to pass in the manner about the City I know not how many dayes, at the end of which she was to go out of the City and be burnt, with more company and solemnity. If I can know when it will be I will not fail to go to see her and by my presence honor her Funeral with that compassionate affection with such great Conjugal Fidelity and Love seem to me to deserve".¹ Pietro della Valle's opinion about sati is in striking contrast to that expressed by the other foreign travellers. His judgment is more balanced and interesting than that of the eye-witnesses of *sahagamana* of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

C. *Sati in Pre-Vijayanagara Times*

There are some historical notices of sati in early times. A non-sectarian inscription dated A. D. 510-511 narrates that a chieftain or nobleman called Gōparāja, in the company of a

¹ Pietro della Valle, *Travels*, II, pp. 266-7. Grey has had some remarks to make about the lemon. *Ibid*, p. 266, n. (1).

powerful king named Bhānu Gupta, came to the place where a pillar was set up, and fought a battle. Gōparāja was killed in the fight and his wife accompanied him by cremating herself on his funeral pyre.¹ In the pathetic farewell speech of the Queen Rājyavati, the widow of king Dharma Dēva of Nepāl, as recorded in an inscription dated Samvat 386 (about A. D. 705), we have the following : " As thy father is now dead, why preserve my useless life ! Reign then, dear son ; today, even, I follow my husband on his road. Of what use are the fetters of hope that are lengthened for enjoyment, and that bind me to a widowed life in a world similar to a lying dream. I will depart ". The same epigraph however narrates that when her son dissuaded her with tears in his eyes, " then together with her virtuous son she performed the last rites for her own husband ".²

In southern India sati was not unknown in early times. " The practice of honouring and even worshipping women who committed sati appears to have been very old in southern India. Kannagi, the heroine of the Tamil poem *Śilappadigāram*, died on hearing of the unjust death inflicted upon her husband by the Pāṇḍyan king of Madura. She was thenceforth worshipped in shrines built for her throughout southern India and Ceylon. In the latter island she is known as Pattini and is very popular. The mother of Rājarāja I is stated to have committed sati and in consequence of this act, evidently an image of her was set up in the temple of Tanjore. Perantamma, a woman who committed sati, is equally reputed in the Telugu districts ".³

The instance of the wife of a Śūdra, given in a record dated Śaka 979 (A. D. 1057) is more an example of self-immolation.

¹ Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, p. 92.

² Bhagavanlal Indraji, *I. A.*, IX, pp. 165-6, Fleet, *ibid.*, III, p. 92, n. (2). With the evidence of these two epigraphs, we may reject the statement (made by Wilkins, *Mod Hind.*, p. 380) that the example of 'Sanjōgata' (daughter of Jāyachand of Kanouj), who performed sati in A. D. 1176 is the earliest authentic account we have of *sahagamana*.

³ Krishna Sastri, *South Indian Gods*, p. 229.

lation rather than sati.¹ But in the same year we have a remarkable case of sati in the Kaṇṇāṭaka. It is that of Dēkabbe, the wife of the ruler of Navile-nāḍ, Ēcha of Pervvayal. The epigraph composed by the poet Malla, son of Āditya, tells us the following story about her: "To the virtuous (with all praise) the jewel of women, Ponnabbe, and to Raviga, was born Dēkabbe, who was given in marriage to Ēcha of Pervvayal, the ruler of Navile-nāḍ, of the Kuruvanda family...While, famous as a wrestler, a mill in grinding his enemies, he (i.e., Ēcha) was thus living happily, having thrown and in the crush killed his (i.e. ? Rājendra Choḷa's) kinsman, the king (i.e., Rājendra Choḷa) had him taken off straight to Talekāḍ and put to death. On hearing the report that they had put to death the Vēḷa of the Kali age, brave and generous,—that beautiful one the light of Raviga's family went forth to the fire-pit to die.

"Her father and mother together, and all her relations, coming, besought her, saying, 'Daughter, do not die',—and all falling down, embraced her feet. But the innocent Dēkabbe, becoming angry, exclaiming said, 'Being praised as the daughter of Raviga, the ruler of Nugu-nāḍ, and the wife of the ruler of Navile-nāḍ, can I have any mind to live, and disgrace the good name of his house who gave me (in marriage) and of his who took me (in marriage)?'

"Having thus made her decision, she presented to the god a garden to provide for a perpetual lamp, and saying it was for the offerings, that lotus-eyed one, with reverence, also presented certain other land (described). On all united again and again saying, 'Dont (do it): stop—' she said— 'Be silent: I will not stop', and with kindly words giving away (her) land, gold-

¹ Kittel, *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 215. Note the clause used against Brahmans in v. 23, p. 219. An undated and defaced inscription written in archaic characters records an instance of sati in the times of a Mahābali Bānarasa. 555 of 1906. These examples of sati in the south invalidate the bold statements of Elphinstone (*History of India*, p. 190) and of Grey (*Travels of Pietro della Valle*, II, p., 266, n. 1) that "the practice never occurs south of the river Kistna (or Krishnā)", and that "cases of widow-burning in Southern India are not common". These assertions are applicable to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries but not to the earlier times. B.A.S.

embroidered cloths, cows and money, and folding her hands with love to the god of gods, she entered the blazing flames, Deākkabbe, winning the approval of all the world and the daily celebration of her praise and went to the world of gods."¹

This detailed account of Dēkkabbe's daring is necessary if we are to understand that sati was by no means a compulsory custom in the ancient times. Dēkkabbe, who is called in the same inscription "the celebrated mine of heroism", was not the only one who could enter the funeral pyre of her husband. Śākka-gāmuṇḍa's (son) Śīṇja-gāmuṇḍa, evidently of Rājendra-Śōla-vaṇanāḍu of Śōlamaṇḍalam, pierced a tiger in A. D. 1118 and died. Thereupon his wife Śikkavai, daughter of Vaśava-gāmuṇḍa, entered the fire.² On Sundara Chōḷa *alias* Parāntaka II's death, his queen Vānavan Mahādēvī entered into *sahagamana*.³ In the siege of Jambūr in A. D. 1191, Bīraṇa "fell upon him (*i.e.*, Ekkalarasa of Uddare), pierced his horse, seized his money and slaying him, went to *svarga*. His wife Biyavve, when setting this stone, died along with him and took *svarga* by force".⁴

Sometimes, the woman who committed sati explained the motive of her action. An undated inscription, which probably belongs to the reign of Vīra Rājendra Chōḷa Dēva, registers a decision made by a woman before committing sati. She says that if she lived after her husband, she would become the slave of his co-wives. Whoever said she ought not to die, would incur the sin of prostituting his wife. If she did not die, those who did not bind her and throw her into the fire and kill her would incur the sin of prostituting their wives.⁵

This compulsory levy on the cruelty of man was not, however, the order of the day. Women committed sati on the

¹ E. C., IV., Hg. 18, p. 69: *Kavicharite*, I, p. 78 (Rev.ed.)

² E. C., IX, Kn. 12, p. 122.

³ *Ep. Report* for 1906, p. 50.

⁴ E. C., VII, Sk. 38, p. 46.

⁵ 156 of 1906, *Ep. Report* for 1907, p. 77. Vīra-rājendra Śōla Dēva was a name of the Chōḷa king Kulōtuṅga III, and also of Rājārāja III. *Ep. Report* for 1907, p. 76.

death of their husbands in a fight or in war. In A. D. 1287 Kūdali was entered, the cows captured and Beṇṇavali-Janne-guru's village ruined. Then Bommarasa of Hosaguṇḍa, "stopped the riot, fought and slew and went to *svarga*". His wife, whose name is effaced in the record, "gave arm and hand and went to *svarga*".¹ On the death of Babbeya Nāyaka's son the *Mahāsāmanta Birudara-gōva*, Mahādēva Nāyaka, in the reign of Ballāḷa II, his wife Bibove Nāykitti ascended the funeral pyre (*bovviḷige*) of her husband and became a sati.²

D. Sati in Vijayanagara

Karṇāṭaka and Tamil tradition, therefore, had sanctified the brutal custom long before Vijayanagara was founded. The instances enumerated above, which are not exhaustive, when taken in conjunction with the following relating to Vijayanagara enable us to deduce some conclusions as regards the occasion when women performed *sahagamana* and the communities which were addicted to this cruel rite. One of the earliest examples of sati in Vijayanagara times is that recorded in an epigraph dated A. D. 1354. In the reign of Hariyappa Oḍeyar, Mala Gauḍa went to *svarga* and his wife Chennakkā performed *sahagamana* and also went to *svarga*.³ In A. D. 1376 in the reign of Bukka Rāya, Āvali Chanda Gauḍa's son Bēchi Gauḍa went to *svarga*. His junior wife Muddi Gauṇḍi performed *sahagamana* and both obtained *mukti*.⁴ Nuṅka Gauḍa died in A.D. 1383 and his queen (*arasi*) Dēmāyi entered the fire⁵. In the reign of Harihara II, in A.D. 1386, a *mahāsati kallu*, or stone commemorating a great sati, records the death of Bommakkā, wife of Malayandūr Bēḍabira who died fighting in a battle.⁶ On the death of the match-lockman Dēveya

¹ E. C., VII., Sh. 61-2, pp. 23-24.

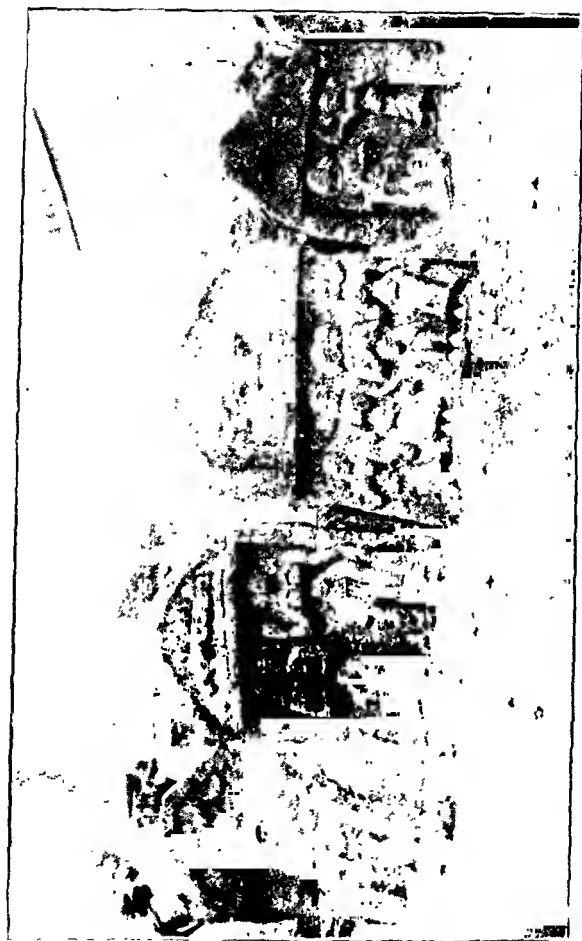
² My. Arch. Report for 1914-15, p. 53.

³ E. C., VIII., Sb. 104, p. 15.

⁴ Ibid., Sb. 106, p. 16.

⁵ E. C., XI, Dg. 117, p. 73.

⁶ My. Arch. Report for 1923, p. 90.



Sati memorial Stones.

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Nāyaka, who was, as we saw, bitten by a snake in A.D. 1388, his wife Muddana Kēti became a great sati and went to Vairakunṭha¹. Hiriyā Gauḍa, in A. D. 1397, "in the presence of the god Kēśava, at the southern door of the Harihara temple, at ten *gha*. after sunset, went to *svarga*. His queen (*arasi*) Lakshumāyi entered the fire and went to the world of gods."² The wife of Chokka Gauḍa went to *svarga* with her husband in A.D. 1391.³ Āvali Gōpa Gavunḍa's workman (*besemage*) Baichi Nāyaka's son Rāya went to *svarga* in A.D. 1393, on which his wife performed *sahagamana*.⁴ Būja Gauḍa, son of Bōḷa Gauḍa of Saṇḍa, the chief place of Nevalige-nāḍ in the Āraga Eighteen Kampana, died and his wife Tyāya (?) performed *sahagamana*.⁵ A dependent of Nallā Chakravarti named Bommanṇa died in A.D. 1402, and his wife Nāgāyi died with him.⁶ About A.D. 1403 the Mande-Gāmuṇḍa Sōya's son Vira-Nara (died), and Urivāna Bomma Nāyaka's daughter Kāla Dēvī performed *sahagamana*.⁷ Nārappa Nāyaka, son of Bommeya Nāyaka of the Durgga boundary, died, as related elsewhere, in A.D. 1410, at his post; and his wife Bommakkā become a great sati.⁸ In the same year Masanakkā, wife of Bīrūr Bomma Gauḍa's son Mādappa, performed *sahagamana* on the death of her husband.⁹ In the next year A.D. 1411 Ami Gauḍi went to *svarga* along with her husband Manavane Viṭharaka.¹⁰ The Lord of Ships, Maṅgaḷūr Nāga Gauḍa's son Śeṭṭi Gauḍa, who has already figured in these pages, died in A.D. 1412, and his wife, whose name is effaced, entered the fire.¹¹ On the death of Bulikhara of Sahāḍlaya pura, his three wives "gave arm and hand" (*iḍu-*

¹ E. C., VIII, Sb. 483, p. 81, op. cit.

² E. C., XI, Dg. 116, p. 73.

³ E. C., VIII, Sb. 25, p. 5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Sb., 134, p. 17.

⁵ E. C., VII, Sk. 302, p. 152.

⁶ E. C., VIII, Sb., 155, p. 23.

⁷ E. C., VII, Hl. 92, p. 176.

⁸ E. C., VIII, Sb. 484, p. 81.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Sa. 8, p. 93.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Sb., 26, p. 5.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Sb., 467, p. 78, op. cit.

kayē), i.e., performed *sahagamana*, as related in an inscription dated A.D. 1417.¹ Rāma Gauḍa died in the same year under certain circumstances the nature of which cannot exactly be determined. The record, however, states that his wife Bomma Gauḍi, "uniting with Rāma Gauḍa, performed *sahagamana*, and Rāma Gauḍa and Bommaka took *svarga* by force."² Keḷadi Kariya Timme Gauḍa died in A.D. 1419, on which his wife Rāmakkā became a *mahā-sati*.³ Kumbāra Mahābala Dēva's son Bommandīra and his daughter-in-law Chandavve, "these two ascended *svarga*" in A.D. 1423⁴. Bayirava Gauḍa (son of Bīra Gauḍa, the *Mahāprabhu* of Heggōḍe belonging to the Kuppe Twelve of the Eḍe-nāḍ Seventy) in A.D. 1424 together with his wife gained Vaikuṇṭha.⁵ A certain person, whose name is effaced in the record dated A.D. 1425, died, "on which Kāmāyi became a *māsti*, (i.e., a *mahā-sati*) and by *sahagamana* gained *svarga*."⁶ Manavane Mādiga in A.D. 1429 went to *svarga* and his wife also went to *svarga*.⁷ An inscribed *mahāsati-kallu*, or as it is also known, a *māstikal*, dated A.D. 1430, found at Arunvanahalli, Malavalli tāluka, states that a woman named Māla... bbe, wife of Prabha Gavuḍa, went to the world of gods.⁸ Kumbati Rāṇaya Nāyaka "ended his life" in A.D. 1432, and his wife Chauḍa Nāyaki performed *sahagamana*.⁹ Hunavalli Vidarikari Bomma Nāyaka died in A.D. 1437, and his wife Kāmeya Nāyakiti became a *mahā-sati*.¹⁰ An inscription of about A.D. 1442 relates that Amma Gauḍa of Haraūr "with his wife Bayirava Gauḍi, departed in company (i.e., died together)."¹¹ Bommarasa Gauḍa (the son of Maleyamma Gauḍa, the Master of the twelve

¹ E. C., III, Md. 103 p. 49.

² E. C., VII, Sk. 37, p. 46.

³ E. C., VIII, Sa. 35, p. 97.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Sb. 461, p. 78.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Sb. 565, p. 90.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Nr. 25, p. 131.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Sb. 24, p. 5.

⁸ *My. Arch. Report* for 1920, p. 42.

⁹ E. C., VIII, Sb. 497, p. 83.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Sb. 533, p. 88.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Sb. 163, p. 23.

villages belonging to Kuppe), died in A.D. 1445. "And his wife, a head-jewel of the young women in all the circle of the world, with great desire performed *sahagamana*, and they were united to the feet of Śiva."¹ Bhayirava Gauḍa, son of Rāma Gauḍa of Hārika, died in about A.D. 1445. His wife Bhayiri Gauḍi "united with him performed *sahagamana*."² In A.D. 1451 Heggōḍe Tamma Śeṭṭi together with his wife Bomma Gauḍi, gained the world of gods³. Rāma Gauḍa, son of Śīrūru Gauḍa, fell fighting during a siege in A.D. 1454, "on which together with his wife Chiya Gauḍi, they made *sahagamana*."⁴ Māra-vatūr Gaṇapa Gauḍa's son Bomma Gauḍa died in A.D. 1455, and his wife Bommi Gauḍi performed *sahagamana*.⁵

E. Some Conclusions as regards Sati

The above instances of *sahagamana* help us to solve certain aspects of the question of sati. In most instances, if one may venture to say so, at least in the mediaeval history of southern India, the death of the husband in a fight, a siege, a cow-raid, a riot or for a cause which, according to the notions of the times, called forth their courage and endurance, their wives committed sati. More interesting than the occasion when they performed sati is the question of the classes amongst whom this custom was most popular. According to the inscriptions it was the Gauḍas, and in some instances, the Nāyakas, who were given to this rite. The Gauḍas included persons of rank as the name of *Gauḍa-arasa* and *Gauḍa-arasi* clearly indicate. Our assumption that sati was restricted to one or two classes is to some extent corroborated by the evidence of foreign travellers. But here again, as we shall relate in connection with orthodoxy in Vijayanagara, there seems to be some confusion among foreign witnesses as regards the name of the people who committed sati and similar rites. We shall revert to this subject later on.

¹ E. C., VIII, Sb. 495, p. 83.

² E. C., VII, Sk. 36, p. 46.

³ E. C., VIII, Sb. 566, p. 90.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Sa. 48, p. 99.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Sa. 50, p. 99.

We now come to the question whether sati was compulsory according to the Hindu lawgivers. On this point, we believe, there cannot be any difference of opinion: the classical canonists never sanctioned compulsory *sahagamana*. Thus Manu, whose well known dictum as regards the dependence of women we shall presently cite, says: "...Him to whom her father may give her, or her brother with the father's permission, she shall obey as long as he lives, and when he is dead, she must not insult (his memory)...At her pleasure let her emaciate her body by (living on) pure flowers, roots, and fruits; but she must never even mention the name of another man after her husband has died...A virtuous wife who after the death of her husband constantly remains chaste, reaches heaven, though she have no son, just like those chaste men."¹ Manu, therefore, makes provision for a pure and simple life of a widow but not for her death on the funeral pyre of her husband.

Kauṭilya's regulations are more detailed in this connection. He lays down minute rules for the re-marriage of widows within their own *gōtra*. This applies to the wives of those who belong to the Śūdra, Vaiśya, Kshatriya, and Brahman castes.² There is, of course, consensus of opinion among the classical canonists on this subject.³

According to the Hindu legists, *sahagamana* is optional. Thus says Viṣṇu: "After the death of her husband, to preserve her chastity or to ascend the pile after him...A good wife, who perseveres in a chaste life after the death of her husband, will go to heaven, like (perpetual) students, even though she has no son."⁴ Bṛihaspati says: "A wife is considered half the body (of her husband), equally sharing the result of his good or wicked deeds; whether she ascends the pile after him, or chooses to survive him leading a virtuous life, she promotes

¹ *Manu*, V., I., 151, 157, 160, pp. 195-7.

² *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. III, Ch. IV., 159, pp. 195-6.

³ *Manu*, IX, 75-6, pp. 340-1; *Gautama*; XVIII, 15-20, p. 272; *Vaśishtha*, XVII, 55-64, pp. 89-90, 74-80, pp. 92-3; *Nārada*, XII, 97-100, pp. 184-5.

⁴ *Viṣṇu*, XXV, 14, 17, p. 111,

the welfare of her husband."¹ The freedom given to the widow in the mediaeval code of Śukra is thus stated: "When the husband is dead, the chaste women should accompany him or observe the vow, should not like to go to other's houses, and should always maintain *brahmacharyya* or control of passions, should give up the daily ornamentation of self."²

One cannot determine how, in spite of a fair degree of freedom allowed by the lawgivers, *sahagamana* rose to the status of a social institution. That it was not always compulsory seems evident from the remarks of some of the foreign travellers whose evidence we have cited above. Even according to Barbosa the women, who wore a cheerful countenance on the awful occasion, made public the fact that, although they were "free to act", yet they burned themselves for the love they bore to their husbands. In pre-Vijayanagara times too, as Friar Jordanus, who visited India between A.D. 1321-3 tells us in the following passage, it may not have been compulsory. According to this eye-witness, who speaks of "Lesser India",—"In this India, on the death of a noble, or of any people of substance, their bodies are burned: and eke their wives follow them alive to the fire, and, for the sake of worldly glory, and for the love of their husbands, and for eternal life, burn along with them, with as much joy as if they were going to be wedded; and those who do this have the higher repute for virtue and perfection among the rest. Wonderful I have sometimes seen, for one dead man who was burnt, five living women take their places on the fire with him, and die with their dead".³ If it is permissible to suppose that coercion may not have brought to bear on unfortunate women on all occasions, then, the concluding lines of the epigraph, dated A. D. 1445, already cited, recording the death of Bomma

¹ *Bṛhaspati*, XXIV, 11, p. 369. Read Jolly's comment on *ibid.*, n. See also *ibid.*, XXIV, 8, p. 368.

² *Śukraniti*, IV, iv., 11, 57-9, p. 163.

³ Jordanus, *Mirabilia Descripta*, Preface, p.v., pp. 20-1. Cf. With the account of Ibn Baṭṭa, *Travels*, p. 109 (Lee).

Gauḍa, may not be altogether incredible. His wife, the inscription relates, "with great desire (she) performed *sahagamana*".¹

We have yet to find out the probable causes which brought sati to the limelight of south Indian history. We admit that the following assumptions are merely suggestions. In the first place, we have to note a singular precedent set by the members of the royal families of Vijayanagara. It was the custom according to which queens committed sati. Nuniz relates the following: "Then he (Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya) took a ring from his finger and gave it to one of his pages, so that he might show it to his queens in token of his death, that they might burn themselves according to custom".² It is not difficult to imagine that on the failure of a campaign, the queens and women-folk should have performed *sahagamana* to escape dishonour at the hands of the Muhammadans. The king in mediaeval times stood as the embodiment of all that was great and virtuous; and the example of the queens was bound to have a profound effect on the minds of the women of Vijayanagara. This may account for the prevalence of the rite in the capital as well as in the provinces where, as related by Muhammad Sharif Hanafī in his *Majālisu-s Salātin*, on the death of a ruler called "Kaner Rai" in A.D. 1628, his 700 wives performed *sahagamana*.³

Another cause which may have made sati popular was the idea of self-sacrifice which prompted men to lay down their lives for the sake of their rulers. We shall mention this subject in connection with patriotism. Barbosa also bears testimony to the remarkable spirit of loyalty which prevailed on those days. "So great is the haste of those who wish to burn themselves first, that it is something wonderful, and many men, confidants of the king, burn themselves with him".⁴

¹ E. C., VIII, Sb. 495, p. 83, op. cit.

² Sewell, *For, Emp.*, p. 339. The Queens of Vijayanagara at least on one memorable occasion, accompanied the ruler on his campaigns. B. A. S.

³ Elliot, *Hist. of India*, VII, p. 139; Satyanatha, *The Nayaks*, p. 257. Does the name Kaner Rai stand for the Nāyaka of Madura? B.A.S.

⁴ Barbosa, Stanley, p. 93; I., Dames, pp. 216-17.

There may be another reason why sati was very common in Vijayanagara. The rite seems to have been popular in other lands as well. This we infer from the description of an island called "Sunda" given by Faria y Sousa. While relating the events of A.D. 1526-7, he says: "The Women (of Sunda which, according to Faria y Sousa was divided on the south from *Java* by a very narrow *Channel*) are beautiful, those of Quality chaste, contrary to what is usual in most of the other parts of the World. They have Convents into which they enter to preserve their Virginity as in *Spain*. The married women kill themselves when their Husbands die; a good Custom to show their Duty, and to prevent their killing them, were it not against the Law of Nature, and therefore, a brutal Error".¹ The custom may have spread from India to the southern islands.

There are some points about *sahagamana* or sati on which no light whatsoever can be thrown. We have, for example, no explanation to offer as to what the raised hand on a sati stone commemorates. Rice remarked thus on the topic: "The *māstikal* also consist of a stone slab, on which is represented in relief the figure of a post or pillar, with a human arm of the natural size, or larger, projecting from the middle of it: the hand is held up straight, with the fingers distended, and in the hollow between the thumb and the forefinger is often placed a lime. Below this striking symbol is in many cases a representation in miniature of a man and woman: sometimes seated side by side with the *linga* above them, sometimes with the man seated and the woman dancing round him, and other arrangements. These stones never have any inscription, so far as I have noticed".²

This last statement, however, is not always borne out by facts. The *mastikal* of A. D. 1430, as related above, found at Arunavaḷḷi, Malavalli tāluka, states the name of the woman who committed sati, and of her son Bāsappa who set up

¹ Faria y Sousa, *Asia Port.* I. p. 305.

² Rice, *My. Ins.*, Intr., p. xxvi.

the stone.¹ As regards the name given to the raised hand we have some details. The inscription of A.D., 1417 recording the *sahagamana* of the three wives of Buktihara, narrated above, informs us that they give (their) arm and hand (*ātana heṇḍati yaru tōlu-kayi koṭ(ṭ)a kambha*).² Rice remarks thus: "What is symbolised by the pillar I regret that I am unable to explain The human arm I have heard called *Madanakai*, the hand or arm of Mada, that is, of Cupid, love or passion". "Those with one arm are called *woṇṭikai*; those with two, *yeraḍu kai māsti*". An inscription dated Śaka 1327 (A.D. 1405-6) informs us that Gaṅgāsāni, the daughter of Bayiri Śeṭṭi of Pāmiḍi, did *agnipravēśa* (i.e., entered into the fire) at Penugonḍa on the death of her husband Rāma Dēva Nāyaka. In praise of her Tippa Nāyaka set up a *virakai* (hero-hand) at Vānavōlu.⁴

SECTION 4. *Guilds*

A. *Classical Notions*

Co-operation in political matters was to a certain extent responsible for the revival of a socio-economic institution which had already existed in the land. This consisted of members of a trade who grouped themselves into a guild and protected the interests of their calling. From the earliest times, Hindu canonists have sanctioned the promulgation of laws by the guilds for the benefit of their members and their trade. Thus Gautama says: "Cultivators, traders, herdsmen, money-lenders, artisans (have authority to lay down rules) for their respective classes".⁵ The privilege of forming a guild seems to have been extended even

¹ *My. Arch. Report* for 1920, p. 42. op. cit. See Rice., *ibid.*, No. 50 of A.D. 1206 (?) p. 113; *My. Arch. Report* for 1912-13, p. 31.

² E. C., III, Md. 103, p. 49, op. cit.

³ Rice, *My. Ins.*, p. xxvi, and *ibid.*, n. See also *ibid.*, pp. xxvi-xxvii where a horrid picture of sati is given.

⁴ 809 of 1917; For the symbolism of the lemon, read Irvine, *J. R. A. S.* for 1905, p. 364, where reference is given to a valuable essay in German on the symbolism of the lemon by Prof. Theodor Zachariae. For sati stones in Gujerat, read *Arch. Sur. West. Ind.* for 1897, p. 90.

⁵ *Gautama*, XI., 21, p. 237.

to the Brahmans. For we are told in the *Institutes* of Vishṇu the following : "He who embezzles goods belonging to a corporation (of Brāhmaṇas and which have been sent to them by the king or by private persons) shall be banished. He who violates their established rule (shall) also (be banished)."¹ It is interesting to note that provision is also made for the guilds of thieves in the *Sukranīti*. "The cultivators, the artisans, the artists, the usurers, corporations, the dancers, the ascetics and thieves should decide their disputes according to the usage of their guild, etc. It is impossible to detect them through others' help. So they are to be found out with the help of persons born of (i. e., connected with) them."² That governments recognized the law of such guilds as authoritative can be made out from the sanctity given to it in the code of Manu. "(A king) who knows the sacred law, must inquire into the laws of castes (jāti), of districts, of guilds, and of families, and (thus) settle the peculiar law of each."³

B. *Historical Notices in the Pre-Vijayanagara times*

The existence of such guilds was of vital importance for the material prosperity of the people. This may account for the privileges enjoyed by these corporate bodies both during and before the Vijayanagara times. In the Kaṇṇāṭaka as well as in the south they formed an indispensable part of the socio-economic structure of the land. We have had some occasions of referring to the power wielded by these organizations in matters which may be called political; we shall now proceed to give some more details about the different kinds of guilds, the features which distinguished them, and their leaders who must have been in no small measure responsible for the greatness of the corporations. But the source of their influence lies in their tradition; and, therefore, in order to understand the position which the guilds occupied in the society of Vijayanagara,

¹ *Vishnu*, V. 167-8, p. 38.

² *Sukranīti*, Ch. IV, v, ll. 35-7, p. 184.

³ *Manu*, VIII, 41, p. 260.

we have to survey briefly the history of these associations in pre-Vijayanagara days.

The account of guilds, especially in the Karṇāṭaka and the adjoining regions, centres round the name *Vira-Baṇaja*. Dr. Fleet remarked thus on the name : "*Baḷaṇja* is another form of '*baṇaṇju*' or '*baṇaṇja*', the modern '*baṇaṇjiga*', '*baṇajiga*' or '*baṇijiga*', which must be the original of, or a corruption of, the Sanskrit '*bāṇija*, *bāṇijika*' merchant, trader. '*Baṇajiga*' is a division of the *Līṅgāyats* ; and '*Vīrabāṇajiga*', or in old Canarese '*Vīravaṇiga*', means a strict *Baṇajiga*."¹ One of their most powerful strongholds was Balligrāme. An inscription dated A.D. 1093-4 of the times of the Western Chālukya Vikramāditya the Great, gives us the following interesting details about a guild of Balligrāme :

"Hail! The entire guild of the *Nagaramummuri*,² which was possessed of all the glory of the names commencing with 'That which.....'³ and has for its pure origin the perfect (lineage of) Khaṇḍali, which is adorned with the pure banner

¹ Fleet, *I. A. V.*, p. 344, n. Cf. Dr. Oppert. "The word Banij denotes in both cases (i.e. of Manu and Yājñavalkya) a merchant, from it is derived the modern expression Banyan". *The Ancient Commerce of India*, p. 14. Dr. Barnett has the following to remark on the same term : "... But there was a vast organisation of associated traders which about the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had spread a network over the greater part of Southern India and Ceylon, and perhaps even further, and which, beginning with simple commerce and thence developing an elaborate social and semi-military system, strikingly recalls our East India Company. These were the *Vira-banajus*, as they were called in Kanarese, or *Vira-Valaṇjigar*, as they were styled in Tamil. The name signifies 'valiant merchants', and is therefore similar to our 'Gentlemen Adventurers'. Baṇaṇju is connected with the Sanskrit *Vaṇij*, and *Valaṇju* is a Tamil development, whence comes also the Sinhalese *venanda* or *velanda*. They claimed to have come originally from Ahicchattra, but their central body was at Ayyavōle, the modern Aihole, which was the seat of their Board of Directors, consisting of a council of 500 members". *The Ancient Tamil Township and Village*, p. 42 (Ms.).

² For a meaning of this expression Fleet *I.A., V.*, p. 343, n; *J. Bom. R. A. S. X.*, p. 283, n. (40); *Ep. Ind. XIII*, p. 26. "Whether the title *mummuridaṇḍa* and *bhallunki-daṇḍa-hasta* borne by some of their officials refer to this semi-military character is uncertain". Barnett, *Ancient Tamil Township and Village*, p. 43 n. (Ms.)

³ "*Dvātrīṃśadvēlāmaramum*,—meaning unknown". Fleet *I.A. V.*, p. 343, n.

(bearing the device) of a hill (acquired) by preserving the Vīrabalañja laws, which embrace truth and pure conduct and brilliant achievements and morality and modesty, and are adorned with innumerable good qualities acquired by five hundred strict edicts celebrated throughout the whole world ; that which has eighteen cities ; that which has the boon of the sixty-four *yōgas* ; that which is the locality of the sixty-four *ghaṭikās* ; the supreme lords of the city of Ayyāvoḷe ; those who are a very cage of thunderbolts to (protect) those who take refuge with them ; those who bestow largely and afford a shelter ; those who give shelter, and protect ; those who behave like brothers to the wives of other men ; those who are like the tree of paradise to (grant all the desires of) people who apply to them."¹

Some more details about these Baṇajigas are supplied by an inscription dated about A. D. 1150 which, after narrating their elaborate titles, says: " . . . visiting the Chēra, Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya, Maleya, Magadha Kauśala, Saurāshṭra, Dhanushṭra, Kurumbha, Kāmbhōja, Gaulla, Lāḷa, Barvvara, Pārasa, Nēpāḷa, Ekapāda, Lambakarnna, Śtrī-rājya, Ghōḷāmukha, and many other countries ; and the *grāmas*, *nagaras*, *khēḍas*, *kharvvaḍas*, *maḍambas*, *paṭṭaṇas*, *drōṇāmukhas*, and *simvahanas*,—the cities of the elephants at the cardinal points ; and by land routes and water routes penetrating into the regions of the six continents ; with superior elephants, well bred horses, large sapphires, moonstones, pearls, rubies, diamonds, lapis lazuli, onyx, topaz, carbuncles, coral, emeralds, *karkkēlana*, and various such articles ; cardamoms, cloves, bdellium sandal, camphor, musk saffron, *malegaja*, and other perfumes and drugs by selling which wholesale, or hawking about on their shoulders, preventing the loss by customs duties, they fill up the emperor's treasury of gold, his treasury of jewels, and his armoury of weapons, and from the rest they daily bestow gifts on paṇḍits and munis fully versed in the *chatus-samaya-shaḍ-darśana*...carriers with asses and buffaloes, adorned with red trap-

¹ Fleet, *I.A.*, V.; pp. 343-4.

pings; the sixteen of the eight *nāḍs*, *gavaregas*, *gatrigas*, *śeṭṭis*, *śeṭṭiguttas*, *aṅkakāras*, *bīras*, *bīraṇigas*, *gandigas*, *gāvunḍas* *gāvunḍasvāmis*,—thus with? spear, headed rods in their hands, with an elephant as their *bhēri* (kettle-drum), the Bhēri (sect) as their *maddale* (tabor), white umbrellas as their canopy, the mighty ocean as their moat, Indra as their hand-guard, Varuṇa as the standard-bearer, Kubēra as the treasurer, the nine planets as a belt, Rāhu as a tassel, Kētu as a dagger, Kuḷika as the fight, the sun and the moon as the backers, the thirty-three gods are the spectators; they draw forth the sword *kshame* (patience) and with it piercing the enemy named *krōdha* (anger), having the *ḍavaruga* and *para nirghghōśhaṇa* of the sons of warriors who have fought and won... In the case of a sack which bursts from the contents collected from the points of the compass, an ass which runs away (laden) with grain, a wounded and fallen body, a cart that has been robbed, a blood load that has been lifted, a bar of gold that has been seized, a tax that has been evaded, a cry of looting, an assembly connected with caste customs, a bargain that has been made,—they are not ones to fail..."¹

All the Dēśis of Āryyavaḷa, who claimed to be the "followers of the Vīra-Baṇaṇja dharma", are said to have had the "*visuddha-guḍḍa* flag" in an inscription dated A. D. 1167². The same epigraph informs us that they united with the Dēśis

¹ E. C., VII, Sk. 118, pp. 86-7; Rice *My Ins.* pp. 122-3.

² E. C., V, P. I, B1. 177, p. 103. A communal grant of the latter half of the seventeenth century contains some interesting details about the merchant guilds of the same centre. The record belongs to the history of Golkonda. The contents of the grant are as follows: The several members of the league (*samaya-pekkandra*) of the lords of Ayyāḷi, indigenous, (*svadēśa*) foreign (*paradēśa*), both (*ubhaya*), and the itinerants (*nāṇa-dēśa*) among them, who had the *hōmkalikā prāṣṭi*, who were the devotees of gods Gavarēśvara and Gautēśvara, the Vaiśyas of the 102 *gōtras*, with the several *śeṭṭis*, including Prithvi-Setti Rāyani Bhāskaranna who had the grace of the goddess Kamala-Vāsavakanyakā of Vidyāvāsi, who obtained favour from Nagarēśvara-dēva, etc., the several *maṭha-mahats* (named) the several *śeṭṭis* of the fifty-six countries including those of Penugonḍa-sṭhala and other *sṭhalas*, the landowners (*bhūmi-prabhu*) belonging to the four *reḍḍi* families, the eighteen sects among the Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śudras together, viz. *vyavahārikas*, *pañcāhālas* (five sects of smiths), *kumbhālikas* (potters), *tantuvayins* (weavers), *vas-trabhēdakas* (cloth dyers?), *tila-ghāṣakas* (oil millers) *kuraṇṭakas* (kura-

of other places, and made a grant of dues (specified) along with Tippa Rāja, for the service of the god Ādi-Gummēśvara in the same year. Belgoḷa was also a prominent centre of the Baṇajigas. It appears that the Baṇajiga women too took some part in public affairs. An inscription dated about A.D. 1175 records the provision made for flowers for Gommaṭa Dēva of Belgoḷa by all the merchants of that holy place, including Gummi Seṭṭi's Dasaiya, Lōkeya-sahaṇi's daughter Sōmauve and two others named, after having purchased certain lands (specified) at Gaṅgāsamudra and Gommaṭapura from the assembly.¹

The same holy place had a guild of jewel merchants who about the year A. D. 1175 pledged themselves to pay annually certain dues (specified) on coral.² Another locality which could boast of wealthy guilds was Mosaḷe. When the *Vaddabyavahāri* Basavi Seṭṭi of Mosaḷe caused the images of Chaturviṃśati (twenty-four) Tirthaṅkaras to be made in about A.D. 1180³ evidently in Belgoḷa, there naturally arose the necessity of granting an endowment for the worship of the Tirthaṅkaras. And in about A. D. 1185 the merchants of Mosaḷe pledged themselves to give annually certain specified amounts.⁴ From these instances it is evident that the prominent merchants of Belgoḷa and Mosaḷe, in the early ages, were followers of Jaina faith. This is confirmed by the activities of Nāgadēva, the great minister and *Paṭṭaṇasvāmi* of the Hoysala king Vira Ballāḷa, who caused in A. D. 1195 a number of buildings to be erected in front of the god Pārśva. Nāgadēva was a disciple of the

taka?; shoe makers), *vastra-rakshkas* (tailors), *dēvāṅgas*, *parikelili* (*parikelettēvaru* (keepers of pack bullock?); *gōrakshakas* (cowherds), *kiratas* (hunters); *rajakas* (washermen), and *kshauras* (barbers), being assembled and seated on a diamond throne in the *mukha-maṇḍapa* made in the form of a moon (*chandra-maṇḍala*), made a gift of certain specified rates as a charitable endowment. We may note that in this record the eighteen castes are called *phaṇas* or *samayas*. *Ep. Report* for 1918, p. 174.

¹ *E. C.*, II, No. 242. pp. 103-104, text, p. 103 (2nd ed.) Dasaiya's relationship to Gummi Seṭṭi cannot be made out from the origin which runs thus—*Gummi Seṭṭya Dasaiya*.

² *Ibid.*, No. 241, p. 103.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 197, p. 92.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 235, p. 101; No. 252, p. 106.

Mahāmaṇḍalāchārya Nayakīrti. About the merchants of Belgoḷa it is said : "The merchants who were the protectors of that Jinālaya: born in the eminent line of Khaṇḍali and Mūlabhadra, devoted to truth and purity, possessed of the lion's valour, skilled in conducting various kinds of trade with many seaports, adorned with the famous three jewels, the merchants residing at the holy place Belgoḷa" acquired celebrity on earth.¹

About A. D. 1240 the merchants of all the various countries made a grant for the Srī-Vaishṇavas of a place, the name of which is effaced, in the Eighteen-nāḍs, and Padi-nāḍ. The name Mudi-koṇḍachōḷapura and the Grantha characters² in which the incscription is written suggest that the Nānā-Dēśis were also a powerful factor in the Tamil land.

A few details about the organization of the Vīra-Baṇājigas can be gathered from an inscription of the reign of the Hoysala king Sōmēśvara Dēva.³ The epigraph tells us that one of their leaders was styled the *senior māṇikyā bhaṇḍāri*. Rāma Dēva Nāyāka, the minister of the king Sōmēśvara Dēva was called by that name. The charter which he issued to the merchants of Gommaṭapura, including those who formed the guilds of oil-men, runs thus: "In case the imposts, *nyāya anyāya* and *maḷa-braya* of the palace come to be levied, the *āchārya* of the place shall himself pay and settle the matter : it is no concern of the residents. Those who violate the terms of this charter are the destroyers of the Dharma-sthaḷa. If among the merchants of this holy place one or two, posing as leaders, teach the *āchārya* deceit, and, causing confusion by taking one thing for another, encourage him to covet a *hūga* and a *bēḷe* and ask for more, they are traitors to the creed, traitors to the king, enemies of the Baṇāñjigas".⁴ The same epi-

¹ E. C. II, No. 335, p. 143.

² E. C., IV, Y. 61, p. 33 text, p. 83.

³ Rice gives the date of this inscription as A.D. 1266. E. C. II, No. 128, p. 176 (1st ed.) Narasimhachar supposes it to be about A.D. 1200. E.C., II, No. 333, p. 140 (2nd ed.)

⁴ Rice gives a slightly different version in E.C., II, No. 128, p. 176 (1st ed.) ; No. 333, p. 140 (2nd ed.)

graph concludes thus: "If knowing this, merchants are indifferent, they alone are destroyers of this charity and not the *āchārya* and the wicked. If without the consent of the merchants one or two leaders enter into the *āchārya's* house or the palace, they are traitors to the creed. With regard to privileges, former usage shall be followed".¹

C. Guilds in Vijayanagara

The Vira Baṇajigas continued to exercise powerful influence in Vijayanagara times. Proud as they were of their heritage, they must have been zealous to retain their titles and privileges under the new monarchs. We have some details about the guilds of Vijayanagara; but these can be deemed complete only when they are taken in conjunction with the remarks we have recorded above. The Vira Baṇajigas in the fourteenth century were as fond of talking about themselves in eulogistic terms as their ancestors were in the early ages. This is the reason why we have the following in 1382: "...the five hundred virśāsanās of Jambū-dvīpa, the southern portion of the celebrated Bharata-khaṇḍa; adorned with many good qualities; of virtuous life; embodiments of policy, modesty and intelligence; protectors of the righteous customs of the Sālu-Mūle-Baṇaju sect; great dignity; mighty in energy; favourites of the lady Fame; born in the great and famous line of Bhala-dēva, Vāsudēva, Khaṇḍali and Mūlabhadra; boon lords of Ahichchhatra-pura; examples of virtue; establishers of inquiry; each one a hero; the only worthy in the world; a touchstone for the pious work of the Southern Vāraṇāsi; the home of piety; the birthplace of both the various Dēśis of the celebrated capitals of emperors and kings; the fan-palm of their warehouse; with these and many other titles; worshippers of the holy feet of the gods Ganēśvara and Gavareśvara; all and many, the *nakhara parivara, mummuri-daṇḍa...*"² The same inscri-

¹ E.C., II., No. 333, p. 140, (2nd ed.) For some remarks on the guilds, see Majumdar, *Corporate Life*, pp. 86-92; S.K. Aiyangar *Q.J.M.S.*, VI, p. 56.

² E.C., V., P. I., B1. 75, p. 63; see also E.C., XII., Ck. 7, text, p. 200.

ption gives us their centres in the fourteenth century : Vijayanagari, Hastināvati, Dōrasamudra, Gutti, Penugunḍa, Ādavāni, Udayagiri, Chandragiri, Muḷuvāyi, Kañchi, Paḍaivīḍu, Chadurangapaṭṭaṇa, Maṅgaḷūru, Honnāvuru, Chandāvuru, Āraga, Chandragutti, Aṇṇigere Huligere, Nidugallu, Chimata-nakallu, Tariyakallu, Ānevidda, Sari. Kalheya, Telakalambi (Terakāṇambi), and Singapaṭṭaṇa¹. To these we have to add the following: Eḍ-nāḍ in Gutti, Koṇḍaraḍe in Nāgarkhaṇḍa, Hānugal, the Chikka Jigaḷige and Hiriya Jigaḷige Four Hundred, Bāla-Chaugāḷe-nāḍ, Hosa-nāḍ, Kabunāḷige, Aydāvaḷige, Hiriya Maḷaḷige, Chikka Maḷaḷige, Jambeyahaḷi-nāḍ, Heda-nāḍ, Kunchi-nāḍ, Kora-nāḍ, Baḷe-nāḍ, Vakhaligere-nāḍ, Honnatti-nāḍ, Erad...ya...nāḍ, Halasige, Honāle, Ingundi, and other places.²

The Vīra Baṇajigas maintained the names and the traditional greatness of their high officials. One of these, as will be narrated presently, was called the *vaḍḍa-Byavahāri* or the Senior Merchant. Another was known as the *Paṭṭaṇa-svāmi*. We have had an occasion of referring to these latter dignitaries while dealing with the corporate life which the people led in political matters. The office of *paṭṭaṇa-svāmi* was in some way connected with a *saṅte* or weekly fair which was established by the joint efforts of the people, and for the maintenance of which a grant of land, free from all imposts, or of dues, was made by them. In some instances the initiative was taken by the Government. Thus in the reign of Kaṁpaṇa Oḍeyar in A. D. 1362, as related above, by order of the *Mahā-maṇḍēśvara* Rāchaya Dēva Mahārāja, who is called "Balumanne-Rājulu of his (i.e., of Kaṁpaṇa Oḍeyar's?) city", all those who belonged to both the sects of the Nānā-Dēśis in Pakkuṇḍra, together with all the farmers and subjects of the great Kayivāra-nāḍu and with the people who composed the eighteen castes, established a fair at Kayivāra; and as *Paṭṭaṇa-svāmi* of the fair, appointed Mārappa Śeṭṭi's younger brother

¹ E.C., V, P. II, p. 201.

² E.C., VIII, Sb. 428, p. 75.

That a *paṭṭaṇa-svāmi* could also be a *vaḍḍa-byavahāri* or Senior Merchant can be made out from an inscription dated A. D. 1395 which refers us to the reign of Harihara Rāya II. In that year some grant was made in Malaūr-sthaḷa, the chief place of Keḷale-nāḍ, to the chief senior merchant (*mahā-mukhya-vaḍḍa-byavahāri*) of the Hoṛapaṭṭaṇagiri of Vijaya-dannāyakapaṭṭaṇa, which is Hiriyūr, of the Sindava-kula, the *Paṭṭaṇa-svāmi* Kēti Śeṭṭi's son Kāliyappa Śeṭṭi by the hand of the Eighteen country.† This office was however always associated with a weekly fair. In A. D. 1430, in the reign of Dēva Rāya II, the Sālu-mūles of the fifty-six countries, with all the cultivators and Pañchāḷas, having assembled, established a *saṁte* (or weekly fair), and in connection with it, granted as a *mānya* for the *paṭṭaṇa-svāmi* of the fair, Chiyi Bassi Śeṭṭi, land

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(specified)¹. Sometimes the office of a *paṭṭaṇa-svāmi* was conferred by a government servant on a prominent merchant. Thus in A. D. 1426, in the reign of Dēva Rāya II, Juñja Vōbēya Nāyaka's son Chitivoyya Nāyaka gave the office of *paṭṭaṇa-svāmi* to Buḍapa Śeṭṭi, together with a *mānya* land (specified)².

The extent to which a *paṭṭaṇa-svāmi* was bound to associate himself with the common people is seen in a record dated A. D. 1554 which informs us that Viṭṭhaṇṇa Nāyaka, the Agent in Bukkāmbudhi, made some revenue regulations embodying them in a grant which he gave to all the Brahmans, the *paṭṭaṇa-svāmi*, the farmers and the subjects of the village.³ There is another record which not only confirms our statement that there existed harmony between the Central Government and the local units but also informs us the name of another official, or perhaps the same official under another designation, *śeṭṭi paṭṭaṇa-svāmi*. This record dated A.D. 1556, also belongs to the reign of Sadāśiva Rāya. The inscription narrates that by order of the *Mahā-maṇḍalēśvara* Rāma Rāya Tirumala Rājayya Dēva mahā-arasu, the *Mahā-nāyakāchārya* Niḍugal Timmaṇṇa Nāyaka, and the subjects of the Niḍugal-sīme (a great number named), these and other *gaudas* and subjects, with the *Śeṭṭi-paṭṭaṇa-svāmi*, having purchased the Tūmukunṭe village in the Niḍugal kingdom, placing Gulli Tirumala Rājayy's seal-bearers (*mudre-manuśyaru*) in front of Keñchapa Nāyaka, granted the village for the services of the god Teruveṅgaḷanātha of Peyalabaṇḍe.⁴

The guilds had another high dignitary called the *mahā-prabhu*. From the manner in which it is used, it seems that the title of *mahā-prabhu* was also held by a Senior Merchant. In A.D. 1404, the *Mahā-vaḍḍa-byavahāri*, the *Mahā-prabhu* of both sects of Nānā-Dēśis, Yirigi Śeṭṭi's son Yirigi Śeṭṭi caused a *Śivālaya* to be made for the Virabhadra temple.⁵

¹ E.C., X., Bp. 72, p. 152, See also E.C., IX., An. 64, p. 116, where an illegible inscription affirms a similar grant.

² E.C., X., Bp. 83, p. 153.

³ E.C., VI., Tk. 69, p. 118.

⁴ E.C., XII., Si. 31, p. 93, op. cit., text, p. 270.

⁵ E.C., X. Kl. 73, pp. 19-20.

The guilds conferred on some of the highest government officials the rank and dignity of the *prithivi śeṭṭi* or the Mayor of the Earth. The members of the *nakhara parivara* and *mummuri-daṇḍa*, whose centres we noted in an inscription dated A. D. 1382, together with their 300 Billa dependants and with the collection of the Holeyas of Vijayanagara, "having placed the diamond *vaisaṇige*¹ in the presence of the holy lotus feet of the god Virūpāksha, and sitting down, having agreed among themselves, with supreme affection,—the great minister (with praise) Muddayya-daṇṇāyaka, being the officer for superintendence of the customs of our fifty-six countries (*namma chhappanna dēśada āchāravichūrakke kartarādar āgi*), we confer upon him the mayoralty of the earth..."² In the next year the same officer, who is called this time Mude Daṇṇāyaka, received what seems to be a confirmation of the above, from the hands of all the Sālu-mūle of Eḍe-nāḍ and various other places, which we have also just now seen.³

That the authority of the guilds over their members was supreme is evident from more than one inscription in which reference is made to the penalty they inflicted on those who violated the decisions of their unions. Thus the Vīra Pañchālas of Terakaṇāmbi, whose "incomparable character" we noted in an inscription dated A.D. 1372, enacted the following: "Whoso destroys this grant is put out of the Pañchālas, out of his trade, out of the assembly, and the nāḍ". (*ī dharmma-vanu āvan obba aḷupidavanu Pañchālakke horagu āhalakke horagu samayakkevū nāḍigū horagu*).⁴

Foreign travellers have left a few notices of these guilds. 'Abdur Razzāq writes thus: "The tradesmen of each separate guild or craft have their shops close to one another. The jewellers sell their rubies and pearls and diamonds and emeralds

¹ For an account of the *vaisaṇige* see *Infra*, Chapter V, Legislation, Etiquette and Orthodoxy.

² *E.C.*, V., Bl. 75, p. 63, op. cit.; Rice, *My. Ins.*, pp. 267-70.

³ *E.C.*, VIII., Sb. 428, p. 75, op. cit.

⁴ *E. C.*, IV., Gu, 34, p. 42, text, p. 106, op. cit.

openly in the bazar".¹ Paes says: "There are temples in every street, for these appertain to institutions like the confraternities you know of in our parts, of all the craftsmen and merchants..."²

The leaders of the guilds seem to have exercised some powerful control at the royal court. In A. D. 1355, Vayijaṇṇa, the leader of the Ubhaya Nānā-Dēśis, was the house-merchant of the *Mahā-maṇḍalēśvara* Harihara Oḍeyar.³ When the leaders of the guilds petitioned to the Government, it undertook the construction of new towns. The great *Vaḍḍa-byavahāri*, chief of (both sects) Nānā-Dēśis, Arjju-bhaṭṭayya's son Mahā-dēvaṇṇa made petition to Bukkaṇṇa Oḍeyar, saying, "Make Lakshmīpura...in Changa-nāḍ"; and the king forthwith passed the necessary orders which were duly executed by the chief minister Sōvappa with the aid of the farmers of Navile, Haṇḍa-raṅge, Posanāḍ, Allāḷapaṭṭaṇa and other places.⁴

The heads of the guilds could secure remission of taxes from the Government. In about A. D. 1380, in the reign of Harihara Rāya II, remission of certain taxes was made to all the Nānā Dēśis of Māmballi *alias* Harihararāya-paṭṭaṇa.⁵

Guilds were confined not only to the Nānā-Dēśis. The truth of the remarks of foreign travellers that all trades had their own guilds can be made out by noting a few references to the organization of Vīra Pañchāḷas, salt-makers and potters. The guild of Vīra Pañchāḷas, reference to which has been made above, was powerful enough to impose a tax on its members for religious purposes. All the Pañchāḷas of Yenṇē-nāḍ, for example, in A.D. 1398, in order to provide sandal, musk, vermilion, camphor, and rain water for the decoration of the god Aṇilēśvara, presented an offering at the rate of one *haṇa* in their

¹ Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV., p. 107.

² Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 256.

³ *My. Arch. Report* for 1919, p. 33.

⁴ *E. C.*, V., P. I., Ak. 68, pp. 258-9.

⁵ *My. Arch. Report* for 1917, p. 48.

several villages.¹ The existence of a guild of salt-makers is seen in the gifts they were able to secure from the Government. In A. D. 1551, during the times of Sadāśiva Rāya, a grant of rent-free land was made to the salt-makers (of the Moḷakālmur tāluka) by Geṇabūr Hiriya Konaya Dēva Mahā-arasu. This was confirmed by the Hānya Hebbār Bōlārāpa together with all the subject and farmers, in the same year.² That the potters had their own guilds can be gathered from the charter which their headmen (*kumbhāra-svāmigaḷu*) received in about A. D. 1580, evidently from the Government.³

SECTION 5. *Slavery*

A. *Antiquity of the Institution*

Slavery has existed in India from the earliest times, although a foreign writer would make us believe that it was unknown to the land. Manu describes seven kinds of slaves thus: "There are slaves of seven kinds, (viz.), he who is made a captive under a standard, he who serves for his daily food, he who is born in the house, he who is bought and he who is given, he who is inherited from ancestors, and he who is enslaved by way of punishment."⁴ According to the same authority a slave is declared to have no property.⁵ A slave, Manu further enjoins, is disqualified from giving witness except in certain cases.⁶ Female slaves or mistresses of the deceased are classed among indivisible property in the *Institutes* of Viṣṇu.⁷ Nārada enumerates fifteen kinds of slaves.⁸ As regards the right of slaves to own or dispose of their property, Nārada follows Manu and lays down the rule that a slave has no proprietary right.⁹

¹ E. C., IV., Ch. II9, p. 16.

² E. C., XI., Mk. 8, & 9, p. 91.

³ E. C., IV., YI. 2, p. 27. *Infra*, Chapter on Etiquette.

⁴ *Manu*, VIII., 415, p. 326.

⁵ *Ibid.*, VIII., 416-17, pp. 326-7. See Bühler's note, p. 326.

⁶ *Ibid.*, VIII., 66, 70, pp. 265-7. For further references see *ibid.*, IV., 253-6, p. 168, IX. 55, p. 337.

⁷ *Viṣṇu*, XVIII., 44, p. 74.

⁸ *Nārada*, V., 25-43, pp. 135-9.

⁹ *Nārada*, V., 41, p. 138.

According to *Vaśishṭha*, "it is permitted to barter sesamum, rice, cooked food, learning, and slaves (each for its own kind and the one for the other)".¹ A slave is not to be stinted, according to *Āpastamba*. "At his (i.e., householder's) pleasure, he may stint himself, his wife or his children, but by no means a slave who does his work."² As regards the division of slaves among co-heirs, we have the following in *Gautama*: "(But) no (one brother shall) take (ten) one-hoofed beasts or (ten) slaves".³

The antiquity of the institution of slavery is clearly indicated in the provision *Kauṭilya* makes for selling, mortgaging, and maintaining them. "Those who do not heed the claims of their slaves (*dāsa*), hirelings (*āhitaka*), and relatives shall be taught their duty"⁴. "The selling or mortgaging by kinsmen of the life of a *Śūdra* who is not a born slave, and has not attained majority, but is an *Ārya* in birth shall be punished with a fine of twelve *paṇas*; of a *Vaiśya*, twenty-four *paṇas*; of a *Kshatriya*, thirty-six *paṇas*; and of a *Brāhman*, forty-eight *paṇas*".⁵

With the evidence of the Hindu lawgivers before us, it is difficult to make out what precisely *Strabo* means when he says that slavery was unknown to the Indians. According to him "none of the Indians employ slaves".⁶ From the high penalties imposed on those who tried to enslave the members of the "twice-born castes", as laid down in the ancient Hindu law-books, it seems probable that the *Āryans*, on the whole, were not subject to slavery. In the code of *Manu* the law is stated thus: "But a *Brāhmaṇa* who, because he is powerful, out of greed makes initiated (men of the twice) born (castes) against their will do the work of slaves, shall be fined by the king six hundred (*paṇas*)."⁷ According to *Nārada*: "In the reverse

¹ *Vaśishṭha*, II., 39, p. 14.

² *Āpastamba* II., 4, 9, 11, p. 123.

³ *Gautama*, XXVIII, 13, p. 304.

⁴ *Arthasāstra*, Bk. II., Ch. I., 47, p. 51.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Bk. III., Ch. XIII, 182, p. 223.

⁶ *M'Crimble, Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 58.

⁷ *Manu*, VIII., 412, p. 325.

order of the (four) castes, slavery is not ordained, except where a man violates the duties peculiar to his caste. Slavery (in that respect) is analogous to the condition of a wife".¹ Vishṇu says: "He who commits members of the highest (or Brāhmaṇa) caste to slavery, shall pay the highest amercement".² Of all the theorists Kauṭilya alone seems to be the most explicit on the subject. While dealing with slaves in general, he says: "It is no crime for Mlechchhas to sell or mortgage the life of their own offspring. But never shall an Ārya be subject to slavery".³ But Kauṭilya, however, admits that a slave could exercise the privileges of an Ārya: "Deceiving a slave of his money or depriving him of the privileges he can exercise as an Ārya (Āryabhāva), shall be punished with half the fine (levied for enslaving the life of an Ārya)".⁴ Then again, "The offspring of a man who has sold himself off as a slave shall be an Ārya".⁵ Whatever may be the latitude with which these regulations of Kauṭilya are interpreted, it is certain that both according to Hindu lawgivers and some foreign writers, ancient Indian opinion associated the idea of slavery with peoples who were non-Aryan. This is a point of some significance, especially in elucidating the history of southern India where the institution of slavery has survived in some shape or other down to our own days.

B. Slavery in Pre-Vijayanagara Times

When and how it originated in the south, it is difficult to decide, although it is not improbable that in the course of the fusion between the Aryans and the earlier people of the land, somewhere in the dawn of Indian history, the divergence of race coupled with the vicissitudes of war may have brought about a marked difference between the old inhabitants and the new-comers, resulting in the institution of slavery in southern

¹ *Nārada V.*, 9, pp. 137-8.

² *Vishṇu V.*, 151, p. 37.

³ *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. III., Ch. XIII, 182 p. 223.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

India. This is, we admit, a debatable question. What we are concerned with is the fact that in southern India the people who strongly suggest the idea of slavery are the Paraiyans of the Tamil land and the Holeyas of the Karṇāṭaka. While describing the castes in Vijayanagara, it was remarked that we had insufficient data by which we could decide when these people were relegated to the rank of untouchables. Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar's interesting remarks on the degradation of a subdivision of Paraiyans called *Ulavu* to the position of slaves may be read in this connection.¹ As regards the Holeyas we may note, in addition to the observations we made about their having been taxed in the early centuries, that an inscription dated A. D. 1205 speaks of a tax levied on the children of the Holeyas in the Karṇāṭaka. The Great Master of Robes, Herugana...chaya, when collecting the *bāla-ṣaṇa* (?child tax) of the Holeyas of Sāgatavalli, granted it for a perpetual lamp for the god Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa of the locality.² This inscription does not suggest slavery so conclusively as other epigraphs which mention the *besa-vaga* or bond-servant in the Karṇāṭaka. But it is interesting to observe that these bond-servants did not belong to the Paraiyan community. When the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Haiva Boppa Dēva and Chahārāsa Bammarasa were fighting with one another in the plain of Kuppaṭūr, the bond-servant (*besa-vaga*) of the Thousand, Nambiya Kēṣiga, killed many but died in the end.³ The hunter Hariyava Ṣeṭṭi's bond-servant (*besa-vaga*) the Kuḷiyateppa blacksmith Malōja's son Bomōja having gone to a hunt in A. D. 1249, stabbed a boar which charged him with his dagger but died like a hero.⁴ Both these events took place in the times of the Yādava kings.

Tamil history records the sale of human beings in the thirteenth century. Two inscriptions of Rājarāja III, dated in the third year and the twenty-fourth year of

¹ Srinivasa Aiyangar, *Tamil Studies*. pp. 89-90.

² E. C., V., P. I., Cn. 181, p. 204.

³ E. C., VIII., Sb. 255, p. 39.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Sb. 340, p. 60.

his reign, (i.e., in A.D. 1218-19 and A. D. 1239-40 respectively) found at Vēdāraṇyam in the Tanjore district, record the sale to the temple of five men and five women and their relations(?) for a price of 1,000 *kāṣu*, by a certain Ariyaṇ Pichchaṇ *alias* Edirili Śōḷa Gaṅgaināḍāḷvaṇ, who was apparently doing police duty in the west of the district in which Vēdāraṇyam was situated. He refers to the five men who had been made over to the temple as slaves by his master (*mudaliār*).¹

C. Under Vijayanagara

The *besa-vaga* and the sale of human beings are also seen in Vijayanagara history. Both inscriptions and the accounts of foreign travellers contain direct reference to slaves in the Hindu Empire. About A. D. 1470 the worshipper of the feet of all the Brahmans of the immemorial *agrahāra* Kuppattūr, Korana Haripa's son Si...bond-servant (*besa-vaga*) killed a tiger which had entered the precincts of the town.² As regards female slaves, we may recount the dues granted by the Sālu-Mūle Baṇajigas to Muda Daṇṇāyaka in A. D. 1382 on various commodities amongst which female slaves are mentioned. In this connection it is worthwhile to note that the Holeyas are classed among the dependents at the feet of the Vira Baṇajigas.³

We may record the opinion of foreign travellers before we deal with the question of the sale of human beings in Vijayanagara. One of the travellers, Nicolo dei Conti, informs us the following: "They have a vast number of slaves, and the debtor who is insolvent is everywhere adjudged to be the property of his creditor."⁴ This, however, is not given by Nuniz whose detailed account of the administration of justice at Vijayanagara we have already recorded.

¹ *Ep. Report* for 1905, p. 46.

² *E. C.*, VIII., Sb. 258, p. 40.

³ *E. C.*, V., Bl. 75, pp. 62-63. *op. cit.* See Burnell's ed. of *Dāyavibhāga*. "If there are many such slaves, they are to be distributed in equal shares; such is the rule regarding slaves". *Dāyavibhāga*, p. 51.

⁴ *Major, India*, p. 31; *Sewell, For. Emp.*, p. 87.

Ellis in his *Mirasi Right* gives an inscription, the authenticity of which may be questioned,¹ but which contains the following details about a sale of slaves in the reign of Venkṭa-pati Dēva I. "...In the village of Tandeiyārvidu, Periya-timmen and Shinna-timmen, the sons of Cottadi Periyān and their parceners, have thus settled the price of slaves and given this bill of sale; our sister Vallatchi, her daughter Periyāl, her daughter Shōletchi, total three persons, when they had first cried 'are there any one who will purchase these as cotta adumei (bunch of slaves i.e., a family of slaves sold at once)?'—these words were heard by Ottiyapa Mudeliyār, the son of Vāndarāya Ulaganāda Mudaliār, one of the Vellālars residing in the village of Vallūr in this mandalam (i.e., Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam), this cōttam and this nādu, who cried again, saying, 'I will purchase':—the first criers Periya timmen, Shinna timmen, and their parceners, and the last crier Ottiyapen, having agreed among ourselves and settled to their mutual satisfaction, the price was fixed in the presence of the rulers of the land and the proprietors of the soil of Tiru Mayilāpur at 2 Getti Pagodas for these three Pereiya women, Vellatchi, her daugter Periyāl and her daughter Shōletchi, purchased as a family of slaves, and for this sum of two Pagodas, we sold these three persons Vellatchi, her daughter Periyāl and her daughter Shōletchi; twice and thrice, this is the determined price, this is the fixed sale-price: moreover, no question shall be made respecting the quality of the coin; nor shall other writings be required to be produced. No dispute exists respecting Vellatchi, her daughter Periyāl. and her daughter Shōletchi, if any arise we will stand forth and have it decided. Thus we have consented and sold Vellatchi, her daughter Periyāl, and her daughter Shōletchin to Ottiyapa Mudaliār at the price stated,

¹ The date given is in the "year following 1512 of the Sacam being the year Hēvilambi (A. D. 1589) on the fifth day of Arpiśi". The cyclic year does not correspond. Śaka 1512=Virōdhin; Śaka 1520=Hēmalamba. Sewell, *Siddhāntas*, pp. 308, 310. According to Swamikannu, Śaka 1511, Virōdhin, 5th day of Arppaśi=Sunday 5th October A. D. 1589; Śaka 1519, Hēmalamba, 5th day of Arppaśi=Wednesday 5th October A. D. 1597. *Ind. Eph.*, V., pp. 380-1, 396-7. Brown, therefore, rightly concludes this date to be false. *Three Treatises on Mirāsi Right*, p. 102, n. (1852.). One would like to know the whereabouts of this interesting document! B. A. S.

Periya-timmen, Shinna-timmen, and their parceners. This is the mark of Periya-timmen, Shinna-timmen and their parceners.”¹ Ellis also gives us another inscription dated A. D., 1593 assigned again to the reign of Veṅkaṭapaṭi Dēva I., in which a family of seven Paraiyans is sold for a sum of eight and a half pagodas.²

Ellis has some interesting observations to make in this connection; and we may be permitted to cite the observations of this writer, especially because they throw some light on the concluding scenes of Vijayanagara history. While dealing with the question of the sale of *Mirāsi* and the villeins attached to the soil, he says: “...this state of Villanage exists wherever landed *Mirāsi* is known, and nowhere where it is unknown, and extends to certain casts which, though all the individuals are not actually slaves, may be called slave casts. In addition to the Villans in whom the whole village hold joint property, the *Mirāsīdars* have separate property in families and individuals of the same casts, who, as this and the following writing, drawn up in the strictest forms of a bill of sale, demonstrate, have been purchased and transferred independently of the land; to the cultivation of which, however, they are invariably confined, individuals of their casts never being employed as domestic slaves: domestic slavery among the Hindus exists at present only in the families of the principal Zemindars of the country. The agricultural slave casts are the Pallis, the Paller, and the Pareiyer; and their condition either of villenage or direct slavery depends greatly on the prevalent landed tenures of the district they inhabit”³.

¹ Ellis, *Mirasi Right*, App. No. XXV p. lxxix, (1818); Brown, *Three Treaties*, pp. 102-3 (1852).

² It is dated “in the year following 4694 of the *Caliyugam* (A. D. 1593) being Vijaya, in the month of Canni, on Sunday the 3rd day of the increase of the Moon under the constellation Swasti”. Ellis adds the following note to Canni “... which agrees with the Tamil month Avani, which begins in the second week of September” *Mirasi Right*, App. No. XXVI. Brown, *ibid.*, p. 105. Brown rectifies the error made by Ellis. *Ibid.*, p. 105, n. This epigraph seems to be accurate but for the week-day, Kali 4694=Śaka 1515, the cyclic year Vijaya, the third day of Avani=Friday (not Sunday), 3rd August, the constellation being Śatab (not Svāti). Swamikanm. *Ind. Eph.*, V., p. 380.

The provinces where villeinage and serfdom prevailed during the later ages were, according to Ellis, the *Toṇḍai-maṇḍala*, the region round the banks of the *Kāvērī*, Malabar and Kanara. In these last two provinces "where a community of village rights is unknown, and lands, consequently, are never held jointly, all slaves, who in those countries constitute the great body of the laborers, are private property." As regards the sale of a whole family of slaves recorded in the two inscriptions given above, Ellis continues: "The Hindu law in permitting slavery is marked by a humane attention to the condition of the slave, all its provisions tending to ameliorate the state and to prevent oppression on the part of the master; the law in this respect is seconded by the practice, and it will accordingly be observed that the slaves are transferred by this and the following deed, as a family, in which mode, also the purchaser ought to sell them, not separately: this practice, which tends greatly to improve the condition of the slave casts, as it prevents the inhuman separation of near relations, the liability to which is the greatest curse of slavery, appears formerly to have been universal. .but it is feared that like many other praiseworthy customs of antiquity, it has now in many districts fallen into disuse".

As regards the privileges of the slaves, the same writer continues: "The villens possess established rights and privileges of which they cannot be deprived, which constitute their *Mīrāsī*, and which are prized by them as much and maintained as tenaciously as the more valuable privileges of the higher orders. First, the *Parachēri*, the site of their huts wherever placed, and the back yards attached to them, are held, like the houses and homesteads of the *Mīrāsīdars*, rent-free, and they are exempted universally, from all tax and impost whatever; Secondly, they are entitled to a share in the produce of every crop, which they receive at various rates and in various modes, under the denomination of *Calvāsām*, *Sudantram*, etc.; Thirdly, they hold the inferior offices of the villages, as *Taleiyāri*, *Vettiyan*, *Cambacattu*, *Alavucaren*, *Tōtti*, etc., for which they are allowed *Mānyamas* and *Sotantrams* distinct from those above

mentioned. The Villans work for the Mīrāsīdars in rotation (murei), and for a time proportioned to the share held by each; what is required for their subsistence in addition to the produce of the privileges above mentioned, is supplied jointly by the village, and they receive presents of cloth and money at stated periods, at festivals, marriages, etc., sometimes their subsistence is secured to them by assignments of land, which they cultivate like Pāyacāris; but rendering a larger share to their masters, in return for seed, cattle and implements of husbandry, with which they are gratuitously supplied".¹

This description of the position of slaves is useful inasmuch as it depicts the state of affairs in those parts of southern India which (excepting Malabar) formed the provinces of Vijayanagara; and it might have been taken to represent similar conditions under Vijayanagara but for the fact that it contains a significant detail which deserves to be examined. Ellis relates that one of the main privileges enjoyed by the slaves—by which term we are to understand agrestic slaves as distinct from personal slaves about whom we are unable to make out anything—was that relating to their houses and homesteads which were universally exempted evidently in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, from all imposts whatsoever. Now, if this was the custom which was handed down to our own days from the mediaeval ages, it is difficult to reconcile it with the information we have already given in connection with the financial administration of the Vijayanagara monarchs. We know that during and before the Vijayanagara times, the Holeyas—between whom and the Paraiyans, as is well known, there was no difference,—were taxed; and that, as an inscription of A. D. 1430 narrates, they had to pay tolls from which they were exempted,² obviously in certain parts of the Vijayanagara Empire. It may be argued that the remission which was granted to the Holeyas in A. D. 1430 came to stay as a sort

¹ Ellis, *Mirasi Right*, p. lxxix-lxxxix (1818); Brown, *Three Treatises*, pp. 103-4 (1852).

² E. C., X, Bp. 72, p. 152.

of a privilege, and that the freedom which they have claimed, as regards their having been exempt from tolls, may be dated precisely to that year. But here we have to note that along with the Holeyas the blacksmiths, carpenters, goldsmiths, washermen and barbers were also shown the same consideration in the same year, in the province called Mūḷbāgal-Tēkal-nāḍu. If it is true that the Holeyas could date their freedom from tolls to A. D. 1430, all the other communities as well could lay similar pretensions in the later ages. But we have discussed the questions of the barbers in the previous pages. And a glance at the dues and imports we have enumerated in connection with the sources of revenue under Vijayanagara, may enable us to understand that such a privilege was not enjoined by the others after A.D. 1430. The inscription dated in that year along with others we have already cited, leads us to the conclusion that at least, the Holeyas, during the early ages of Vijayanagara history, were the dependents of the Sālu-Mules and Vira Baṇajigas in certain localities of the Karṇāṭaka. Whether this could be said of the Paraiyas of the Tamil land as well is a point which we are unable to explain.

We may end our remarks on slavery in Vijayanagara by noting a peculiar feature of that social institution in the Tondaimaṇḍalam. "A custom prevails among the slave casts in Tondaimandalam, especially in the neighbourhood of Madras, which may be considered as a periodical assertion of independence; at the close of the Tamil month Āni, with which the revenue year ends and the cultivation of the ensuing year ought to commence, the whole of the slaves *strike work*, collect in bodies outside the villages, and so remain until their masters by promising to continue their privileges, by solicitations, presents of betel, and other *gentle* means, induce them to return. The slaves on these occasions, however well treated they may have been, complain of various grievances, real and imaginary, and threaten a general desertion; this threat, however, they never carry into execution, but after the usual time, everything having been conducted according to *Māmūl*, return quietly to

their labors".¹ Neither the accounts of foreign travellers, many of whom have left behind them details of the agricultural conditions under Vijayanagara, nor inscriptions, which abound in references to the ancient custom (*purvada maryāde*) of the Karṇāṭaka and Tamil lands, contain any hint as regards this interesting aspect of the corporate life of the Paraiyans of the modern times.

CHAPTER III

THE BRAHMANS

SECTION I. *Their Position in Hindu Society*

There seems to be hardly any justification that we should dwell at length on a section of the Hindu people, who have gained prominence as much by their intellectual attainments as by their adamant orthodoxy. But if it is realized that the Vijayanagara age was an era of Hindu regeneration, and that the Brahmans, according to the evidence of eye-witnesses, played an important part in the affairs of the times, we may be allowed to give some details about their status and achievements under the mediaeval monarchs.

Like the King, the Brahman, too, suffered decline as regards the unassailable position he had taken in the classical times. The earlier writers maintained that the Brahman preceded the Kshatriya,—that is to say, they analysed the question of the relative position which the king and the priest occupied in Hindu society. While some canonists were constrained to give the priest the pre-eminent place in Hindu society, to endow

¹ Ellis, *Mirasi Right*, pp. lxxxi-lxxxii (1818); Brown, *Three Treatises*, p. 104 (1852) For some more remarks on slavery, see J. R. A. S., XIII, (1852), p. 243 seq.; Captain Macvicar, *History of the Operation for the Suppression of Human Sacrifices in the Hill tracts of Orissa* (1854); Babur, *Memoirs*, p. 246.

him with divinity, and to bestow on him certain privileges, like those relating to the inviolability of his person and of his property, others were inclined to give him a rank equal to that of the Kshatriyas, and, in one famous instance, even to relegate him to a place of insignificance, at least so far as the elements that constituted sovereignty were concerned. The Vijayanagara monarchs showed the classical touch that marked their action by holding the Brahman in the highest esteem; but they revealed, at the same time, their essentially mediaeval nature by making him the servant of the State.

This conformity to, and apparent violation of, classical injunctions by the Hindu rulers of Vijayanagara is amply illustrated in their theory as enunciated by Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, and in the inscriptions which give us the history of the Brahmins in mediaeval times. Ancient precept still influenced the mediaeval mind. Nowhere has the case for the Brahmins been so powerfully advocated as in the following words of Manu: "Let the king, after rising early in the morning, worship Brāhmaṇas who are well versed in the three fold sciences and learned (in polity), and follow their advice. Let him daily worship aged Brāhmaṇas who know the Veda and are pure; for he who always worships aged men, is honoured even by the Rākshasas".¹ Then again: "Let him (the king) not, though fallen into the deepest distress, provoke Brāhmaṇas to anger; for they, when angered, could instantly destroy him with his army and his vehicles".² Manu further says: "A Brāhmaṇa be he ignorant or learned, is a great divinity, just as the fire, whether carried forth (for the performance of a burnt-oblation) or not carried forth, is a great divinity".³ "Thus, though Brāhmaṇas employ themselves in all (sorts of) mean occupations they must be honoured in every way; for (each of) them is a very great deity".⁴

¹ *Manu*, VII, 37-8, p. 221.

² *Ibid.*, IX, 313, p. 397.

³ *Ibid.*, IX, 317, p. 398; see also 314-16, *ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, IX, 319, p. 399.

Bhīṣma evidently has the same idea in mind when he says thus: "Thou shouldst worship those Brāhmanas that are devoted to their duties, possessed of learning, regular in worshipping the gods, observant of high vows, and endued with other accomplishments, when they come to thy abode, and employ them in officiating in thy sacrifices".¹ Nārada also has identical ordinances. "Let a king be constantly intent on showing honour to the Brahman. A field furnished with Brahman is the root of the prosperity of the world. A Brahman may command respect, and a distinguished seat at the king's court. The king shall show his face in the morning before the Brahman first of all, and shall salute them all".²

Before we note the similarity that exists between Vijayanagara theory and that of the ancients in this respect, we may cite the opinion of Kauṭilya, who, in his enumeration of the elements of sovereignty, says: "The king, the minister, the country, the fort, the treasury, the army and the friend are the elements of sovereignty".³ The Brahman, therefore, in his priestly capacity, is, according to Kauṭilya, a negligible factor in the matter of sovereignty.

Nevertheless the underlying principle which has marked the relationship of the Brahman to the State, in spite of the injunction of Kauṭilya, may be expressed in the following statement of the *Mahābhārata*: "It is said that the preservation and growth of the kingdom rests upon the king. The preservation and growth of the king rests upon the king's priest. That kingdom enjoys true felicity where the invisible fears of the subjects are dispelled by the Brahmana and all visible fears are dispelled by the king with the might of his arms".⁴ Thus did Bhīṣma reconcile the apparently conflicting

¹ *Śānti Parva*, LXXI, p. 233.

² *Nārada*, XVIII, 34-5, pp. 218-19. For a detailed discussion of the question of the Brahman's position in society, see Ghosal, *Hind. Pol. Theor.*, pp. 14-15, 30, 48, 52-4, 63, 66, 108, 110-12, 189-90 (1st ed.)

³ *Arthasāstra*, Bk. VI, Ch. I, 258, p. 309. *Supra*, Volume I, Chapter V, Central Government.

⁴ *Śānti Parva*, LXXIV, p. 241.

claims of the Kshatriyas and of the Brahmans for superiority in the Hindu state and society.

The monarchs of Vijayanagara were not unacquainted with the ancient precepts which required of the rulers the highest respect for the Brahmans. As we said in connection with the Revenue Administration of the country, according to Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya that could not be called expenditure which was used for purposes of buying and feeding elephants and horses maintaining soldiers, and worshipping gods and Brahmans.¹ He has also said: "Realizing that charity is for the protection of the *Dvijas* and that knowledge is for your own protection, take refuge in Nārāyaṇa."²

These theoretical assertions are not so convincing as the testimony of travellers, who could not help noticing the honour which the Vijayanagara kings paid to the Brahmans. 'Abdur Razzāq says thus: "The Brahmans are held by him (Dēva Rāya) in higher estimation than all other men".³ The Portuguese travellers have more details to give on the subject. Duarte Barbosa writes: "Among them is another class of people whom they call Bramenes, who are priests and rulers of their houses of worship...Among them all these men hold the greatest liberties and privileges and are not liable for death for anything whatsoever which they do. The king, the great Lords and men of rank give them much alms on which they live; also many of them have estates while others live in the houses of worship, as in monasteries, which possess good revenues".⁴ Paes relates that the king of Bisnaga "pays much honour, and he holds them in great favour".⁵ Further he says: "In all the land of the heathen there are these Brahmans; they are men who do not eat anything, that suffers death; they have little stomach for the use of arms".⁶

¹ *Amuktamālyada*, v. 262; *J. I. H.*, IV, p. 73, op. cit.

² *Ibid.* v. 278, p. 75.

³ *Elliot, Hist. of India*, IV, p. 105; *Major, India*, p. 23.

⁴ *Barbosa, Dames*, I, p. 217; *Stanley*, p. 94.

⁵ *Sewell, For. Emp.*, p. 246.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 280.

This last remark, however, Paes himself will qualify in the other details he has given of the Brahmans. Nuniz, whose description of the priestly class, as we shall see, is the longest, says: "And in this kingdom of Bisnaga there is a class of men, native of the country, namely Brahmans, who the most part of them never kill or eat any live thing, and these are the best that are amongst them".¹ The same chronicler tells us in what manner the Vijayanagara king honoured the Brahman priest. "... every day he (i.e., the Emperor) hears the preaching of a learned Brahman, who never married nor ever touched a woman. He urges in his preaching (obedience to) the commandments of God, that is to say, that one must not kill any living thing, nor take anything belonging to another, and as with these so with the rest of the commandments".² While repeating the legend of the building of the capital, Nuniz informs us that Harihara, whom he calls "King Deorão", "...after that hermit (i.e., Vidyāranya) was dead the king raised a very grand temple in honour of him and gave much revenue to it".³

In the history of the provincial rulers, too, it is narrated that they treated the Brahmans with the greatest respect. The *Tanjāvurivari Charitra* contains the following about Vijaya Rāghava Nāyaka of Tanjore. This great ruler, it is said, used to feed daily 12,000 Brahmans first and partake of his meal afterwards. "In a rainy season he was advised to cease doing so, but he maintained that his own household could not be allowed to eat till the *Brahmans* were fed; and when an entire want of fuel was stated to exist, he ordered every wooden

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 390.

² *Ibid.* pp. 390-1.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 300. This temple was identified by Sewell with the celebrated temple of Virūpāksha, *ibid.*, n. 2. The Portuguese chronicler has some thing more to say about this temple. "And ever since, in his memory, the Kings of Bisnaga, on the day when they are raised to be kings, have, in honour of the hermit, to enter this house before they enter the town . . .". This makes it difficult for us to identify the temple or shrine referred to by Nuniz: both the Prasanna Virūpāksha temple (Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, p. 92) and the famous Virūpāksha temple, as is well known, are in Vijayanagara proper. B. A. S.

material about his house to be taken down, or pulled to pieces in order to supply fuel. In three days this supply was exhausted; he then directed all the vestments in the palace to be dipped in oil, and made use of for fuel. At this time", we may be permitted to continue the tale, "a most valuable jewel became missing from the nose of the female idol in the *Sri-rangham* fane, and the head *Brahman* was greatly molested as being suspected of the theft. A *Brahman* woman became possessed; and, speaking in the name of the said goddess, said that the jewel would be found in one of the pots used by *Vijayarāghava* for boiling rice; where, accordingly it was found, to the no small joy of the said ruler".¹

SECTION 2. *Occupation of the Brahmans in Mediaeval Times*

A. *Prior to the Rise of Vijayanagara*

The above-mentioned story is, in some measure, an index to the character of the Brahman in Vijayanagara—he was worthy of every praise but he was not free from occasional blame. This was because when the Vijayanagara age had dawned, the importance of the Brahman in Hindu society had already been determined to a large extent by the wisdom and folly of his predecessors. True, the Brahman was in no small measure responsible for the continual rejuvenation of Hindu life in the political world in early ages. The instance of the Hoysala king Vishṇuvardhaha, whose policy was "radically affected by his conversion from Jainism to the Vaishṇava faith through the reformer Rāmānuja",² is a case in point. But there were also instances of Brahmans who had lowered the prestige of the priestly class. We had an occasion of citing the example of a band of Brahmans who had turned brigands in the Pāṇḍyan times. Another instance refers us to the twenty-first year of Tribhuvana Chakravarti Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa Dēva, when a gift of land was made to the Śrīpādantāṅgi servants of the temple of Siddharatnēśvara at Uttattūr. This land, the same epigraph narrates, was originally the property of a Brahman who had stolen

¹ Taylor, *Cat. Rais* III, pp. 176-7.

² Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 168; see also p. 169.

the jewels of the goddess and was compelled to give up the land as a *dēvadāna* to the temple.¹

B. Under Vijayanagara

The general status of the Brahman in Vijayanagara has been thus given by Paes: "These Brahmans are like friars with us, and they count them as holy men—I speak of the Brahman priests and the lettered men of the pagodas—because although the king has many Brahmans, they are officers of the towns and cities and belong to the government of them, others are merchants, and others live by their own property and cultivation, and the fruits which grow in their inherited grounds. Those who have charge of the temples are learned men, and eat nothing which suffers death, neither flesh nor fish, nor anything which makes broth red, for they say that it is blood. Some of the other Brahmins whom I have mentioned, who seek to serve God, and to do penance, and to live a life like that of the priests..."²

The above description may appear to be a condemnation of the Brahman from the orthodox point of view, since he had taken to a life which was other than that of piety and learning. But it is precisely here that the interest of the Brahmanical question lies—in the rigour with which he clung to the old rules which made him lead a life of devotion and study, and in the laxity with which he apparently transgressed the dictates of the classical theorists, which compelled him to cast his lot with the common people. This will be made clear when we enumerate the different occupations of the Brahmans in Vijayanagara. The presence of the Brahman was indeed felt in diverse fields of activity. As minister of the king, he was responsible to some extent for the success or failure of the State policy; as governor over a large province, he exercised the functions of an administrator; as mediator in love matters, he caused com-mo-tion between rival royal families; as master of riches, he added to the increased wealth of the kingdom; and as the

¹ 490 of 1912; Rangachari, *Top List.*, III, Tp. 258, p. 1543. See also 512 of 1912.

² Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 245.

champion of the castes below him, he sometimes advocated the cause of social reform.

But it was not so much in the fulfilment of any one of the above duties that he seemed to violate the dignity attached to his own calling as in the manner in which he assumed to himself the privilege and rank of a general. This was not, one admits, an innovation of the Vijayanagara times. So early as A.D. 1128 some Brahmans had already exchanged their hereditary vocation for that of the Kshatriyas. At least so it appears from the instance of the Brahman soldier Ravi Daṇḍanāyaka, the conqueror of the Seven Mālavas, under Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya Dēva in that year.¹

The Vijayanagara Brahman needed no such justification. From the days of the establishment of the Vijayanagara Empire, the activities of the Brahman generals had been linked with those of others who were responsible for the rejuvenation of Hindu political life. We have seen how the victories of Goppanārya, or Gōpaṇa, enabled Kaṁpaṇa Oḍeyar to consolidate the provinces of the south.² Of Mādhava, a descendant of the Brahman Chāuṇḍa, an inscription dated A. D. 1368 narrates that he won fame as a conqueror of "many countries on the shores of the Western Ocean".³ It seems to have been the custom for the *rāja-gurus*, or royal priests, to accompany the kings on their expeditions. Thus we find Vyāsarāya going to the south along with Sāḷuva Nṛsimha.⁴ Even ordinary Brahmans contributed their share to the military annals of the times. A certain Brahman named Āpatsahāya of Tirukkadaṁvūr took part in the Raichur campaign conducted by Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya.⁵ The old tradition of the king to have by his side Brahman generals was maintained under that ruler. The most famous name of a Brahman general during Kṛishṇa Dēva

¹ 128 of 1913; Rangachari, *Top. List.* I, By. 183, pp. 281-282.

² *Supra* Volume I, Ch. I; A. S. R. for 1907-8, p. 240; *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 322, *seq. Madhurāvijayam*, Intr. pp. 26-7.

³ E. C. VII, Sk. 281, p. 146.

⁴ Sōmanātha, *Vyāsayōgicharitam*, Intr., pp. xci-xcv, 40.

⁵ 47 of 1906; *Ep. Report* for 1907, p. 85; A. S. R. for 1908-9, p. 182.

Rāya's times is that of *Rayasam* Koṇḍamarusayya.¹ In later Vijayanagara history we have Tiruchchirrambala Bhaṭṭan, a native of Tiruviḍaimarudūr, who joined Viṭṭhala's army in Travancore;² and Gōvinda Dikshita, the minister-general of Achyutappa Nāyaka, the Viceroy over the Chōḷa capital.³

The validity of the claims of the Brahmans to take upon themselves the duties of the Kshatriyas now deserves to be examined, especially from the standpoint of classical and Vijayanagara theory. Manu says: "Twice born men may take up arms when (they are) hindered (in the fulfilment of) their duties, when destruction (threatens) the twice-born castes (varṇa) in (evil) times, in their own defence, in a strife for the fees of officiating priests, and in order to protect women and Brāhmaṇas; he who (under such circumstances) kills in the cause of right, commits no sin".⁴ According to Nārada: "In times of distress, a Brahman is allowed to gain his substance in the mode prescribed for the caste next to him in rank; or he may gain his substance like a Vaiśya..."⁵ Nārada, however, enjoins this stipulation: "When a Brahman has lived through times of distress, with the wealth acquired by following the occupations of a Kshatriya, he must perform a penance and relinquish the occupations of a Kshatriya. When, however, a Brahman takes delight in those occupations and persists in them, he is declared a Kāṇḍapriṣṭha (professional soldier) and must be expelled from society, because he has swerved from the path of duty".⁶

Gautama ordains the following: "On failure of the (occupations lawful for a Brāhmaṇa) he may live by the occu-

¹ *Ep. Report* for 1912, p. 80. There were others of course equally well known—Sāḷuvu Timma, Sāḷuva Gōvindayya, Sāḷuva Vīra Narasimha, Karaṇiga Mangarasayya, and Bācharasayya. See Sarasvaty, *J. I. H.*, IV. P. III, p. 85.

² 140 of 1895; *Ep. Report* for 1900, p. 29; Heras, *Aravidu*, p. 142.

³ *Tanjāvuri Andhra Rājulu Charitra*, *The Sources*, pp. 323, 335; Heras, *ibid.*, p. 288.

⁴ *Manu*, VIII, 348-9, pp. 314-15.

⁵ *Nārada*, I, 4, 56, p. 55.

⁶ *Ibid.* I, 4, 59-60, p. 56.

pations of a Kshatriya.”¹ This is, of course, based on the injunctions of Manu. Baudhāyana, while repeating the statements of Gautama and the earlier lawgivers, introduces a detail which is interesting. “Now they quote also (the following verse): ‘Out of regard for the sacred law a Brāhmaṇa and a Vaiśya may take up arms (for the protection of) cows or Brāhmaṇas, or when a confusion of the castes (threatens to take place)’”,²

A knowledge of military science is one of the most essential qualifications of a royal priest, as given in the *Śukranīti*. In this mediaeval code a royal priest has been thus defined: “One who is versed in *mantras* and rituals, master of the three sciences, skilful at work, conqueror of the senses, subduer of anger, devoid of greed and passions, equipped with a knowledge of six *Āṅgas* (*Vēdāṅgas*), and of the science of Archery with all its branches, one who knows the science of moral as well as religious interests, one fearing whose anger even the king takes to virtuous ways of life, one who is well up in *Nīti Śāstra*, and master of military implements and tactics is the Priest.”³ In fact, Śukrāchārya does not seem to have reserved the duties and privileges of warriors only to the Kshatriyas.⁴

The occasions when the Brahmans could exchange duties legitimate to their order for those of the Kshatriyas, may be summarized as follows:

(a) When their own lawful occupations could no longer be continued;

(b) When there was a danger of an admixture of castes ;
and

(c) When there was need for protecting women and cows.

In other words, when the people were confronted with a danger which threatened to undermine their life,—political and

¹ *Gautama*, VII, 6, p. 212. Cf. *Vaiśishṭha*, II, 22, p. 12.

² *Baudhāyana*, II, 18, p. 236.

³ *Śukranīti*, II., ll. 156-60, p. 69.

⁴ *Sarkar, Pos. Back.*, Bk. II, P. I, pp. 94-5.

social, religious and economic,—the Brahmanś could legally eschew the cause of the scriptures for that of the sword. The Vijayanagara age was precisely such an epoch; and no one recognized the need of entrusting the Brahmanś with the responsibilities of a warrior so much as the Emperor Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya who, in his *Āmuktamālyada*, writes thus: "Because a Brahman would stand to his post even in times of danger and would continue in service though reduced to becoming a subordinate to a Kshatriya or a Śūdra, it is always advisable for a king to make Brahmanś as his officers".¹ He further says: "Entrust your fortresses to such Brahmanś (Generals) as you are best acquainted with. Do not keep them weak, but give them such strong forces that they can be devoid of fear from their enemies".² Then again: "That king can lay his hand on his breast and sleep peacefully who appoints as masters of his fortresses such Brahmanś as are attached to himself, are learned in many sciences and arts, are addicted to *Dharma*, are heroic and have been in his service since before his time, who make arrangements for storing in those fortresses tiger's cheese (?Tel. *Pulijunnu*) and other articles to last for a generation, who gives to the subordinate chiefs (*Sāmanta*) lands and other things without lessening in the slightest degree the arrangement with them, who increases his treasures by multiplying his income and lessening expenditure, and by seeing that the people are without trouble, who keeps watch on the territory of weakened enemies by his spies and capturing them suddenly like the crane which catches fish, who sees that neither he nor his subjects suffer and who gives trouble only to his enemies."³

Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya was to a certain extent justified in bestowing praise on Brahmanś who had proved their worth as governors and generals. Since the times of Harihara II, it had been the custom to entrust administrative work to qualified Brahmanś. Thus Mādhava Rāya, the Brahman-general al-

¹ *Āmuktamālyada*, v. 217; *J. I. H.*, IV, p. 66.

² *Ibid.*, v. 207; *ibid.*, p. 65.

³ *Ibid.*, v. 261; *ibid.*, pp. 72-3.

ready referred to in a previous page, was temporarily entrusted with the government of the town (and district) of Jayantī. It was during this time that he conquered Gōva (mod. Goa) in Śaka 1313 (A. D. 1391-2).¹ Another famous Brahman-governor was Viṭṭhaṇṇa Oḍeyar, who was the Viceroy over Āraga in A. D. 1403. He was the son of Bommaṇa, who was the son of the well known minister Saṅkapa of the Bharadvāja-gōtra. His praise is thus sung in an inscription of the same date: "And, at the time when, by that Mahārāya's order, the Brahma-Kshatri, a son of Hēmādri, an initiating priest for all gifts, a son to the lotus the line of Saṅkapa and Rāyapa, son of a chief Brahman minister, proficient in learning, a royal swan in the lotus pond of the learned, a moon to the *chakōras* poets, remover of the poverty of his servants, a flamingo at the lotus feet of Kṛiyāśakti-guru munīśvara, devoted to the worship of Triyambaka, the son of Virupāmbikā".² Then again, in another inscription of the same year, we have the following eulogy of Viṭṭhaṇṇa, both as a learned man and as an administrator: "...the chief minister Viṭṭhala, ever beloved, versed in the sciences and arts,...Some yōgis took him for Kṛishṇa; certain learned men, for Rāmachandra; some truthful ones, for Yudhisṭhira; the performers of rites, for Svāyambhuva; supplicants thought him the tree of plenty; enemies, a consuming sun; his subjects, as their father (*tāta*):—such a mine of good qualities was Viṭṭhalādhiśvara...The *hēmādri* gift did Viṭṭhala-mantri but once make, and forthwith there was a *hēmādri* gift from house to house of all the Brahmans....An abode of all learning and fortune, appointed by his king to the government of the Āraga-dēśa, he was protecting with unfailing greatness all merit, fame and progress".³ An epigraph dated A. D. 1405 calls him "a *diksha-guru* in regard to all the gifts mentioned in the Hēmādri".⁴ Annamārādhyā *alias* Kōmpalli

¹ Jacob, *J. Bom. B. R. A. S.*, IV, pp. 107-8, 115; Weber, *I. A.*, VI, p. 162, n; *A. S. R.* for 1907-8, p. 238, n. (2).

² *E. C.*, VI, Kp. 52, pp. 86-7, op. cit.

³ *Ibid.*, Kp. 53, p. 87.

⁴ *E. C.*, VIII, Tl. 12; p. 165. On Hēmādri, see Weber, *I. A.*, VI, p. 161, n.

was a Brahman appointed as governor of the city-gates in A. D. 1429-1430. It is said of him that he "has studied four vēdas and understood them by the Śaiva scriptures; he is the Lord of the northern gate at Śrīśaila and is renowned on earth".¹ No account of Brahman-governors may be thought adequate without mention being made of Sāluva Timma, and of his nephew Nāḍendḷa Gōpa-mantri, both of whom were governors of Koṇḍaviḍu.² The following incident of A.D. 1614 described by Floris deals with the Brahman governor of Musulipatam. "In the meanwhile, Wencatadra (the son of the governor) remayned aboard without eating or drinking. For he being a Bramene, may neither eate nor drinke in any mans house but what he hath dressed himselfe; which made mee so to pittie him, that I offered if any two Moores of qualitie would come aboard in his place, I would let him go on shoare".³

From the remarks of Paes it appears that Brahmans had to some extent become agriculturists. He writes thus: "The other temples aforesaid are made in the same manner, but this one is the principal one and the oldest; they all have many buildings and gardens with many trees, in which the Brahmans cultivate their vegetables and the other herbs that they eat",⁴ Obviously this refers to the cultivation of vegetables for the daily consumption in their homes, although there is nothing strange in Brahmans taking to a life of agriculture in view of the freedom given to them by the early and mediaeval canonists."

For what vile purposes an outwardly pious Brahman could use his learning and entangle princes in the meshes of war is related by Firishtah who gives us the description of the Mudkal beauty and the war which Dēva Rāya I waged for her sake. "It happened that in the town of Moodkul lived a goldsmith,

¹ Butterworth-Chetty, *Nellore, Ins.*, I, p. 16.

² Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 131; *Lists.*, II, p. 188.

³ Floris, *Purchas, Pilgrims*, III, pp. 340-1.

⁴ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 262.

⁵ *Manu*, X, 81-3, 85, pp. 420, 421; *Gautama*, VII, 5, 24, X, 5-6, pp. 212-3, 228; *Vaśishṭha*, II, 24-6, p. 12, III, 1-3, pp. 16-17; *Baudhāyana* II., 2, 4, 19-21, p. 232; *Sūkraniti*, IV, iii, ll. 37-9, p. 151.

who had a daughter named Nehal of such exquisite beauty, that nature seemed to have exerted all her art to render her perfect. Agreeably to the custom of Hindoostan, her parents wished to betroth her in childhood to a youth of her own caste; but she requested that the ceremony might be delayed, with such earnestness, that it was put off. Sometime after, an old brahmin, who had been on a pilgrimage to Benares, stopping on his return at her father's house, was struck with the beauty of his daughter, adopted her as his child, and resolved to render her skilful in music and dancing, of which he was a perfect master. The brahmin continued nearly eighteen months with her family: at the end of which period, finding her fully accomplished, he took his leave, with a promise shortly to return, with proposals calculated for the honour of his pupil, and the advantage of her family. The brahmin, who had from the first designed to exalt his adopted daughter to the station of a princess, proceeded to Beejanuggur; and being introduced to the Ray, spoke in such praise of the maid that he resolved to possess her, and entreated the brahmin to solicit her in marriage. The request had been anticipated by the brahmin, and he accordingly agreed to assist him in the attainment of his wishes; on which, the Ray despatched him with rich gifts to the parents and offered to bestow the title of Rany, or Princess, on their beautiful daughter. The brahmin lost no time in his journey; and on his arrival at the goldsmith's house delivered to him and his wife the Ray's orders that they should repair with their child to Beejanuggur. They were overjoyed at such unexpected good fortune; and calling the maid, laid before her the rich gifts of the Ray, congratulated her on being so soon to be united to a great prince, and attempted to throw upon her neck a golden necklace set with jewels as the token of betrothal, and which, if done, the engagement could not have been broken off. The daughter, to the astonishment of her parents, refused to receive the necklace; observing, that whoever entered the harem of Beejanuggur was never afterwards permitted to see even her nearest relatives, and though they might be willing to sacrifice her for the wealth of the court, yet she was

too fond of her parents to submit to an eternal separation from them, even for the splendour of the palace of Beejanuggur. This affectionate declaration, accompanied with tears, reconciled her parents to their disappointed hopes, who rather than use force, dismissed the brahmin with all his gifts,—and he returned to Beejanuggur without success.”¹

In political matters, too, the Brahmans could turn out into deceitful diplomats. An example of a wicked Brahman-diplomat of this type is that of Rāmayya Bhāskarudu, a subordinate of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya. It was he who managed to have all the seventy-two nobles, the subordinates of the Redḍi kings, beheaded in the temple of Gōpinātha at Koṇḍaviḍu. The local chronicles contain the following details in connection with this dastardly incident. The Brahman was furnished with money, and directed to restore the magnificent temple of Gōpinātha Svāmi at the foot of Koṇḍaviḍu. A new image was to be consecrated and set up, and for the celebration of these rites, the presiding priest invited the seventy-two chiefs to descend from their hill fortress. “They came—the three score and twelve—and were all seated in the great hall. From thence one by one the officiating priest led them to the inner shrine to view the new representation of deity, and to bow before the image that the great Krishna Dēva Rāyalu had set up. As they stepped into the *antaralīkam* or inner hall, and bowed at the threshold, two ruffians, who were concealed in the chamber, stepped forward, and before the victim had time to raise a cry, precipitated him into a deep well whose mouth it was impossible to discover amid the surrounding gloom. One by one each Redḍi Chieftain approached the shrine, and all shared one

¹ Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise I*, pp. 380-1. The next sentence which follows is this: “The maiden, subsequently, revealed to her parents, that she had long had an inward conviction that she should one day become the wife of a prince of the faith of Islam, and recommended them to await patiently the will of providence”. This subsequent revelation in favour of a Muhammadan Prince, makes one suspect that there is an element of improbability in the nice story told by Firishtah. B. A. S.

common fate, one common grave, and then all was easy for Krishna Dēva Rāyalu to seize the fort".¹

The Brahmans, however, could divert their influence in more profitable channels. They could, for example, elevate the classes which were socially on a lower scale, and thus bring about social reform. One such instance is that of the Brahmans who invested 500 oil-mongers with the sacred thread. It is poet Diṇḍima—who was one of the *mahājanas* of Mulluṇḍ-rum *alias* Prauḍḥa-dēvarāyapuram, and probably a contemporary of Prandḥa Dēva Rāya,—who gives us these details. Although more particulars are not forthcoming, yet the fact that the oil-mongers still feel grateful to the Brahman family by accepting one of its members as their *guru*,² indicates to us that, at least in this one instance, the Brahmans have left behind them evidence of the service they rendered to the cause of society.

The generosity of the Vijayanagara monarchs enabled the Brahmans to amass great wealth. It was a policy of the rulers to endow them with large grants of land and money; and this seems to have culminated in the institution of a sort of a State fund called *anandanidhi*, for their sake, by Achyuta Rāya.³ The liberality of his illustrious predecessor was equally responsible for the wealthy position of the priestly class. Their riches may have partly caused the anti-Brahman feeling which was especially noticeable in the writings of the poets of the later ages. There is reason to believe that even the State, as typified by Rāma Rāja, was inclined to be rather unfriendly towards the members of the sacerdotal class, who had received the largest share of royal bounty in the days of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya and Achyuta Rāya. Even Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya himself did not fail to observe the fallen condition of the Brahmans in his times. In his well known work, he says: "Why only kings! even the Brahmans of this age do not

¹ Boswell, *I. A.*, I, p. 183; Sewell, *Lists*, II, p. 188; *Ep. Report* for 1915, p. 112.

² *Ep. Report* for 1912, p. 90.

³ *Ep. Report* for 1923, p. 119.

possess the power of the Brahmans of those ages. A Brahman (Agastya) was able to drink away the water of the sea. Another sage (Viśvāmitra) was able to engage in creation as opposed to the creation (of Brahma). Another was able to avert the *Brahmāstra* by his staff (Brahmadaṇḍa). Is it proper that Brahmans of this age should give up acting up to their best ability because they do not have such powers? Have they ceased to command respect and worship from others in spite of their lessened powers?"¹ Then again he says, while dealing with persons who were qualified for government service: "Do not appoint a Brahman who swerves from the right conduct and who is bred in a Pakkaṇa (a Śābara suburb). Don't you know the story of how a Brahman once destroyed a crane which had saved his life, for a single day's meal?"²

To foreigners like Nuniz, the Brahmans sometimes appeared intolerable because of their wealth. That Portuguese chronicler narrates thus: "The King always gives large sums in charity; in the palace there are always two or three thousand Brahmans who are his priests, and to whom the King commands to give alms. These Brahman priests are very despicable men; they always have much money, and are so insolent that even by using blows the guards of the door cannot hold them in check."³

Rāma Rāja seems to have been thoroughly anti-Brahman as may be inferred from the following statement in the *Mahisūra Narapati Vijaya* :

जामाताभून्महिपालः रामराय इति स्मृतः ।

स कामवशमापन्नः नित्यं द्यूते च निष्ठितः ॥

ब्राह्मणानां गुरुणां च नित्यं अप्रियमातनोत् ॥⁴

¹ *Amuktamālyada*, v. 285; *J. I. H.*, IV, p. 77.

² *Ibid.*, v. 210; *ibid.*, p. 65.

³ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 379-80.

⁴ *My. Arch. Report* for 1907, para. 53, cited by Venkoba Rao, *Vyāsayōgicharita*, Intr., p. clxvi.

Perhaps it was this which Nuniz wanted to convey when he referred to Rāma Rāja in the following words : "...for he (Achyuta Rāya) has never done anything except those things that are desired by his two brothers-in-law, who are men very evilly disposed and great Jews".¹

From the ending of certain epigraphs it appears that some Brahmans forsook their rules to receive gifts, and were, therefore, not held in high esteem by the people. The inscription which gives us this information is dated A.D. 1395, and it ends thus: "The Brahman who forsakes the rules for receiving gifts becomes a monkey; and the giver becomes a foul-scented jackal in the burning ground".² If receiving gifts (*pratigraha-vidhi-tyāgi viprō bhavatu markkataḥ*) refers to begging, then, evidently the people were justified in condemning such a Brahman, for it was a violation of one of the rules laid down in the code of Manu: "One must not consider as a guest a Brāhmaṇ who dwells in the same village, nor one who seeks his livelihood by social intercourse, even though he has come to a house where (there is) wife, and where sacred fires are kept. Those foolish householders, who constantly seek (to live on) the food of others, become, in consequence of that (baseness) after death the cattle of those who gave them food".³ Vāsiṣṭha clearly says: "The king shall punish that village where Brāhmaṇas, unobservant of their sacred duties and ignorant of the Veda, subsist by begging; for it feeds robbers".⁴

Some Brahmans, as we shall see, seem to have refused the consecrated food (*tīrtha-prasāda*) of gods. Such of them who were found guilty of this offence were declared Chāṇḍālas or outcastes.

It is not surprising, therefore, that a strong feeling against the Brahmans should have been felt in the land, as is evident

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 367, 369.

² E. C., VIII, Sb. 382, p. 68, text, p. 179.

³ *Manu*, III, 103-4, p. 94.

⁴ *Vāsiṣṭha*, III, 4, p. 17.

not only from the shrewd hints which even foreign travellers were compelled to make but also from the tirades which the poets, as preachers of morality, levelled against the members of the Brahman community.¹ This anti-Brahman feeling gathered strength with the decline of Vijayanagara as a potent factor in the history of the country; and poets and writers, like Vēmana and Dhūrjaṭi, voiced the sentiments of the people in the following words: "His forehead (i.e., of a Brahman with the caste-marks) is that of a worshipper; his mouth, that of a wolf; and his heart that of a roaming demon: is he so shameless as to say he has learnt of the divinity? If a man still has in his heart the principles of a pariah, and yet scorns pariahs, how should he become twice-born, while devoid of every good quality? There is no sin greater than that of falsehood: this is an abomination perpetually in the mouth: what vagabonds are several who call themselves twice-born? The lords of the earth (i.e., Brahmans) say, 'we are pure; we are learned in the scriptures', they scorn all who are in their natural state. Truly the poorest palmer is better than such boasters!"² Then again:

¹ For the anti-Brahman feeling in the south, read Barnett, *Heart of India*, pp. 93, seq.

² Vēmana, *Verses*, Bk. III., vv. 163-6, p. 135 (Brown).

In the original they run thus:

నొసలు బట్టడయ్యె నోరు కోడేలయ్యె,
మనసు భూకము వలె మలయగాను,
'శివుని గని యె'నన్న సిగ్గుటలుగాదోకో!
మాదిగె చెయువులను మనసు లో చెట్టుక,
మాదిగెలను దెగడు మాడ్కినెపుడు
మంచిగుణము లేక మరిద్విజుడెట్లగు?
కల్లలాడు కంటె కష్టంబు మరిలేదు,
కష్టమెపుడు నొలిగిలిగియుండు.
ద్విజుడననుట చూడదిమ్మరితనమరితమది.
విప్రపరులను నుచు, వేదంబుజదువుచు,
ప్రాకృతులను జూచి పరిహసింపు,
ధరణి సులకన్న దాసరి మకమెచ్చు.

"To give up food and apparel, and lie about in the porches of temples, is the fate written *for their sins* in the foreheads of monks: what would they be worse for familiarity with women?"¹ "After going through all his studies, and attaining consummate wisdom, after making nothing of divinity, the *moment* he sees a fair woman he forgets all his sanctity".²

SECTION 4. *The Agrahāra*

We may now look at the other side of the picture which presents the life of the Brahman amidst the orthodox surroundings of the *agrahāra*.³ The traditions which the Brahmins of Vijayanagara received from those of the earlier times were of learning and piety. Their duties and vocation, as is well known, were already fixed for them by the early canonists.⁴ The Brahmins of Karṇāṭaka seem to have lived, on the whole, a life which was in conformity with classical precepts.⁵ An inscription dated about A.D. 1142 sings the praise of the Brahmins of the Hariharapura *agrahāra*, also called

¹ Vēmana, *Verses*, Bk. III, v. 260, p. 155 (Brown).

కూడుచీర బాసి గుళ్లపంచలబడు
నట్లువ్రాసె బ్రహ్మయతులనుడుట,
తోయకాక్షి కేర దోవంబు లంటునా ?

² *Ibid.*, v. 270, p. 157.

చదువురెల్ల జదివి, సర్వజ్ఞుడైయుండి,
బ్రహ్మవిద్యురెల్ల పడుట గలిసి,
యిరుట యోని జూచి, పరమ యోగముమాను.

See also, vv. 191-2, p. 141. The date of Vēmana is a debatable point. C. P. Brown places him "about the beginning of the seventeenth century of our era". *Verses of Vēmana*, Preface, p. 111 (1829). Chenchiah and Bhujanga Rao remark: "It is probable that he lived in the beginning of the fifteenth century." *A History of Telugu Literature*, p. 99. (Heritage of India Series). Vēmana's description may be compared with that given by Lakshmipati Dhūrjati, *Hamsa-vimśati Kathaḡaḡu*, p. 18 (Trans. into Kanarese by Krishnayya, Bangalore, 1871).

³ For the corporate life of the Brahmins, see Majumdar, *Corp. Life*, p. 337, seq.

⁴ *Manu*, X, 75, p. 419; *Gautama*, VIII, 4-11, 14-24, pp. 215-18; *Vaśiṣṭha*, VI, 23, p. 38.

⁵ For a detailed description of the chief duties of *mahājānas*, see Majumdar, *ibid.*, p. 334.

Kellaṅgere, thus : “ Possessed of the usual ascetic virtues (*yama-niyama svādhyāya-dhyāna-dhāraṇa-maunānushṭhāna-japa-samādhi-śīla-guṇa-sampannarūṇ*), devoted to the *śaṭ-karmma* (*yajana-yājana-adhyāyana-adhyāpana-dāna-pratigraha-śaṭ-karmma-niyatarūṇ*), versed in the Rig, Yajus, Sāma and Atharvaṇa and their *śaḍ-aṅgas*, suns in dispersing the darkness the poverty of the company of panegyrists, restrained by *muñji*, *yajña* and *upavīta*, wearing golden earrings, having at their feet the foreheads of the three (castes of) Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, of original ability, lights of the Bali-varṇśa, oceans (of mercy) to those who come for refuge, were the Brahmans of Kellaṅgere.....”¹

In the eulogy which these Brahmans of Kellaṅgere heap upon themselves, some allowance must be made for their vanity which brings to their feet “ the foreheads of the three (castes of) Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras”, and which prompts them to style themselves as possessors of the usual ascetic virtues and also of golden earrings ! But it is evident that Kellaṅgere was indeed a place of some repute, even in the later times, as is indicated in an inscription assigned to the year A.D. 1300. This epigraph says that the Brahmans of Kellaṅgere were poets, readers, speakers, orators and lovers of fame, devoted to the lotus feet of Kēśava.² That it is not improbable that Brahmans in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were given to learning is evident by comparing the above description of the residents of Kellaṅgere with that of those who lived in the great *agrahāra* Sarvajñapura. An inscription dated A.D. 1234 describes them thus : “ In that *nāḍ* (*i.e.*, Hoysala-nāḍ) exalted was the great *agrahāra* Sarvajñapura. In some streets were those reading the Vēdas, śāstras and six systems of *tarkka* ; in some were (?) *maṇṭapas* for (?) new shows ; in some Viṣṇu temples. Ever groups of Brahmans either reading the Vēda, or all at once listening to some higher science, or without ceasing carrying on discussion

¹ E.C. V, P. I., Ak. 110, p. 160, P. II, text, p. 486.

² *Ibid.*, Ak. 114, p. 162.

in logic, or joyously reciting purāṇas, or settling the meaning of all manner of *smṛiti*, drama and poetry. To study, teaching, listening to good precepts and the rules of their faith, were the Brahmans in Sarvajñapura devoted'.¹

One characteristic feature of the Brahmans was their corporate life. We infer this not only from the fact that they held their offices in the *agrahāras* by monthly rotation but also from the grants which they jointly made for social and religious purposes. The tradition of living a corporate existence seems to have been handed down from very early times.² Thus the thousand Brahmans of Maddūr, for example, made a grant of twelve *kaṇḍugas* of wet land in Oragāla in A.D. 982 for the temple which Polayya had caused to be erected.³ This Maddūr is evidently the same Maddūr the Brahmans of which in A.D. 1327 made a grant, the details of which are missing, to five persons (named), during the month's headship of the *Tantra-mantra-chintāmaṇi*, the *Śravaṇappāchārya* Vijñeśvara Dikshitōpādhyāya.⁴ The term used for the "month's headship", which is missing in this inscription, of the learned Brahman of Maddūr (which was also called by the name the all-honoured great *agrahāra* Upēndrapura), is supplied by another inscription, relating to the same place, dated in the next year (A.D. 1328). This epigraph relates that all the Brahmans of the all-honoured great *agrahāra* Upēndrapura, during the month's headship (*māsa-veggadetanadolu*) of Aśama Dēva, (his descent given), made a grant to six persons (named), for the purpose of building Upēndrapaṭṭaṇa anew in the dry fields of Chiraduvu.⁵ In A.D. 1336 all the Brahmans of the same *agrahāra*, during the month's headship of Karaṭṭi of Udugundūr, gave a stone charter to Mambōja, son of the copper-smith Pemmōja, assigning to him certain specified lands

¹ E.C., V, P. I, Ak. 82, p. 144.

² Majumdar, *Corp. Life*, p. 339.

³ E.C., IV, Yl. 41, p. 31.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Yl. 40, p. 31.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 39, p. 31.

for "having by the practice of his calling pleased the Brahmans."¹ If this was the case in A.D. 1336, we may not be far wrong in assuming that the custom of holding office by monthly rotation, at least so far as Upēndrapura *alias* Maddūr was concerned, must also have been in vogue in Vijayanagara times.

In this connection it is interesting to observe a special feature of the *agrahāras* under the Vijayanagara kings. In spite of the freedom given to the Brahmans in certain matters, it appears that the State imposed its own officials over the *agrahāras*. This is proved by an inscription dated A.D. 1532 which narrates that, at the time of setting up the god Yōga-Narasimha in the Durggāgrahāra, Rāmayya, son of Hāra-Mallayya, of Pidave in the Ādavāni country, the seal-bearer of Mallarasa-ayya, the head minister of Śingapa Nāyaka, held the *pārūpatya* of Durggāgrahāra, caused the sacred pond to be excavated and restored.²

It was not only the Brahmans of Karṇāṭaka who could lay pretensions to learning and piety. The Kāśmīr Brahmans too were famous for their wisdom. Thus are these latter described in an inscription dated A.D. 1368. ".....like incarnations of Vidyēśvara, pre-eminent by their virtues and the country of their birth, travellers to the farthest point of the *charayaṇīya-aticharaṇāmnāya*, daily observers of all the rites appointed in the pure Śivāmnāya, ever devoted to the worship of the Aṣṭha-mūrti, Kāśmīr Brahmans."³

About the *agrahāras* we have some charming notices in contemporary Indian literature, while about the Brahmans themselves, a great deal can be gathered from the accounts of foreign travellers. The *Varadāmbikā Pariṇaya*, written by the talented poetess Tirumalāmbā, thus describes the *agrahāras* of Tuṇḍīra-maṇḍala:

¹ E. C., IV, Yl. 38, p. 30.

² *Ibid.*, Yl. 45, pp. 31-2.

³ E.C., VII, Sk. 281, p. 147.

वेदवेदान्तविद्याप्रत्युद्यातरोमुषीपदैः दैत्यारिस्तुतिप्रस्तावविस्तारित-
हृद्यानवधार्यविद्योतमानः गद्यपद्यैः विद्यारचित सकल अतिथिसत्कारावितथी-
कृततिभिः सौजन्यसीमावधिभिः अनितरतत्त्वज्ञानोपज्ञप्रज्ञैः निगमागम-
निदर्शनायितनिर्मलनिजकर्मभिः द्विजमणिभिः अलंकृतमहाप्रहारान्...
तुण्डीरानतीत्य ¹

To the above we may add Sōmanātha's description of the great *agrahāra* of Mūlābāgal, where lived the learned Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa Yōgi, otherwise known as Śrīpāda-rāja :

तत्र सततविहिताधिवासं सनकमिव महर्षिभिः ब्रह्मवादिभिः
अन्तेवासिभिः उपास्यमानं प्रतिविबुधविटपिपाटनक्रीडनकठोरकुठारधारायमाण-
वाग्गुम्भं हरिदंतरविसर्पियशःकाशवनप्रवर्तितशाश्वतशरत्समयावतारं निक्षेप-
माजनमिव मच्चमुनिरहस्यस्य...

Sōmanātha tells us in the same connection why Vyāsarāya preferred to remain at Mūlābāgal :

स च प्रशस्ततया देशस्य पवित्रतया महातीर्थानां भूयिष्ठतया
महत्संघस्य वत्सलतया विद्यागुरोः प्रशान्ततया मनसश्च समग्रसन्निधान-
वैभवस्य भगवतो नृसिंहस्य काङ्क्षमाणः करुणां भूयसीं शरत्समय इव
प्रसन्नसलिलाशयः समर इव आरब्धवीरासनो रय इव विधृताक्षमालो
वनोद्देश इव प्रविकस्वरजपो धिषण इव नियमितमरुद्गणः तरुरिव
दरदरीदृश्यमानेनत्रभागः निवृष्टबलाहक इव अचञ्चलस्तपस्तपन्महनीयं तत्रैव
चिरमवसत् । ²

These details one looks for in vain in the accounts of foreigners, who were struck as much by the versatility as by the voracity of the Brahmans. There is a touch of admiration not unmixed with contempt in the remark of 'Abdur Razzāq who couples "the wise Brahmans and the demon-like elephants" in a verse describing the great Mahānavami festival.³

¹ *Varadāmbikā Parinaya*, quoted by Venkoba Rao, *Vyāsasyōgi-charitam* Intr., p. lvii.

² Sōmanatha, *Vyāsasyōgicharitam*, pp. 39-40. On page 41 he describes a bath in a tank in the woods.

³ Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, p. 117

Barbosa has more to say about the Brahmans than the Persian Ambassador. "Among them is another class of people whom they call Bramenes, who are priests and rulers of their houses of worship. These eat nothing subject to death, they marry only one wife, and if she dies, do not marry again (and their sons inherit all their goods). As a mark of their dignity they wear over their shoulders three linen threads. Among them all these men hold the greatest liberties and privileges and are not liable to death for anything whatsoever which they do. The king, the great Lords and men of rank give them much alms on which they live; also many of them have estates while others live in the houses of worship, as in monasteries, which possess good revenues. Some are great eaters and never work except to feed well; they will start at once on a 'six days journey' [twenty or twenty-four miles, *Ramusio*; eight leagues, Spanish] only to get a good bellyfull. Their (food is?) honey and butter, rice, sugar, 'stews of' pulse and milk".¹

[We shall see in the next chapter what Paes has to say about the Brahman women; meanwhile we may pass on to the accounts of Nuniz. "And in this kingdom of Bisnaga there is a class of men, natives of the country, namely Brahmans, who the most part of them never kill or eat any live thing, and these are the best that there are amongst them. They are honest men, given to merchandise, very acute and of much talent, very good at accounts, lean men and well-formed, but little fit for hard work. By these and by the duties they undertake the kingdom is carried on. They believe that there are Three Persons and only One God, and they call the Persons of

¹ *Barbosa, Dames, I, p. 217.* Barbosa describes in almost identical terms the Brahmans of Gujerat. *Ibid.*, I. pp. 114-17; Stanley, p. 94. Cf. the account of the Brahmans as given by William Metthwold who describes Golkonda and its inhabitants. "The Gentiles in the fundamentall points of their little religion doe hold the same principles which their learned clergie, the Bramenes (brāhmans), have from great antiquitie, and doe yet maintayne, but with an implicit faith, not able to give an account of it, nor any of their customes, onely that it was the custome of their ancestors". Metthwold, *Relations of Golconda*, p. 13.

the Most Holy Trinity '*Tricebemca*'"¹. Then again he says: "These people have such devotion to cows that they kiss them everyday, some they say even on the rump—a thing I do not assert for their honour—and with the droppings of these cows they absolve themselves from their sins as if with holy water. They have for a commandment to confess their sins to the Brahman priests, but they do not do it, except only those who are very religious...They give in excuse that they feel a shame to confess themselves to another man, and say that it is sufficient to confess themselves alone after approaching God, for he who does not do so does not acquire grace; thus they fulfil the command in one way or another. But they do it so seldom (in reality) that they (may be said to) neglect this command to confess".² These details given by Nuniz about confession among Brahmans are rather strange: the chronicler evidently belongs to the earlier school of Portuguese writers who shared the belief that "the Hindus were Christians of a sort".³

Before we proceed with the account of the death ceremonies which Nuniz gives in some detail, we may record the evidence of two other writers who saw what Barbosa and Nuniz had failed to note—the devotion and learning of the Brahmans. Gasparo Balbi in A. D. 1582 thus describes the Brahmans around Mylapore:

"The Bramins are wont to burne Kowes excrements, and with the ashes for devotion meeting with the Gentiles to dawbe their forehead and nose; who so painted wash not that day for devotion of the Kow".⁴ John Huighen Van Linschoten in A. D. 1583 noted the following about the Brahmans:

"The Bramenes are the honestest and most esteemed

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 390 "*Triyambaka*"? Nuniz evidently refers here to the *Trimūrti* of the Hindus. For the confusion the Portuguese once made as regards the Hindu Trimurti and the Holy Trinity, see Dames, *Barbosa*, I, p. 115, n. (1).

² Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 391.

³ Dames, *ibid.*, I, p. 115, n. (1).

⁴ Gasparo Balbi, Purchas, *Pilgrims*, X, p. 148.

Nation among all the Indian Heathens:¹ for they doe alwaies serve in the chiefest places about the King, as Receivers, Stewards, Ambassadors, and such like Offices. They are likewise the Priests and Ministers of the Pagodas, or devilish Idols. They are of great authoritie among the Indian people, for that the King doth nothing without their counsell and consent, and that they may bee knowne from other men, they weare upon their naked bodie, from the shoulder crosse under the arme over their bodie downe to the girdle, or the cloth that is wrapped about their middle, three or four strings like sealing thread, whereby they are knowne: which they never put off although it should cost them their lives, for their Profession and Religion will not permit it. They goe naked, saving onely that they have a cloth bound about their middles to hide their privie members. They weare sometimes when they go abroad, a thinne cotton linnen Gowne called Cabaia, lightly cast over their shoulders, and hanging down to the ground like some other Indians, as Benianes (Banyas?) Gusartes (Gujeratis?) and Decanins (Deccanis?). Upon their heads they weare a white cloth, wound twice or thrice about, therewith to hide their haire, which they never cut off, but weare it long and turned up as the women doe. They have most commonly round rings of gold hanging at their eares, as most of the Indians have. They eate not anything that hath life, but feed themselves with herbes and Rice, neither yet when they are sick will for anything be let blood, but heale themselves by herbs and oint-

¹ The brighter side of the character of the Brahman was seen also by Metthwold: "Their moralitie appeares best in their conversation (conduct); murder and violent theft are strangers among them, and seldome happen; but for coozenage (cheating) in bargaining, *caveat emptor* . Poligamy is permitted but not generally practised, unlesse in case of the first wives barrennesse. Adultery is not common, but punishable in women, fornication veniall, and no law but that of modesty restraines the publike action". Metthwold, *Relations of Golconda*, p. 14.

The same eye-witness tells us: "The Bramene (brâhman) is priest unto them all, and weareth alwayes three or four twisted threads on one shoulder and under the other arme, and in his forehead a round spot whereon there sticketh cornes of rice dyed yellow in turmericke; they are very good and ready accountants and in that office much employed by Moores (Moslems) of greatest affaires, writing and keeping their accounts in palmito leaves.." *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

ments, and by rubbing their bodies with Sanders, and such like sweet woods. In Goa and on the Sea coasts there are many Bramenes, which commonly doe maintayne themselves with selling of Spices and other Apothecarie ware, but it is not so cleane as others, but full of garbish and dust. They are very subtile in writing and casting accounts, whereby they make other simple Indians beleeeve what they will".¹

Nuniz describes in detail the ceremonies practised at the death of Brahmans. "When a Brahman is sick, before he dies, they send to call the learned Brahmans who are his priests, so that they should come to pray, and console the sick man; and they talk to him of the affairs of his soul, and what he must do to save it, bidding him spend money in alms. After this ceremony is over they make the Brahman priests shave the sick man's head, and after shaving they bid them wash it, and after the washing it is their custom to bring to their houses a cow with a calf,—there are very few Brahmans, ~~however~~ poor they be, who do not have one to live in their house,—which cow, when they have finished washing the man's head, they take a turban and tie it to its neck and put the end of the turban into the hand of the sick man, and he gives it and the calf in alms for his soul to those priests who perform these ceremonies. On that day he gives alms according to his position, and gives to eat to some Brahmans who are invited and who come there for the purpose. They believe that when these ceremonies are made for the sick man, if he is to live he is soon cured of his infirmity, and if not that he soon dies.

"After the death of the sick man they have the ground washed upon which he lay, and after the washing they take cow-dung and spread it over the ground, and place the body on the top of this dung. They hold that a sick man who dies on a cot, or anything soever except only on the ground, commits a mortal sin. As soon as the body is laid on the ground they make for it a bier covered with boughs of the fig-tree, and

¹ Linschoten, *Purchas, Pilgrims*, X, pp. 255-6. For some remarks on Brahmans, see Pietro della Valle, *Travels*, I, pp. 80-1.

before they place the body on the bier they wash it well with pure water, and anoint it with sandal-wood (oil); and they place by the body branches of sweet basil and cover it with a new cloth, and so place it in the bier. Then one of his relatives takes the bier on one side, and they call three other Brahmans whosoever they may be to aid them to lift it; and so they carry it to the place where they are to burn it, accompanied by many Brahmans who go singing in front of the corpse. In front of all goes his son, if he has one, or next younger brother or nearest relative, with fire in the hand for the burning. As soon as they arrive at the place where they have to burn the body, they scatter money according to their ability, and then put the fire to it; and they wait there till the whole body is consumed, and then all go and wash their bodies in a tank and afterwards return each one to his house. The son or brother or relation who put the fire is obliged to sleep on the ground where the man died for nine nights, and after the lapse of nine days from the death come the priests and learned men and they command to shave the head of this man. During these nine days, they feed the poor and they give them the dead man's clothes, and they give the cot with its bed in alms to the priests, with some money in addition; if he is a rich man they give gardens and other things in alms to many Brahmans. When ten days are finished, and the son has been shaved, he goes to the place where they burned his father or his brother, and they perform many ceremonies over the ashes and bones that remain unburned; then they put them in a small vessel and make a pit in the ground and bury them in it, and keep them thus guarded and buried in order (afterwards) to send the bones to be thrown into a sacred river, which is distant from Goa over one thousand leagues (the Ganges). There is a very large temple there, the object of many pilgrimages, and they hold that every pilgrim who dies there is saved, and goes to Paradise, and also every dead man whose bones are thrown into that river. In spite of this they in reality take very few people there. The heir or the father or son of the dead man is obliged, from the day of the death, for

eleven days to give food to twenty-seven Brahmans, and until twenty-one days to three others ; until twelve days again he feeds seven Brahmans, and until twenty-seven days gives to eat to the three ; on the last day of the month he gives food to three others, and thence forward, until one year is finished, he gives meals once a month to three Brahmans. They do this in honour of the Trinity for the Soul of the deceased. When this year is over he gives no more alms, except that each year, on the day on which the death happened, he feeds six Brahmans,—namely, three in honour of the Trinity, and three for the persons of his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather ; who thus seemingly eat together. Thus he obtains favour with God, and for these expenses they beg alms of the Brahmans if they are poor. These give him all help for it. Before they dine they wash the feet of all six, and during the meal some ceremonies are performed by Brahman priests who come there for that purpose."¹

We are not able to determine the veracity of the above account, since we have no other description from the pen of foreign travellers, which could be compared with that of Nuniz. Nevertheless it is evident from the details which he gives that the Brahmans followed the orthodox rules about the performance of the funeral and *śrāddha* ceremonies. Nuniz speaks of the rather large number of Brahmans being fed by the heir or father "from the day of the death"; and then he says that three Brahmans were fed for twenty-seven days. About the number three we have the following in *Vaśiṣṭha* : "After issuing an invitation on the day preceding (the *Śrāddha*, he

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 393-5. As regards the time when the *śrāddha* is to be performed, see *Āpastamba*, II, 7, 16, pp. 140-2; II, 7, 17, 22; II, 8, 18, pp. 146-8, *seq.*; *Vishṇu*, LXXVI-LXXVIII, pp. 240-6; *Vaśiṣṭha* XI, 16-17, p. 51; XI, 43-4, pp. 55-6; *Manu*, III, 122, p. 97; III, 274-80; p. 127. About the persons who are to be invited for the *śrāddha*, *Āpastamba*, II, 7-17, 21-2, pp. 145-6; II, 8, 18, 9, p. 148; *Gautama*, XV, p. 255 *seq.*; *Vishṇu*, LXXXII-LXXXIII, pp. 251-5; *Manu*, III, 124-95, pp. 98-111; 208, p. 114; 234-70, pp. 118-25. *Śrāddha* to be performed monthly during the first year after the decease of a person: *Vishṇu*, XXI, 11-21, pp. 85-6; *Manu*, III, 167, 203-8, 256-265, 279, 282, p. 110, *seq.* *Śrāddha* on the anniversary of the deceased relative's death: *Vishṇu*, XXI, 22-3, pp. 86-7.

shall feed on that occasion), three ascetics or three virtuous householders, who are Śrotriyas, who are not aged, who do not follow forbidden occupations, and neither (have been his pupils, nor are (living as) pupils in his house".¹ According to Manu : "I will fully declare what and how many Brāhmaṇas must be fed on that (occasion), who must be avoided and on what kinds of food (they shall dine). One must feed two (Brāhmaṇas) at the offering to the gods, and three at the offering to the manes, or one only on either occasion; even a very wealthy man shall not be anxious (to entertain) a large company".² It is highly doubtful if the orthodox Brahmans of Vijayanagara, to whom gold was as precious as learning, would have violated the next injunction of Manu who gives reasons why a large company of Brahmans should not be entertained at a *śrāddha*. "A large company destroys these five (advantages), the respectful treatment (of the invited, the propriety of) place and time, purity, and (the selection of) virtuous Brāhmaṇa (guests); he therefore shall not seek (to entertain) a large company".³ The Portuguese chronicler dwells twice on the Trinity which makes one suspect that he was still labouring under the earlier misconception of his countrymen who confounded the principles of the Hindu religion with those of Christianity.⁴

¹ *Vaśiṣṭha*, XI, 17, p. 51.

² *Manu*, III, 124-5, p. 98.

³ *Ibid*, III, 126, p. 98.

⁴ For further notices of Brahmans, see Bāṇa, *Harshacharita*, pp. 32-3, 66; 72; 78; 79; 233; Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, I, pp. 159-60; Foster, *Early Travels in India*, pp. 19, 21-2 where an account of the north Indian Brahmans by Ralph Fitch is given (A.D. 1583-91); Lockman, *Travels*, II, p. 380, *seq.*, where the Jesuits, (in their usual disparaging terms) speak of the philosophy, mathematics and astronomy of the Brahmans. For a wholesale condemnation of the Brahmans, who, according to the Jesuits, were "a great Burthen to the Public", "proud", "artful", "great impostors", read Lockman, *ibid.*, I, pp. 360 (n), 361, where reference is given to *Thirty-four Conferences between the Danish Missionaries*, etc. Trans. by Philips, London, 1719, for further enlightenment on the subject. The observations of the Abbé Dubois, whose "pen would refuse to describe all their wrong doing", may also be noted in this connection. *Hind. Man. Cust.* I, pp. 309, *seq.* (1897). Another writer, whose views on the subject may also be read, is William Ward. In his book called *A View of the History, Literature and Mythology of the Hindoos*, III, pp. 67-71, 84 *seq.*

CHAPTER IV

WOMEN

SECTION I. *Status in Hindu Society*

SINCE the days of Manu Hindu law has assigned to woman a dependent but by no means dishonourable position in society. Thus does he declare in his code: "By a girl, by a young woman or even by an aged one, nothing must be done independently, even in her own house. In childhood a female must be subject to her father, in youth to her husband, when her lord is dead to her sons; a woman must never be independent. She must not seek to separate herself from her father, husband, or sons; by leaving them she would make both (her own and her husband's) families contemptible".¹ Then again: "Day and night women must be kept in dependence by the males (of) their (families), and, if they attach themselves to sensual enjoyments, they must be kept under one's control. Her father protects (her) in childhood, her husband protects (her) in her youth, and her (sons) protect (her) in old age; a woman is never fit for independence".² This has been implicitly followed by the later lawgivers, who are not tired of dwelling at length on the dependence of woman.³ It may be noted, however, that one or two authors of the *dharma-sāstras* qualify their statements in the following words: "A wife is not

163, *seq.*, he deals with them. He says. ". . . We are not to look among them (i.e. "the Hindus") for the solid virtues, as integrity, humanity, truth or generosity. . . they know nothing of patriotism. India contains no Hindoo hospitals for the sick and the insane, no institutions for the relief of the poor and unfortunate, no charity schools, no benevolent societies of any kind; nor do the popular institutions, or the established superstition, contain any one operative principle capable of improving the moral condition of the people. How then can it be expected that the Hindoos should be virtuous?" pp. 286-7. Read also p. 288 *seq.* (3rd ed. 1820).

¹ *Manu*, V, 147-9, p. 195.

² *Ibid.*, IX, 2-3, pp. 327-8. For further notices on the subject, see Ray, *J. B. O. R. S.*, XIII, pp. 160-1, 169; Wilkins, *Mod. Hind.*, pp. 327, 330, where we have the views of a Christian missionary on the subject.

³ *Baudhāyana*, II, 2, 3, 44-6, p. 231; *Vaśiṣṭha*, V, 1-2, p. 31.

independent with respect to the fulfilment of the sacred law".¹ But the verdict of Manu influenced even the writings of Śukrācārīya: "Living with other persons, speaking with them even publicly, independence even for a moment, and residence in their houses should not be granted to females by the husband, father, king, son, father-in-law and relatives; nor leisure for anything besides domestic duties".²

The obdurate stand taken by the early canonists could not but have resulted in lowering the status of woman in purely legal matters. This explains why proprietary (and separate) rights were denied to her, why documents executed by her were declared invalid, why restrictions were imposed on her as a witness, and, finally, why she was even classed with the son and the slave. Nārada enjoins the following: "Three persons are declared to have no proprietary right: a wife, a slave and a son. Whatever property they acquire shall be made over to him to whom they belong."³ This rule held good even in the days of Śukrācārīya, who says: "The wife, the son, and the slave—these three are *adhana*, i.e., unpropertied (in the matter of family property). Whatever they earn is the property of those to whom they belong".⁴ In another connection Śukrācārīya says: "Women have no separate right to the use of the means for the realisation of the threefold end, e. g., virtue, wealth and

¹ *Gautama*, XVIII, 1, p. 270.

² *Sukranīti*, III, 11., 39-43, p. 103. How far this notion of the dependence of woman clung to the minds of men is seen in the following description by Lakṣmīśa, the author of the well known (Kannāḍa) *Jaimini-Bhārata*:

ಪತ್ತಿವವೆಂದರಿದು ನಡೆವ ಸತಿಗಹುದು ಪರ |
 ಗತಿಯಲ್ಲದಂಗನೆಯರತಿ ಸಾಹಸಿಗಳವರ |
 ಕೃತಶೀಲಂಗಳಂ ನಂಬಲಾಗದು ಮೇಣ್ಣಸ್ವತಂತ್ರಮಂ ಕೊಡಲಾಗದು ||
 ಪಿತನಿಂದ ಬಾಲ್ಯದೊಕ್ಕತಿಯಿಂದ ಪ್ರಾಯದೊಳ್ |
 ಸುತನಿಂದ ವೃದ್ಧಾಪ್ಯದೊಕ್ಕುಲ ಸ್ತ್ರೀಸುರ |
 ಕ್ಷಿ ತೆಯಾಗದೊಡವಳಿಂದ ನಿಜವಂಶಕುಪಹತಿ ಬಾರದಿರದಿಳಿಯೊಳು ||

Jaimini Bhārata, Sandhi 5, v. 52, p. 99 (Sanderson).

³ *Nārada*, V, 41, p. 138.

⁴ *Sukranīti*, IV, v. 11., 579-80, p. 210.

desires".¹ As regards the invalidity of documents executed by women, we have the following in the *Institutes* of Vishṇu : "Nor one executed by a woman, or a child, or a dependant person or one intoxicated or insane, or one in danger or in bodily fear".² Manu restricts woman as regards giving witness, thus : "Women should give evidence for women, and for twice-born men, twice-born men (of the) same kind, virtuous Śūdras, for Śūdras, and men of the lowest casts for the lowest".³ Vishṇu clearly says : "The king cannot be (made a witness) ; nor a learned Brāhmaṇa nor an ascetic ; nor a gamester ; nor a thief, nor a person not his own master ; nor a woman ; nor a child. . . ."⁴

Uncompromising as the attitude of the Hindu lawgivers certainly was, it is worth while to observe that their digests are not devoid of provision which definitely raised the dignity of woman in Hindu society. Manu himself has unequivocally stated the case for woman thus ; "Women must be honoured and adorned by their fathers, brothers, husbands, and brothers-in-law, who desire (their own) welfare. Where women are honoured, there the gods are pleased ; but where they are not honoured, no sacred rite yields reward. Where the female

¹ *Sukraniti*, IV, iv, ll. 11, p. 161

² *Vishṇu*, VII, 10, p. 47.

³ *Manu*, VIII, 68, p. 266.

⁴ *Vishṇu*, VIII, 2, p. 48. The illiberal views as regards women expressed even by Śukrāchārya, not to say of writers on morality and poets of the later ages, may perhaps be traced to these dogmatic assertions about the dependence of women. Thus in the *Sukraniti* : "One should not leave his place by making the young wife dependent on herself. Women are the root of evils. Can young females be left with others?" III ll. 240-1, p. 111. This may be compared with the verse of Vēmana . "Though her husband be Cupid himself, and her home be agreeable, how shall the slippery footed woman change her nature? Though a dog be tamed and reared with milk, will it not still rove from place to place?" *Verses*, II., v. 10, p. 55; see also pp. 56-7, 69, 82. It is not surprising that under the influence of these ideas, the wife was made to walk behind her husband as depicted by Dhūrjati. *Haṃsa-vimsati-Kathegaṇa*, p. 12, see also p. 54.

But we may say in the same breath that from the earliest times too in southern India, poets and moralists also spoke highly about the dignity and status of women. Read *Kurāl*, Ch. VI, pp. 10-11; *Naladiyar*, Ch. XXXIX, p. 247, *seq.*

relations live in grief, the family soon wholly perishes ; but that family where they are not unhappy ever prospers. The houses on which female relations, not being duly honoured, pronounce a curse, perish completely, as if destroyed by magic. Hence men who seek (their own) welfare, should always honour women on holidays and festivals with (gifts of) ornaments, clothes and (dainty) food".¹

Vishṇu has removed certain disabilities placed on woman in the following words : " A woman (shall) not (be compelled to pay) the debt of her husband or son...."² As regards the six-fold property which a woman possesses, Manu says : " What (was given) before the (nuptial) fire, what (was given) on the bridal procession, what was given in token of love, and what was received from her brother, mother, or father, that is called the six-fold property of a woman".³ It is strange that Śukrāchārya, whose opinion we cited above, should qualify his statement in the following words : " Absolute right is given to women in the matter of wealth that is called women's wealth as regards sale and gift, even in immoveables".⁴

Where one sees in unmistakable terms the latitude given to woman by the lawgivers is in the right which Manu gave her of choosing her husband, and the privilege which even the later writers allowed her of offering the *piṇḍa* to her deceased husband. Manu lays down the following rule as regards the choice of a husband : " Three years let a damsel wait, though she be marriageable ; but after that time let her choose for herself a bride-groom (of) equal (caste and rank). If, being not given in marriage, she herself seeks a husband, she incurs no guilt, nor (does) he whom she weds".⁵

In this connection we may add that Manu has also given equality to woman in religious matters. " To be mothers were

¹ *Manu*, III., 55-9, p. 85. Cf. *Yājñavalkya*, I., 82, text p. 172 (V. N. Mandalik, Bombay, 1880).

² *Vishṇu*. VI., 31, p. 45.

³ *Manu*, IX., 194, p. 370-1.

⁴ *Śukraniti*, IV., v, 595, p. 210.

⁵ *Manu*, IX., 90-1, p. 343.

women created, and to be fathers men ; religious rites, therefore, are ordained in the Vedas to be performed (by the husband) together with the wife".¹

The importance of woman in social and legal matters is seen in the right she has of offering the *piṇḍa* (or funeral cake at the *śrāddha* to deceased ancestors). In the *Dāya-vibhāga* of the *Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa* of the commentary of the *Parāśara-smṛiti* by Mādhavāchārya Vidyāranya, he seems to acknowledge the classical privilege which was given to woman as regards the offering of the *piṇḍa*. This may explain why Mādhava says : "the wife is a woman who has been sanctified by marriage, she takes first the wealth of her husband."² In the above words Mādhavāchārya seems to go further, to some extent, than Manu himself who has qualified, according to the former, the right of woman thus : "Vṛiddha Manu mentions difference regarding this case : 'A wife (i.e., widow) who has no son, who preserves inviolate the bed of her husband, and is steadfast in her duty, should offer the *piṇḍa* for him and take the whole share'".³ Whatever may be the legal aspect of the question, there cannot be a doubt that from the times of Manu down to those of Mādhava, the importance of the (legal) wife, especially as regards inheritance, was acknowledged by the lawgivers.⁴

Alone among the classical canonists, Kauṭilya seems to advocate equality of women and men in legal matters, at least as regards the question of punishment. This is apparent in the following passage in the *Arthaśāstra* : "Women, when twelve years old, attain their majority and men when sixteen years old. If after attaining their majority, they prove disobe-

¹ *Manu*, IX., 96, p. 344.

² *Dāya-vibhāga*, Burnell, p. 25.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 25. Cf. "(If the widow) of a man who died with-out leaving issue, raised up to him a son by a member of the family (*sagōtra*), she shall deliver to that (son) the whole property which belonged to (the deceased)." *Manu*, IX., 190, p. 369.

⁴ *Dāya-vibhāga*, *ibid.*, pp. 26-7.

dient to lawful authority, women shall be fined fifteen paṇas and men, twice the amount".¹

Domestic economy rests, according to the Hindu writers, entirely on woman. Hence Manu says: "Let the (husband) employ his (wife) in the collection and expenditure of his wealth, in keeping (everything) clean, in (the fulfilment of) religious duties, in the preparation of his food, and in looking after the household utensils".² In the detailed enumeration of the daily and occasional duties of a woman as given in his *Nīti*, Śukrāchārya reiterates, perhaps with undue vigour, the earlier notions of woman's importance in the regulation of household affairs.³

The codes of ancient and mediaeval writers also contain provision for entertaining woman in royal service, industry, and agriculture. While dealing with the question of royal attendants, Manu says: "Well-trying females, whose toilet and ornaments have been examined, shall attentively serve him (the king) with fans, water and perfumes".⁴ Then again: "For women employed in the royal service and for menial servants, let him (the king) fix a daily maintenance in proportion to their position and to their work".⁵ Śukrāchārya extends the scope of work which women could perform. He says: "The women should be assistants in the functions of the males, viz., agriculture, shopkeeping, etc."⁶

SECTION 2. *Women in Historical Times*

Whether the clause relating to the participation of women "in the functions of the males" need necessarily be interpreted to mean agriculture and industry, as Prof. B. K. Sarkar seems to think, is indeed questionable, especially in view of the fact

¹ *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. III., Ch. III, p. 190.

² *Manu*, IX., 11, p. 329. See also *Vishṇu* XXV., pp. 110-11.

³ *Śukranīti*, IV., iv ll. 12-52, pp. 161-3 Cf. Vēmana: "The house of a virtuous young woman is orderly, she is like a light shining in a dark room. The house in which a first wedded wife dwells, is like as the place of divine worship". *Verses*, Bk. I., v. 71, p. 19. (Brown).

⁴ *Manu*, VII., 219, p. 252 Cf. Kauṭilya's injunction cited below.

⁵ *Ibid.*, VII., 125, p. 236.

⁶ *Śukranīti*, IV., iv, l. 54, p. 163; Sarkar, *Pos. Back*, I, p. 181.

that Śukrāchārya himself, as we have said, has inflicted on women an infinite variety of household duties which, while no doubt assigning to them the premier position in the province of domestic economy, lower them in the world of activity related to the general well-being of the State. Śukrāchārya does not seem to have out-grown, as regards this question, the conservative attitude of the classical canonists. Nevertheless one may be permitted to repeat that, both according to law and custom, the lot of women, was not one of fundamental servitude. Manu's injunction that the king should employ women for royal service dispels the idea of an unqualified serfdom for women. When we examine, in a most cursory manner, no doubt, the status which women occupied in historical times, we may be better able to understand how practice had transgressed precept as regards the position of women in Hindu society.

The earliest historical evidence seems to confirm the dictates of Manu. In the times of Megasthenes, the care of the king's person was entrusted to women.¹ The tradition of entertaining women in royal service continued in the days of Harshavardhana. Bāṇa gives us a detailed description of women who served as porters, royal attendants, lute-players and shampooing attendants in the royal palace.² He also tells us how women served in military camps. "Loving pairs", says Bāṇa, "were roused from sleep by the tramp of the women of the watch".³ But in the matter of performing household duties, the Queen herself set an example. In the course of his description Bāṇa speaks of Queen Yaśōvati, who is pregnant, thus: "Her household duties she had scarce strength to command, not to speak of performing them".⁴ The princesses who were thus versed in the art of domestic economy were also trained in

¹ M'Crindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 71, (1877.); *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 58, (1901). Cf. H. H. Wilson, *The Theatre of the Hindus*, II, p. 304.

² Bāṇa, *Harshacharita*, pp. 61-3, 85, 125. Cf. Lakshmiśa, *Jaimini-Bhārata*, Sandhi, 6, v. 29, p. 120 (Sanderson), where Kṛishna silently orders a female attendant to stop Bhīma from entering the dining hall.

³ Bāṇa, *ibid.*, p. 199.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

singing, dancing, and other accomplishments. Rājyaśrī grew up amidst such an atmosphere of enlightenment.¹

The functions of women in southern India seem to have been more varied than those of their sisters of the north. In addition to their duties around the person of the king, they were entrusted, in a limited degree, with the work of administration in religious and political matters. We are told that women were entertained in a royal palace in the south in A.D. 1310.²

A notable example of a woman who conducted admirably the work of government is given in a stone inscription dated A.D. 918. In the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kannara Dēva Akālavarsha, "on Sattarasa Nāgārjjuna, who was holding the office of *nāl-gāvuṇḍa* of the Nāgarakhaṇḍa Seventy, dying under the orders of Kaliviṭṭarasa, the king having given to his wife the grade of *nāl-gāvuṇḍa*, and Jakkiyabbe was holding the office of *nāl-gāvuṇḍa*,—and Nanduvāra Kaliga was holding the office of *perrade*—and? the survivor of the Sundiga tribe was holding the office of *perrgaḍe* to Koḍangeyūr,—the Seventy and the Three Hundred granted Avatavūr to Jakkiyabbe as promised."

What this woman *nāl-gāvuṇḍa* did with her dues is also told in the same interesting inscription. "And Jakkiyabbe, in giving away the dues of the *nāl-gāvuṇḍa* in Avatavūr on account of the Nāgarakhaṇḍa Seventy, granted four *mattal* of rice land in Jakkili for the temple". As regards the administrative work of Jakkiyabbe, the same inscription continues: "Skilled in ability for good government, faithful to the Jinendra śāsana, rejoicing in her beauty, Jakkiyabbe, when

¹ Bāṇa, *Harshacharita*, p. 121, For other notices of women, see pp. 68, 77, 82-3, 104.

² Wassāf relates thus the history of "*Kales Dewar*, the ruler of Ma'bar": "This fortunate and happy sovereign had two sons, the elder named Sundar Pandi, who was legitimate, his mother being joined to the Dewar by lawful marriage, and the younger named Tira Pandi, was illegitimate, his mother being one of the mistresses who continually attended the King in his banquet of pleasure; for it was customary with the rulers of that country that, when the daily affairs of the administration were over, and the crowds that attended the court had gone to their respective homes, a thousand beautiful courtizans used to attend the king in his pleasure. They used to perform the several duties prescribed to each of them; some were appointed as chamberlains, some as interpreters, some as cup-bearers,....". Elliot, *Hist. of India*, III., pp 52-3.

having received the Nāgarakhaṇḍa Seventy, she was protecting it well, though a woman, in the pride of her own heroic bravery", she "performed the vow", and died in the orthodox Jaina fashion.¹ Queen Sōvala Dēvi is spoken of as a *mantri* in a record dated A.D. 1166.² A more famous example of a woman administrator is that of Queen Rudrāmbā who, under the name of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Rudradēva Mahārāya, ruled from A.D. 1260. It was because she took the name of a man that Vikrama Pāṇḍya of the south was advised not to go to the north where women under the guise of men ruled.³

Women in southern India could equally well carry on the administrative work of religious institutions. We gather this from a stone inscription dated A.D. 1255 which deals with the activities of a great merchant named Kuñje Śeṭṭi and his family, in the times of the Hoysala king Sōmēśvara Dēva. One of the relations of Kuñje Śeṭṭi was Kaṇḍanambi Śeṭṭi, who made over all the lands which he had received as a gift from all the Brahmans of the Dāmōdara *agrahāra*, also called Nāgarahaḷḷi, to the temple of the god Kuñjēśvara, evidently of the same *agrahāra*. "And his daughter the Gaṇa-Kumārī⁴ Chandavve he made the proprietress (*oḍeyalu*) of the temple, for carrying out the ceremonies, and granted her *hombali* land, with pouring of water in the presence of the god Kuñjēśvara, and in the presence of Rudraśakti, the *rāja-guru* of Dōra-samudra the capital of Tribhuvana, and in the presence of the Kaṇṇapañchārya of the 120 temple priests (*sthānikaru*), and of numberless *mātra-gaṇagaḷu* and in the presence of all the subjects, farmers and priests of the two Muttana-Hosavūr". That this appointment had to receive the confirmation of the prominent people of the *agrahāra* is clear from the following

¹ E. C., VII, Sk. 219, pp. 130-1, text, p. 298.

² E. C., XI, Dg. 5, p. 25.

³ 365 of 1913; *Ep. Report* for 1914, p. 93; *Ep. Report* for 1916, p. 135. For an example of women encouraging men in a battle by making garlands of flowers for heroes, see E. C., VIII, Sa. 63, dated A.D. 1283 p. 104.

⁴ "Gaṇa-Kumārī, the daughter or princess of the *gaṇas* and the hosts of followers of Śiva, the Jaṅgamas". E. C., V, P. I, p. 158, n. (1).

lines of the same inscription. "And that rāja-guru Rudra-śakti-dēva, the 120 temple priests, and Māda-Jiya of Arasiyakere, the Kaṁpañāchāri (capital) (*rājadhāni*), with other Jiyas (named), and numberless *mahā-gaṇagaḷu* uniting bound upon that Chandvve the *vibhūti-paṭṭa*, or crown of authority, and giving her the rank or place of a Gaṇa-kumāri," granted to her some specified dues in perpetuity.¹

Chandavve held the post of proprietress till A.D. 1258 when it is said a number of Gauḍas (named), along with others including Kaṇḍanambi Śeṭṭi, granted lands to the same temple. The inscription relates that "the ceremonies, whatever they may be, for which these lands were given, Chandavve will herself cause to be carried out".²

Some religious institutions had women pupils as well. An inscription dated in the fourteenth year of Rājākēsarivarma (Āditya I) relates that there were 500 women pupils in the Jaina monastery of Vidāl *alias* Mādēvi-Ārāndimaṅgaḷam.³

SECTION 3. *Women in Vijayanagara*

From the above sketch it is clear that women, especially in southern India, had practically transgressed the limits which the lawgivers had imposed on them as regards activities not pertaining to domestic life. Their traditions were maintained in Vijayanagara times. One of the functions to which women were accustomed was service in the royal palace. According to Barbosa: "... and they do all the work inside the gates, and hold all the duties of the household. They are all gathered inside the palaces, where they have in plenty all that they require, and have many good lodgings."⁴ It is these whom Paes evidently refers to in the following words: "The rest remains for him, over and above these expenses and of the expenses in

¹ E. C., P. I., V., Ak. 108, pp. 158-9.

² *Ibid.*, Ak. 109, p. 159.

³ S. I. I., III, P. III, p. 225. For women servants in a temple, *ibid.*, p. 294. For a description of the ever praised and virtuous loving Kaṇṇāṭaka women in A.D., 1160, E. C., XII., Ck. 21, p. 77.

⁴ Barbosa, Dames, I, p. 208; Stanley, p. 88; Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 129.

the houses of his wives, of whom I have already told you that he keeps near him twelve thousand women...."¹

This number 12,000 is given by Paes on two other occasions. "Within, with these maidens, they say that there are twelve thousand women; for you must know that there are women who handle sword and shield, and others who wrestle, and others who blow trumpets, and others pipes, and other instruments which are different from ours; and in the same way they have women as bearers (*boois*) and washing-folk, and for other offices inside their gates, just as the king has the officers of his household."²

Paes has some more interesting details to give in connection with women. "After all this is over you will see issuing from inside twenty-five or thirty female doorkeepers, with canes in their hands and whips on their shoulders; and then close to these come many eunuchs, and after these eunuchs come many women playing trumpets and drums and pipes (but not like ours) and viols, and many other kinds of music, and behind these women will come some twenty women-porters, with canes in their hands all covered with silver, and close to them come women clothed in the following manner.... They carry in their hands vessels of gold each as large as a small cask of water; inside there are some loops made of pearls fastened with wax, and inside all this a lighted lamp. They come in regular order one before the other, in all perhaps sixty women fair and young, from sixteen to twenty years of age. . . These women are maids of honour to the queens, and so are the others that go with them..."³

Nuniz confirms Paes as regards many details but about the number of women entertained in the palace neither of these travellers agree, nor is Nuniz consistent with his own statements. Nuniz relates the following: "In his palace within the gates he is served by women and eunuchs and servants

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 282.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 248-9, 264.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 273-4.

numbering fully five or six hundred ; and these wives of the King all have their own officials for their service, each for herself, just as the King has within the gates, but these are all women. . . . these porters do not go further inside than through four or five doors, because inside of these are none but eunuchs and women ".¹ As regards women serving the king, Nuniz says : " Thus they deliver it (i.e. the water enclosed and sealed in vessels for the king's use) to the women who wait on him, and they take it inside to the other women, the King's wives ".² The description of the maids of honour given by Paes is confirmed by Nuniz who writes thus: "...and with these women (i.e., the queens) come all the female servants and the other wives of the King, with canes in their hands tipped with gold and with torches burning ; and these then retire inside with the King ".³

The number which Nuniz has given above does not agree with that which he has given on another occasion where he describes in detail the various positions held by women. " This King has also within his gates more than four thousand women, all of whom live in the palace ; some are dancing-girls, and others are bearers who carry the King's wives on their shoulders, and the King also in the interior of the palace, for the king's houses are large and there are great intervals between one house and another. He has also women who wrestle, and others who are astrologers and soothsayers ; and he has women who write all the accounts of expenses that are incurred inside the gates, and others whose duty it is to write all the affairs of the kingdom and compare their books with those of the writers outside ; he has women also for music, who play instruments and sing. Even the wives of the King are well versed in music.

" The King has other women besides. He has ten cooks for his personal service, and has others kept for times when he gives banquets ; and these ten prepare the food for no one save

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 371.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 375-6.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 378.

for the King alone. He has a eunuch for guard at the gate of the kitchen, who never allows any one to enter for fear of poison. When the King wishes to eat, every person withdraws, and then come some of the women whose duty it is and they prepare the table for him ; they place for him a three-footed stool, round, made of gold, and on it put the messes. These are brought in large vessels of gold, and the smaller messes in basins of gold, some of which are adorned with precious stones. There is no cloth on the table, but one is brought when the King has finished eating, and he washes his hands and mouth. Women and eunuchs serve him at table. The wives of the King remain each in her own chamber and are waited on by maid-servants. It is said that he has judges as well as bailiffs and watchmen who every night guard the palace, and all these are women".¹

We shall presently have an occasion of referring to the public women who accompanied the army. But it was not only women of this kind who went with the army. We have evidence of queens who accompanied the king during his campaigns. Chinnādēviammā and Tirumalādēviammā were with Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya when in A.D. 1515 he conducted the siege of Koṇḍaviḍu. It was in the company of these two that the Emperor visited the temple of Amarēśvara near Dharanikōṭa where he bestowed the munificent gifts known as *tulā-purusha*, *sapta-sāgara*, and presented some villages to it.² Women seem to have carried on fights in which they had lost their husbands. In A.D. 1386 or thereabouts, Bommambe, wife Mahāvīra Mādarakāḷa, continued the fight in which her husband died and lost her life too.³

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 382-3.

² *A. S. R.* for 1908-9, p. 178.

³ *My. Arch. Report* for 1923, pp.90-1. The courage of the women of mediaeval times is described in the account of the siege of Tanjore by the forces of Trichinopoly. Achyuta Vijaya Rāghava Nāyaka had placed all the females in the *Mahal*. The forces of Trichinopoly entered the main fortress. "Meanwhile the whole of the royal females held in their hands drawn swords, and were constantly waiting, anxious to know if the king's mandate of death would come or not". And when they saw two messengers approaching them, "the royal females began immediately to cut each other

There is an instance of a woman who personally interviewed Dēva Rāya II on behalf of a temple and secured from him a copper-plate grant embodying a *sarvamānya* gift of a village. This was Aramavaḷatta Nāchchiyār, the elder sister of a Kaikkōḷa, attached to the temple of Agnēśvara at Maḍam. The lady interviewed the king in Śaka 1355 (A. D. 1433-4), and in return for her services the *rudra-māhēśvaras* of the temple granted her one *padakku* of grain every day and two *paṇam* of money per month.¹

Women occupied a prominent place in literature in Viṣayanagara times. We have had some occasions of mentioning the learned Gaṅgādēvī, wife of Kampaṇa, who wrote *Madhurāvijayam* or *Virakamparāya Charitam*. The Queen of Bukka I seems also to have been an accomplished lady. An inscription dated A. D. 1378 says the following about her: "The king Bukka's wife was Honnāyi, in accomplishments like the science of love, in wisdom like the Vēdas, and though the king possessed many wives, she was the chief, and the fulfiller of his desires".² Instances are not wanting of learned women in later Vijayanagara history. Achyuta Rāya's gift of *suvarṇamēru* was commemorated in a Sanskrit verse composed by Vōduva Tirumalammā (A.D. 1533), and inscribed in the Viṭṭhala temple at Hāṁpe.³ It is suggested that this learned lady may be identified with Tirumalāmbā, the author of the *kāvya* called *Varadāmbikāpariṇayam* which describes the marriage of Achyuta Rāya with Varadāmbā.⁴ Another poetess was Mōhanāṅgī, who wrote a love poem called *Mārīchīpariṇayam*. About this lady also it is conjectured that her name may have been the surname of Tirumalāmbā, the wife of Rāma Rāja and the daughter of the great Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya.⁵

in pieces with swords and axes; and some receiving deadly wounds, forthwith attained heavenly bliss". Taylor *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 196.

¹ 229 of 1919; *Ep. Report* for 1919, p. 103.

² E. C., V, P, I. Cn. 256, p. 232.

³ 708 of 1922 which is a duplicate of 9 of 1904; *Ep. Report* for 1923, pp. 119-200; *My. Arch. Report* for 1920, p. 38.

⁴ *Ep. Report* for 1923, *ibid*: *The Sources*, p. 170, n.

⁵ *Ep. Report* for 1923, *ibid*.; Viresalingam Pantulu, *Andhra Kavula*

In the galaxy of learned ladies mention must be made of Rāmabhadrāmbā, who wrote the *Raghunāthābhyudayam*. While describing the activities of Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore, after his return to his capital, she tells us that he convened an assembly of learned persons to examine the accomplished ladies of his court. They are said to have been proficient in composing four kinds of poetry—*chitra*, *bandha*, *garbha* and *āṣu*, and in explaining the works written in various languages. They were skilful in the art of *śatalēkhini* and filling up literary verse-puzzles (*padyapurāṇam*). They were able to compose verses at the rate of one hundred in an hour (*ghaṭikāśata*), and to compose poetry in eight *bhāṣas* (Sanskrit, Telugu, and the six Prākṛits). They knew how to interpret and explain the poems and dramas (*kāvya*s and *nāṭaka*s) composed by the famous poets, and to explain the secrets of the music of the two sorts (*Karṇāṭa* and *Dēśa*). They were able to sing very sweetly and to play on the *vīṇā* and other musical instruments like the *rāvaṇaḥasta*. Raghunātha examined the proficiency of all of them and presented them with *kanakābhiṣēka*.

Rāmabhadrāmbā also tells us that Raghunātha Nāyaka heard the songs sung before him and witnessed the dances of the accomplished ladies of his court. Some of the *rāgas*, etc., that were sung before him were designed by Raghunātha himself, who was a master of the art of music. The chief *rāgas* that were sung were *jayamaṅgala*, *simhaḷalīla*, *jayanissōru* (?) and *kachachcharitra* (?) Some of the *tāḷas* to which they were played were *ratilīla*, *turaṅgalīla*, *raṅgābharāṇa* and *anaṅga-parikramaṇa*, *abhinandana*, *nandanandana* and *abhimāla*. Among the dances that were exhibited before him there was one called *raghunāthavilāsa* named after himself.¹

An inscription dated only in the cyclic year Krōdhana, Māgha, Śu. 15, Monday but assigned to about A. D. 1446, confirms the evidence of Nuniz that women knew wrestling. It relates that "at the time when Mādi Gauḍa, son of Nāga

Charitramu, p. 197: Kavali Venkataramasamy, *The Biographical Sketches of the Deccan Poets*, pp. 77-8.

¹ *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, *The Sources*, Sargas, XI-XII, pp. 291, 301.

Gauḍa, fighting with wrestlers (*ḥalivānavara*) [*pailavānavara*] (*kūḍe*) went to *svarga*, laying in ambush for those who fought with her father, Hariyakkā...went to the world of gods". This incomplete *vīragal*, which her junior uncle Chenna set up, evidently wants to commemorate the measures which Hariyakkā took to avenge the death of her father by fighting with wrestlers.¹

There is evidence of Jaina women who seem to have died in the orthodox Jaina manner. An inscription dated A.D. 1395 tells us that in the reign of Harihara Rāya, Kāna Ramaṇa's wife Kāmi Gauṇḍi by means of *sannyāsana* expired and went to *svarga*. The same epigraph relates that she was the disciple of the *rāja-guru* Siddhānti-yatīśa, and that she was the niece of Bēcha Gauṇḍa, the master of Āvale in Jiddūlige-nāḍ.²

No description of Vijayanagara women may be deemed adequate without mention being made of the courtezans. The public woman, according to Kauṭilya, was in charge of a great number of duties relating to the person of the king. We have the following in the *Arthaśāstra*: "Prostitutes shall do the duty of bathroom servants, shampoors, bedding room servants, washermen, and flower garland-makers, while presenting to the king water, scents, fragrant powders, dress and garlands; servants along with the above prostitutes shall first touch things by their eyes, arms and breast".³ Further Kauṭilya enjoins: "The superintendent of prostitutes shall employ (at the king's court) on a salary of 1,000 paṇas (per annum) a prostitute, whether born or not born of a prostitute's family, and noted for her beauty, youth and accomplishments".⁴ That such prostitutes were under the direct control of the Central Government is clear from the following regulations in the *Arthaśāstra*: "When a prostitute does not yield her person to any one under the orders of the king, she shall receive 1,000 lashes

¹ E. C., VII, Sk. 2, p. 39, and Sk. 1, which speaks of the death of Mādi Gauḍa, p. *ibid*.

² E. C., VIII, Sb. 103, p. 15.

³ *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. I, Ch. XX, p. 46.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Bk. II, Ch. xxvii, pp. 148-9.

with a whip or pay a fine of 5,000 paṇas".¹ "Every prostitute shall pay every month twice the amount of a day's earning to the government. Those who teach prostitutes, female slaves, and actresses, arts such as singing, playing on musical instruments, reading, dancing, acting, writing, painting, playing on the instruments like vīṇā, pipe and drum, reading the thoughts of others, manufacture of scents and garlands, shampooing, and the art of attracting and captivating the minds of others shall be endowed with maintenance from the State".² Kauṭilya tells us for what purpose the prostitutes are to be maintained by the State: "The wives of actors and others of similar profession who have been taught various languages and the use of signals shall, along with their relatives, be made use of in detecting the wicked and murdering or deluding foreign spies".³

Kauṭilya's injunctions help us to understand the state of affairs in Vijayanagara. But before we cite the evidence of foreign travellers about this question, we may note that the institution of public women had already become permanent in southern India long before the times of the Vijayanagara kings. Mahādēva, the general of the Western Chāḷukya king Vikramāditya VI, in A.D. 1112, raised a sanctuary to the god Chanda-lēśvara in memory of his mother Chandrikādēvi, to which he added to residence of public women.⁴ Turning to Vijayanagara we find that the capital was a great centre of courtezans. 'Abdur Razzāq describes their quarters in detail. "Opposite the mint is the Office of the Prefect of the City, to which it is said 12,000 policemen are attached; and their pay, which equals each day 12,000 *fanams*, is derived from the proceeds of the brothels. The splendour of those houses, the beauty of the heart-ravishers, their blandishments and ogles, are beyond all description. It is best to be brief on the matter.

¹ *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. II., Ch. xxvii., p. 150.

² *Ibid.*, p. 151. Cf. Wassāf's description of Ma'bar cited above.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

⁴ *Barnett, Ep. Ind.*, XIII, pp. 37, 47, v. 69.

"One thing worth mentioning is this, behind the mint there is a sort of bazar which is more than 300 yards long and 20 broad. On two sides of it there are houses (*khānahā*) and fore-courts (*safhahā*), and in front of the houses, instead of benches (*kursī*), lofty seats are built of excellent stone, and on each side of the avenue formed by the houses there are figures of lions, panthers, tigers, and other animals, so well painted as to seem alive. After the time of mid-day prayers, they place at the doors of these houses, which are beautifully decorated, chairs and settees, on which the courtezans seat themselves. Everyone is covered with pearls, precious stones and costly garments. They are all exceedingly young and beautiful. Each one has one or two slave girls standing before her, who invite and allure to indulgence and pleasure. Any man who passes through this place makes choice of whom he will. The servants of these brothels take care of whatever is taken into them, and if anything is lost they are dismissed. There are several brothels within these seven fortresses, and the revenues of them, which, as stated before, amount to 12,000 *fanams*, go to pay the wages of the policemen".¹

The above description of the courtezans may be compared with that given by the Hindu poets. Poet Bhāskara, who wrote his *Jivandhara Charite* in A.D. 1424, thus describes the public women :

ಮಯಿಲ ಸರಸಿಯ ಹೊಸವ ಕೊರಡಿನೊ |
 ಕಳೆಯ ಕೊಲವ ಮರೀಚಿಕಂಗಳ |
 ತಳವ ಧರೆ ಗಗನವನು ತಾಳವಮಾಡಿ ಬಾಜಿಸುವ ||
 ಶಿಲೆಯೊಳಗೆ ಮುಯಿಗುವ ತುಷಾರವ |
 ನಳವ ನೀರೊಳು ಬೆಣ್ಣೆ ಗಳವ |
 ಗ್ಗಲದ ವೇಶ್ಯಾಮಾತೆಯರನವನೀಶನೀಕ್ಷಿಸಿದ ||² ||

As regards the street where they lived, we have the following from poet Adṛśya (about A.D. 1580), who wrote *Praudharāyana Kāvya*:

¹ Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, pp. 111-12; Major, *India*, p. 29.

² *Kavicharite*, II, p. 48.

ಸಿಂಗರದ ತಾಣ ಸೊಬಗಿನ ಸಂತೆಯತಿಕ್ಕುಟಲ |
 ದಂಗಡಿ ದಶಾವಸ್ಥೆಗಳ ನಂಜಿನಾಗರವು |
 ಕಂಗಳತಿಹಬ್ಬ ಕಾವನ ಸುಗ್ಗಯಾಪೊಲಂ ಭಂಗಿಭಾವದೊಳೆ ಬೆಳೆವಾ ||
 ಇಂಗಿತದ ಬೀಡು ಬೇಟಿದ ತೋಟ ಮೋಹದ ತ |
 ರಂಗ ತವಕದ ಗೊತ್ತು ಬಿಡಗಿನುದ್ಭವ ಭೂಮಿ |
 ಯಂಗಜನ ಅವಸರ ಸರಂಗಳಂತಿಹ ಸೂಳಿವೆಂಗಳಾ ಕೇರಿಯೆಸೆಗು || ¹ ||

Poet Padmarasa (A.D. 1559) bluntly says:

ಪಾಪದ ಗಡಿ ದುಃಖದ ಸೀಮೆ ಬಹುವಿಧ |
 ದಾಪತ್ತಿನ ಪುರತೇಜ |
 ಪೋಪ ಮಹಾಲಯವೆಂಬಪಕೀರ್ತಿಯ ತಾ |
 ಪೊತ್ತು ಮೆದಿವುದಾ ಕೇರಿ ||
 ಗದಕಿನಾಲಯ ಠಕ್ಕಿನಬೀಡನೈತದ |
 ಸದನ ವೈಸಿಕದ ಭವನವು |
 ಜದುರಿನ ಪೇಟೆ ವ್ಯಾಧಿಯ ತವರ್ಮನೆಯೆಂ |
 ಬೆದಿಗೊಂಡುದಾ ಸೂಳಿಗೇರಿ || ² ||

This evidence about the existence of prostitutes in the capital from 'Abdur Razzāq and the Hindu poets may be compared with that given by other travellers. Paes, for example, visited the very quarters which 'Abdur Razzāq has described but it is very interesting to observe that the Portuguese traveller has nothing to say about the character of the inmates of the houses. His opinion seems, in this particular instance, to run counter to that of 'Abdur Razzāq. Paes writes thus: "Then going forward you have another gate with another line of wall, and it also encircles the city inside the first, and from here to the king's palace is all streets and rows of houses, very beautiful, and houses of captains and other rich and honourable men; you will see rows of houses with many figures and decorations pleasing to look at".³ If this description of the beautiful figures and decorations given by Paes refers to the

¹ Kavicharite, p. 307.

² *Ibid.*, p. 316 Cf. Poet Sōmanātha's description (circa 1650). *Ibid.*, p. 413; Poet Adiyappa's description (circa 1650). *Ibid.*, p. 415.

³ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 254.

same beautifully decorated houses about which the Persian ambassador has spoken, then, while the latter makes them houses of prostitutes, the former styles them as houses of rich and honourable men. That Paes is more intimately acquainted with the streets and parts of the city is clear from what he says in his chronicle, and especially from the manner in which he dwells on the question of streets. "That I may not forget to tell of the streets that are in the palace I here mention them. You must know that inside the palace that I have spoken of is the dwelling of the king and of his wives and of the other women who serve them, as I have clearly said, who are twelve thousand in number; and they have an entrance to these rows of houses so that they can go inside. Between this palace and the House of Victory is a gate which serves as passage to it. Inside there are thirty-four streets".¹

But it is not to be imagined that Paes failed to notice the presence of the public women and the dancing-girls in the capital. He mentions the courtezans on specific occasions. While describing the great Mahānavami festival, which we shall see in detail in connection with other festivals in a subsequent chapter, he writes: "And the king withdraws to the interior of his palace by that gate which I have already mentioned—that which stands between the two buildings that are in the arena (*terreyro*); the courtezans and bayaderes (i.e., "the dancing-girls of the temple and palace") remain dancing in front of the temple and idol for a long time."²

The dancing-women were summoned during the feasts. We gather this from Paes: "For these feasts are summoned all the dancing-women of the kingdom, in order that they should be present; and also the captains and kings and great lords with all their retinues..."³

It was during these feasts and festivals that dancing-girls enjoyed the rare privilege of eating betel in the presence of the king. Paes, while describing the wrestlers, says: "...for these

¹ Sewell, *Fo. Emp.*, pp. 264-5, op. cit.

² *Ibid.*, p. 267, and n. (1).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 262.

(i.e., the wrestlers) are allowed to remain seated, but no other, howsoever great a lord he be, except the king so commands; and these also eat betel, though none else may eat it in his presence except the dancing-women, who may always eat it before him".¹

Nuniz also has got something to say about the dancing-girls. He describes the same famous festival called Mahānavami. While speaking about the decorations got ready for the Mahānavami festival, he says: "They are very lofty and are hung with rich cloths, and in them are many dancing-girls and also many kinds of contrivances".²

According to foreign travellers, therefore, the public woman was entitled to be present on certain occasions—at the time of feasts, when festivals were held, and during a campaign.³ Since foreign travellers are careful enough to differentiate between courtezans and the women who performed duties in the royal house-hold or under the State as judges, bailiffs, and the like, and since none of the contemporary witnesses tells us that prostitutes held the various posts mentioned by Nuniz in detail, one may accept with great reser-

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 269.

² *Ibid.*, p. 376.

³ To these we have to add the presence of the *dēvadāsīs* in the temples, about which we shall speak later on. In this connection I may add that the public women of Vijayanagara have also figured in the book entitled *Jehān Nūmā* (or *The World of Mirror*) written by the Turkish geographer Katib Chelebi Mustafa Khalifah. From the Latin version of *Jehān Nūma* the following is taken—for the translation of which I am indebted to Dr. L. D. Barnett:

"What is remarkable is that in this city there are not lacking courtezans so wealthy that single one of them from her own wealth pays for several thousands of soldiers and despatches them for war. And because, as Lorenzo relates, they themselves take part in the battle, they stimulate by love of themselves the spirit of the fighting men to fortitude." Katib Chelebi, *Jehan Numa, Geographia Orientalis ex Turcico in Latinum versa Math.* Norberg, Londini, Gothorum (1818), t.i, p. 126. Katib Chelebi began his work of translating the *Atlas Minor* of Hondius in A. H. 1064, he died in A. H. 1068. The oriental part of *Jehān Nūmā* was printed with additions by Ibrāhīm Mutefferrikah in A. H. 1145, *The British Museum Catalogue of Turkish Mss.* p. 111. (1888). In the above account of Katib Chelebi there is a mixture of details given by 'Abdur Razzāq and by the Portuguese travellers. B.A.S.

vation the statement of Dr. Vincent Smith that the presence of the public women was essential in the court ceremonies of Vijayanagara. This does not invalidate the assertion we have made that the existence of a large number of prostitutes in the capital reflects sadly on the morality of the people, and, to a slight extent, on the nature of the Government itself. The fact that the State maintained a large police force on the earnings of the public-women suggests that the Vijayanagara rulers may have had the injunctions of Kauṭilya before them. But we cannot maintain that they consciously followed the regulations of the *Arthaśāstra* as regards patronizing public women only for the sake of political purposes.

We may not end our remarks on this aspect of Vijayanagara life without noting the comments of foreign travellers on the immense wealth of the public women of Vijayanagara. Paes writes thus : " Who can fitly describe to you the great riches these women carry on their persons ?—collars of gold with so many diamonds and rubies and pearls, bracelets also on their arms and on their upper arms, girdles below, and of necessity anklets on the feet. The marvel should be otherwise, namely that women of such a profession should obtain such wealth ; but there are women among them who have lands that have been given to them, and litters, and so many maid-servants that one cannot number all their things. There is a woman in this city who is said to have a hundred thousand *pardaos*, and I believe this from what I have seen of them ".¹ Duarte Barbosa also speaks about the extraordinary wealth of these women. " Some of them are so rich that a short time ago one of them, dying without son or daughter, made the King heir to all her property, who, when he sent to collect what she had left, found that a sum of seventy thousand *pardaos* remained as well as another twelve thousand, which during her life she had set apart and left to one of her hand-maids whom she had brought up from childhood ; wherein

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 270. Sewell has an interesting note on the *pardaos*. *Ibid.*, p. 270, n. (2).

there is no great marvel, for this kind of merchandise is the greatest and richest found in this world !"¹

How far these accounts of the wealth of the public women of Vijayanagara were based on extravagant reports it is difficult to say ; but admitting the possibility of their having been rich, it is doubtful whether they could have failed to enliven their quarters by their bickerings and broils which formed a feature of their lives. We have to read the following description of a quarrel between public women as given by the poet Kumudēndu to form an adequate idea of the scene. Although this poet lived in about A.D. 1275, yet his words are as applicable to the times of the Vijayanagara monarchs as they are to those of the Hoysala rulers :

ಎಲೆಗುಂಡಿ ನೀಗುಂಡಿ ಬೀಲಿನ್ನಾಯೆ ನೀ ನಾಯೆ |

ಉಲಿಯದಿರು ನೀನುಲಿಯದಿರು ಸಾಯ ನೀಸಾಯ |

ಉಲುಕದಿರು ನೀನುಲುಕದಿರು ಜಂಡಿ ನೀಜಂಡಿ 'ಸಿಂಬೆ ನೀ ಸಿಂಬೆಯೆಂದು ||

ತಲೆಯೊತ್ತಿಯೊರ್ವರೊರ್ವರು ಕಚ್ಚಿ ತಾವು ಮುಂ |

ದಲೆವಿಡಿದು ಹೊಡೆದ ಸೀರೆಗಳಪ್ಪೆಯದೇ ಬಿದ್ದು |

ರುಳುವ ಚೌವಟ ಬೀಟಿಗಾರ್ತಿಯರ ಜಗಳಮಂ ಕಂಡು ನಗುತ್ತಿರ್ದನೊವ ||² ||

Provision was sometimes made in inscriptions against the vociferous nature of women, as can be made out from the following curse in an epigraph dated A.D. 1482-3: "The women of those who abuse the ruler of the village or the king of the *simā* or endeavour to obtain the sovereignty will be given to Dommara villagers".³

SECTION 4. *The Seraglio*

As already remarked in connection with the description of sati, it appears almost certain that it was a fashion in those days for men, especially among the wealthy classes, to have many wives. Inscriptions contain notices of the many wives

¹ *Barbosa*, Dames, I., p. 226. Dames calculates the amount at £32,000 in modern money. *Ibid.*, p. 226, n (1); Stanley, pp. 95-8, where the version is slightly different.

² *Kavicharite*, I., pp. 319-20.

³ *Butterworth—Chetty, Nellore Ins.*, II. p. 951.

of rulers as well as subjects. Thus, for example, in A.D. 1120, Dēmiyakkā is said to have been the chief wife among the wives of the merchant Chāmuṇḍa Śeṭṭi, "who was beloved by many kings," and "who protected the merchants from the *rakshasa*, the Kali age."¹ Śāntala Dēvī, the queen of the Hoysala king Viṣṇuvardhana, according to an inscription dated A.D. 1131, was "a furious elephant to her haughty co-wives."² The Hoysala king Narasiṃha Dēva, as an inscription dated A.D. 1161 relates, had 384 wives.³

The harem of the Hindu rulers of Vijayanagara has received particular attention at the hands of foreign travellers. Nicolo dei Conti thus informs us: "Their king is more powerful than all the other kings of India. He takes to himself twelve thousand wives, of whom four thousand follow him on foot wherever he may go, and are employed solely in the service of the kitchen. A like number, more handsomely equipped, ride on horseback. The remainder are carried by men in litters, of whom two thousand or three thousand are selected as his wives on condition that at his death they should voluntarily burn themselves with him, which is considered to be a great honour for them".⁴

‘Abdur Razzāq gives a more sober estimate of the inmates of the harem in his description of the properties of the betel-leaf. "It is probably owing to the stimulating properties of this leaf, and to the aid of this plant that the king of that country is enabled to entertain so large a seraglio; for it is said that it contains as many as 700 princesses and concubines." In the same passage the Persian ambassador has some further remarks to make on the policy adopted by the rulers in their seraglio. "With respect to all these establishments no male child is permitted to remain in them after attaining the age of ten years. Two women do not dwell together in the same apartment, each one having her concerns

¹ *E.C.*, II, No. 49, p. 128 (1st ed.).

² *Ibid.*, No. 53, p. 133.

³ *E.C.*, V., P. I, Bl. 193, p. 106.

⁴ Major, *India*, p. 6.

separate. When any beautiful girl is found throughout the whole kingdom, after the consent of her father and mother has been purchased, she is brought in great state to the harem, after which no one can see her ; but she is treated with great consideration.”¹

Barbosa has the following to add : “ The king and the country-people marry almost in our way, and have a marriage-law ; yet they marry several wives, especially the rich who are able to maintain them. The king has in his palace many women of position, daughters of great lords of the realm, and others as well, some as concubines, and some as handmaids. For this purpose the fairest and most healthy women are sought throughout the kingdom, that they may do him service with cleanliness and neatness...”² Barbosa gives us some more details about the harem : “ They (the women) sing and play and offer a thousand other pleasures as well to the king. They bathe daily in the many tanks, of which I spoke above, as kept for that purpose. The King goes to see them bathing, and she who pleases him most is sent for to come to his chamber. The first son born, whether of one woman or another, is heir to the kingdom. There is such envy and rivalry among these women with regard to the King’s favour, that ‘ some kill others ’ and some poison themselves ”.³

This evidence of Barbosa cannot be reconciled with that given by Paes as regards the discord between the wives of the king, and especially as regards the question of appointing an heir to the kingdom. Paes discreetly observes the difference between the principal queens, the lawful wives, and the other inmates of the harem. “ This king (i.e., Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya),” says Paes, “ has twelve lawful wives, of whom there are three

¹ Elliot, *Hist of India*, IV, pp. 114-15. That ‘Abdur Razzāq is correct when he says that those who entered the harem were not permitted to visit their parents afterwards, is seen when we compare what he says with what the beautiful girl of Mudkul told her parents when she refused to accept the necklace sent by the king of Vijayanagara. See *supra*, pp. 131-3.

² *Barbosa*, Dames, I, p. 208 ; Stanley, p. 88.

³ *Ibid*, I, p. 208 ; *ibid.*, pp. 88-9.

principal ones, the sons of each of these three being heirs of the kingdom, but not those of the others; this is (the case) when there are sons to all of them, but when there is only one son, whosoever he may be, he is heir."¹ It is this last assertion of Paes which we meet with in the statement of Barbosa given above, that "the first son born, whether of one woman or another, is heir to the kingdom".

Paes continues to give details of the harem thus: "One of these principal wives is the daughter of the King of Orya (i.e., the Gajapati king, evidently), and others, daughters of a king his vassal who is king of Serimgapatao; another wife is a courtesan whom in his youth he had for mistress before he became king, and she made him promise that if he came to be king he would take her to wife, and thus it came to pass that this courtesan became his wife. For love of her he built this new city,² and its name was . . . Each one of these wives has her house to herself, with her maidens and women of the chamber, and women guards and all other women servants necessary; all these are women, and no man enters where they are, save only the eunuchs, who guard them. These women are never seen by any man, except perhaps by some old man of high rank by favour of the king".³

If this was the case, the assertions made by Barbosa about the amorous activities of the king and the manner in which the selection of an heir to the throne was made, may be accepted with caution, since Barbosa could never have been an eye-witness to the things which he has described in connection with the seraglio.

We shall proceed with the account of Paes. "When they wish to go out they are carried in litters shut up

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 247. In this connection we may mention that the later monarchs also had more than two wives. Veñkaṭapati Dēva II married four wives. Heras, *Aravida*, pp. 495, 502. Śrīraṅga Rāya VI married three wives. *The Sources*, p. 311.

² Paes refers to the town of Nāgalāpura. Nāgalāpura may also have been named after Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya's mother called Nāgalādēvī. See *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 370, n. 65; *Kavicharite*, II, p. 189. B. A. S.

³ Sewell, *ibid.*, pp. 247-48.

and closed, so that they cannot be seen, and all the eunuchs with them, fully three or four hundred; and all other people keep a long distance from them. They told us that each one of these queens has a very large sum of money and treasure and personal ornaments, namely, armlets, bracelets, seed-pearls, pearls and diamonds, and that in great quantity: and they also say that each of them has sixty maidens adorned as richly as could possibly be with many jewels, and rubies and diamonds and pearls and seed-pearls".¹

How far Barbosa's words about the rivalry between the queens are reliable is seen by comparing his account with that of Paes on the same subject. "These three principal wives have each the same, one as much as the other, so that there may never be any discord or ill feeling between them; all of them are great friends, and each one lives by herself".²

The manner in which the king summons his wives is also given by Paes. "The king lives by himself inside the palace, and when he wishes to have with him one of his wives he orders a eunuch to go and call her. The eunuch does not enter where she is, but tells it to the female guards, who make known to the queen that there is a message from the king, and then comes one of her maidens or chamber-women and learns what is wanted, and then the queen goes where the king is, or the king comes where she is, and so passes the time as it seems good to him without any of the others knowing".³

About these eunuchs Paes relates they they guarded both the apartments of the king and of the queens. To the remarks we have cited in this connection, we may add the following: "Amongst these eunuchs the king has some who are great favourites, and who sleep where he sleeps; they receive a large

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 248.

² *Ibid.*, p. 249.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 249. Paes confounds all the women—12,000 according to him—in the royal service with the wives of the king in the passage we have already cited. See *ibid.*, p. 282.

salary".¹ According to him, "fully three or four hundred" eunuchs formed the escort of the queens.²

SECTION 5. *Description of Women*

Prominent as has been the part which women played in the social, political, and literary life of the people, one may be justified in placing before the reader their picture, with the aid of the materials left to us both by foreign and Hindu writers. 'Abdur Razzāq writes in a thoroughly oriental vein the following about the dancing-girls. "The singers were for the most part young girls, with cheeks like the moon, and faces more blooming than the spring, adorned with beautiful garments and displaying figures which ravished the heart like fresh roses. They were seated behind a beautiful curtain, opposite the king. On a sudden the curtain was removed on both sides, and the girls began to move their feet with such grace, that wisdom lost its senses, and the soul was intoxicated with delight".³

Barbosa was also struck by the beauty of the women of Vijayanagara. He writes: "They teach their women from childhood to sing, play and dance, and to turn about and take many light steps. These women are very beautiful and very bold".⁴ About their dress he says: "The women wear white garments of very thin cotton, or silk of bright colours, five yards long: one part of which is girt round them below, and the other part they throw over one shoulder and across their breasts in such a way that one arm and shoulder remains uncovered, as with a scarf (*reguacho*). They wear leather shoes well embroidered in silk; their heads are uncovered and the hair is tightly gathered into a becoming knot on the top of the head, and in their hair they put many scented flowers. In the

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 249.

² *Ibid.*, p. 248, op. cit. The harem of the Hindu rulers may be compared with that of contemporary Muhammadan monarchs. In the seraglio of Firūz Shāh, each wife of the king had three attendants; there were mistresses of all nationalities; and the king was able to converse with every one of them in her own language. See Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, II, pp. 369-70.

³ Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, p. 118.

⁴ *Barbosa*, Dames I, p. 208; Stanley, p. 88.

side of one of the nostrils they make a small hole, through which they put a fine gold wire with a pearl, sapphire or ruby pendant. They have their ears bored as well, and in them they wear earrings set with many jewels; on their necks they wear necklaces of gold and jewels and very fine coral beads, and bracelets of gold and precious stones and many good coral beads are fitted to their arms. Thus the most part of this people is very wealthy.”¹

Paes confirms both ‘Abdur Razzāq and Barbosa about the beauty of the women. While dealing with the Brahmans, he says: “They are all married, and have very beautiful wives; the wives are very retiring, and very seldom leave the house. The women are of light colour, and in the caste of these Brahmans are the fairest men and women that there are in the land; for though there are men in other castes commonly of light complexion, yet these are few”.²

The description of the dress of the women of Vijayanagara given by Barbosa is to be read in conjunction with that given by Paes, who has the following to narrate: “They have very rich and fine silk cloths; on the head they wear high caps which they call *collaes*, and on these caps they wear flowers made of large pearls; collars on the neck with jewels of gold very richly set with many emeralds and diamonds and rubies and pearls; and besides this many strings of pearls, and others for shoulder-belts; on the lower part of the arms many bracelets, with half of the upper arm all bare, having armlets in the same way all of precious stones; on the waist many girdles of gold and of precious stones, which girdles hang in order one below the other, almost as far down as half the thigh; besides these belts they have other jewels,

¹ *Barbosa, Dames I*, pp. 207-8; Stanley, pp. 87-8. Cf. The account given by Ibn Batūta, who speaks of the women of Honnāvūru: “The women of this city, and of all the Indian Districts on the sea shore, never dress in clothes that have been stitched but the contrary. One of them, for example, will tie one part of a piece of cloth round her waist, while the remaining part will be placed upon head and breast”. Ibn Batūta, *Travels*, pp. 165-6 (Lee.).

² Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 246.

and many strings of pearls round the ankles, for they wear very rich anklets even of greater value than the rest. They carry in their hands vessels of gold each as large as a small cask of water; inside there are some loops made of pearls fastened with wax; and inside all this is a lighted lamp. They come in regular order one before the other, in all perhaps sixty women fair and young, from sixteen to twenty years of age".¹ While describing the scaffoldings near the House of Victory, the same chronicler says: "Against the gates there were two circles in which were the dancing-women, richly arrayed with many jewels of gold and diamonds and many pearls".²

The remarks of Nuniz on the ornaments of the women of Vijayanagara are meagre. He speaks of the "thirty six of the most beautiful of the King's wives covered with gold and pearls, and much work of seed-pearls, and in the hands of each a vessel of gold with a lamp of oil burning in it These women are so richly bedecked with gold and precious stones that they are hardly able to move".³

Pietro della Valle also observed the costume of the dancing-girls. While he was walking through the city of the Ikkeri "late in the evening without the Ambassador we saw going along the streets several companies of young girls, well cloth'd after their manner, with some of the above-mentioned wrought and figur'd Silk from the girdle downwards; and from thence upward either naked, or else with very pure linen, either of one colour, or strip'd and wrought with several, besides a scarf of the same work cast over the shoulder. Their heads were deck'd with yellow and white flowers form'd into a high and

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 273. *Collaes*=*Kullāyi*, *ibid.*, n. (1).

² *Ibid.*, p. 264.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 378. On what a Hindu woman feels about her ornaments, read Anand Coomarswamy, *Arts and Crafts of India*, pp. 149-50, 152; Sarkar, *Pos. Back.*, I, pp. 79-80. Thirteen ornaments are described in an inscription of Rājendra Chōla's times. *S. I. I.* II, P. I, pp. 77, 84, *seq.*; *S. I. I.* II, P. II, p. 428; *Cf.* This with a list of ornaments given in 243 of 1899 dated S. 1438 (but included in 1900). See *Ep. Report 1900*, pp. 40-1. For ornaments in the *Mānasāra*, Acharya, *Ind. Arch.*, p. 67. See also Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 148-51; Abbé Dubois, *Hind. Man. & Cust.*, Ch. XV, p. 332, *seq.*

large Diadem, with some sticking out like Sun-beams, and others twisted together and hanging down in several fashions, which made a pretty sight".¹

Inscriptions do not enlighten us on the question of the dress worn by the women of Vijayanagara. If the converse of the following is suggested, we have some few details about the general appearance of a woman. In an inscription dated A. D. 1422, the glory of the great Jaina general Irugappa Daṇṇāyaka, manifested in the woes of women of the people whom he had conquered, is thus sung: "By their ears, their earrings forgotten, by their foreheads with no marks fixed on them, by their dishevelled curls, by their breasts untouched by strings of pearls, and by their *bimba*-like lips deprived of the redness (caused) by the betel, the wives of hostile kings very often make his great prowess manifest on all sides".²

To the above are to be added the descriptions given by poets, who, although they do not dwell with the minuteness of Bāṇa on the appearance and toilet of women,³ and are guided by a conventional uniformity which mars their accounts to some extent, yet have a few observations to make on the form, features and dress of the Hindu women. Kumāra Vālmiki, for example, who wrote the well known *Toṭave Rāmāyaṇa*, and who lived about A. D. 1500, describes women thus:

¹ Pietro della Valle, *Travels*, II, pp. 257-8. The note (1) which Edward Grey makes on page 258 can in no sense be applied to the average woman of southern India. The "some classes" referred to by him are, and have been, the humbler sections of the agricultural and industrial people. B. A. S.

² E. C., II, No. 253, p. 108 (2nd ed.)

³ The details given by Bāṇa refer to the painting of the lips with melted lac, the use of the cosmetics for the face and vermilion powder for the forehead, etc., in the seventh century A. D. Bāṇa, *Harshacharita*, pp. 68, 115, 124. An inscription of A. D. 1074 speaks of the marriage pandals of the seventy families (*elpatt-okkala maduveya pandara*) and money for the looking glasses of the dancing-girls. E. C., VII, Sk. 295, p. 150, text, p. 343. Another epigraph dated A. D. 1135 says the following about the senior queen of Vishṇuvardhana, Bommala Dēvi: "... her lips marked with sandal powder from the toe nails of the feet of Pārvaṭi." E. C., IV, Ng. 3, p. 113.

ಚರಣಕಾಂತಿಗಳಿಂದ ನೂವುರ |
 ಗುರುನಿತಂಬದಿ ಕಾಂಚಿ ಕೋಮಲ |
 ಕರದಿ ಕಂಕಣ ಬಿರಳಿನಿಂದುಂಗುರವು ಕೊರಳಿಂದ ||
 ಸರದ ಮುತ್ತುಗಳೋಲೆ ಕದಪಿಂ |
 ದಿರದೆ ಮೆಲಿಕ್ಕಿದುವು ಸ್ಮರಕರಾಗ್ರ |
 ಸ್ಫುರಿತ ಚಾಪಕಲಾಪ ಶರದಭಿಮಾನ ದೇವತೆಯ ||
 ಹೊಳೆಹೊಳೆವ ತನುಕಾಂತಿಯಲಿ ಗಜ |
 ಗಲಿಸಿದುವು ಹೊಂದೊಡವುಗಳು ಥಳ |
 ಧಳಿಸಿದುವು ಮುತ್ತುಗಳು ದಂತಪ್ರಭೆಯ ಲಹರಿಯಲಿ ||
 ಸುಲಲಿತಾಧರ ರಾಗದಿಂದು |
 ಜ್ವಲಿಸಿದುವು ಮಾಣಿಕ್ಯಚಯವಾ |
 ರಳವು ಹೊಗಲುವದ ಬುಜಗಂಧಿಯ ವಿಪುಳ ವಿಭ್ರಮವ || ¹ ||

About half a century later poet Bāhubali, author of *Nāgakumāra Kathe*, wrote thus :

ಚಿತ್ತಜ ರತಿದೇವಿಯರಾಡುವ ವೋನ್ನ |
 ನೆತ್ತದ ಹಲಗೆಯೊ ಮೇಣು |
 ಎತ್ತಿ ಬಿಚ್ಚಿದ ಬೀಸಣಿಗೆಯೊ ತಾನೆನಿ |
 ಸಿತ್ತುನುಣ್ಣೆನ್ನು ಮಾನಿನಿಯ ||
 ಉಡದೆ ತೊಡದೆ ಸೋಲಿಪ ಕಡುಜೆಲ್ವನು |
 ಮಡಗಿದ ಬಿದಿ ತನ್ನೊಳೆಂದು |
 ಮಡದಿ ಮಣಿಯ ನುಣ್ಣೆನ್ನುಲಿದವಯವ |
 ದೊಡನೆ ನೆಣಸಿ ಮಲೆತಿಹುದು ||
 ಮೊಗಚಂದಿರನಿಗೊಪ್ಪಂಚಿತ್ತ ವಟಫಲ |
 ಮೊಗಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಿಗೆ ರನ್ನ ದೊಡವು |
 ಮೊಗರಸವಾರ್ಧಿಗೆ ಎದ್ದು ಮಲತೆಯೆನೆ ||
 ಸೊಗಯಿವುದವಳ ಜೆಂದುಟಿಯು |
 ಚಂದಿರವಾಲ್ಗಡಲಿಂ ಬರ್ಪಂದೊಡ |
 ವಂದಮುತ್ತುಗಳೊ ಮೇಣವ್ಯುತ ||

¹ *Kavicharite*, II, p. 143. Cf. Kumāra Vyāsa's description of Draupadi, *ibid.*, p. 67; Bommarasa's description of Parave, wife of Nambiyanna, *ibid.*, p. 91.

ಬಿಂದುಗಳ್ ಕಠಿನವಾಂತುವೊ ತಾವೆನಿಸುಹು |
 ಎಂದು ಮುಖಿಯ ರದನಗಳು |
 ಮೊಗದಾವರೆಗೆ ಮೋಹಿಸಿ ಬಂದು ಸಂಪಗೆ ||
 ಮುಗುಳೆಂಬವಳ ನಾಸಿಕವ |
 ಮಿಗೆ ಕಂಡು ಪೆಲಿಸಾರ್ಧ ಮಲಿದುಂಬಿಗಳೆನೆ |
 ಸೊಗಯಿಸಿಹುವು ಪಜ್ಜೆಗುರುಳು || 1 ||

The talented poet VirūpākshaPaṇḍita, who wrote *ChennabasavaPurāṇa* in A. D. 1584, also has the following to say about women :

ನುಡಿವ ಕನ್ನಡಿ ನೋಡುವುತ್ಪಲಂ ಪೂಗಳಂ |
 ಮುಡಿವ ಕಾಳಾಹಿ ಚಲಿಸದೆ ನಿಂದ ಮಲಿದುಂಬಿ |
 ನಡೆವ ಪೊಂಬಾಲಿಯರಲದ ಮೊಗ್ಗೆ ತಳರದೊಳ್ಳೆರೆ ಪರಿಯದೆಳೆಯ ಪಾವು ||
 ಕುಡಿವರಿಯದಿರ್ಪ ಲತೆಕಾಯದ ಸುಮಂ ಸಿಂಹ |
 ಕಡಗದಾನೆಯ ಕುಂಭಮೆಂಬಿವವಯವ ಮಾಗೆ |
 ಬಿಡದೆ ಮೂಲೋಕ ಮೋಹಿನಿಯರಾಗಿರಿತನುಜೆಯೆಡ ಬಲದೊಳಿಟ್ಟಣಿಸಿದರ || 2 ||

Pāyannavratī (circa 1600) may have voiced the opinion of the sober minded section of the people when he composed the concluding lines of the following stanza :

ನಡುಸಿಂಹ ಧನು ಪುರ್ಬು ಕುಚಕುಂಭ ಮಾನಾಕ್ಷಿ |
 ಮಡದಿಮಕರ ಪತ್ರದಿಂದ ||
 ನಡಗರದಿಂ ನಿಡುಹಸ್ತದಿಂದಲಿ ಕನ್ನೆ |
 ಬೆಡಗಿಂದೊಪ್ಪಿದೊಳ್ ರಾಸಿಯಂತೆ ||
 ಹರಿಯ ಅಂಗವು ಕಪ್ಪು ಹರನ ಕೊರಳು ಕಪ್ಪು |
 ಉರಗನ ಹೆಡೆಯೊಳು ಕಪ್ಪು ||
 ವರವಾಣಿಹಸ್ತದ ವೀಣೆತಾ ಕಡುಕಪ್ಪು |
 ಕಪ್ಪಿಂದ ಕೊಲಿತೆಯೇ ನಮ್ಮ ||
 ಹೆಣ್ಣಿ ಗಾಗಿ ಹರಿ ತುಯಿಗಳ ಕಾದನು |
 ಹೆಣ್ಣಿ ನಿಂದಜನು ಕೆಟ್ಟ ||

¹ *Kavicharite*, II. p. 290. See also poet Adṛśya's description, *ibid.* p. 307.

² *Ibid.*, p. 312.

ಹೆಣ್ಣಿನ ಮೋಹದ ಹರಸರೆ ಹೆಣ್ಣಾದ |

ಹೆಣ್ಣಿ ಗಾದನು ಕೋಲಿಸುರಪ || ¹ ||

We may end our observations on the women of Vijayanagara by including in the above list of descriptions those of the forest-women or *Bēḍara-strīyaru*, also by contemporary writers. Virūparāja in A. D. 1519 wrote thus :

ಕಡೆಗಣ್ಣ ಕಾಂತಿಗೋರಗೆಯಾದ ಪಲ್ಲದಿ |

ರಡಿಗಿಂಪ ವಾಯಿದಧರಕಾಂತಿ ||

ಮುಡಿಗಪ್ಪ ಕೀಲಿಕ್ಕಾಡುವ ಮೈಯ ಪೊಗರಿಂದ |

ನಡೆದುದು ಬಿಯದ ವೆಣ್ಣಳತಂಡ || ² ||

Virabhadrayya (circa 1530) also has given us an account of the *Kirāla* women :

ನಡೆಗರಸಂಜೆಯಂ ಸರಕೆ ಕೋಕಿಲಮಂ ಬಗೆವೆತ್ತು ತೋರ್ಪ ಮೆ |

ಲ್ಪುಡಿಗೆ ಶುಕಂಗಳಂ ಕುಚಯುಗಂಗಳ ಪೆರ್ಮೆಗೆ ಜಕ್ಕವಕ್ಕಿಯಂ ||

ಮುಡಿಗೆ ನವಿಲ್ಲಿಳಂದವನೆ ಪೋಲ್ಪು ಕಿರಾತನಿತಂಬಿನೀ ಜನಂ |

ಬಿಡದೆ ವಿಜಾತಿಯೆಂಬುದದು ಸಾರ್ಥಕಮಾಗೆನೆ ದಿವ್ಯದಾವಗಂ || ³ ||

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL LEGISLATION, ETIQUETTE, AND ORTHODOXY

SECTION 1. *Social Legislation*

A. *Marriage—The Question of Dowry*

The influx of the people from the northern parts of the Empire into the south, as already narrated in connection with

¹ *Kavicharite*, II., p. 333. In this connection it is interesting to observe that even foreigners remarked about this: "But (I may say in conclusion) as for the women and men, the blacker they be, the more beautiful they be (held)". Jordanus wrote thus about the men and women of "Lesser India", in his *Mirabilia Descripta*, p. 25.

² *Kavicharite*, II., p. 199.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 219. For later descriptions, see, for example, Lakshmiśa, *Jaimini Bhārata*, *ibid.*, p. 524. But on other occasions too he has described women. Sandhi, 8, vv. 20-1, p. 159, Sandhi, 11, vv. 7-10, p. 209, etc. (Sanderson). For a fantastic account of a woman, read Careri, *Travels*, p. 231.

the caste system in Vijayanagara,¹ gave rise to certain general questions of grave social importance. Allied to these were other problems which will now be examined. These concern chiefly marriage, etiquette, and orthodoxy, and the consequent legislation which they necessitated at the hands of the people as well as of the State. The question of marriage affords us an example of the concern that was felt for a growing danger which was eating into the life of the people.² Before we deal with this social problem, we may be permitted to dispense with some of the notices about marriage from foreign travellers who observed only one aspect of the evil. These few observations are to some extent supplemented by meagre references in inscriptions. Thus, for example, we have the fact of the offering of signet-ring for the rite of marriage in an inscription dated A. D. 1159. The epigraph relates that the Hoysala king Narasimha bestowed upon the Chaturviṃśati-Jīna temple "a second name Bhavya-chūḍāmaṇi after Hullapa's title Saṁyukta-chūḍāmaṇi." And to provide for gifts and the enjoyment of the good sages residing in that Jīna temple, "as if offering his signet-ring for the rite of marriage with the maiden merit", affiliated to the Pustaka-gachchha of the Dēśyagaṇa and endowed it with further grants.³ An inscription dated A. D. 1407 hints at certain marriage customs. It informs us that Dēvarasa made a grant to Chokkāla Gōvindyar-tāte (*tam-maḍigal*) the priest of the god Śaṅkara of Sāgare, in the year specified, of the fees for those who celebrated a marriage with

¹ *Supra*, Chapter I., Section 1.

² For an account of Social Legislation relating to this phase of the question, read Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *Social Legislation*, *Q. J. M. S.*, VI, pp. 47-57.

³ There seems to be some difference of opinion as regards the reference to marriage in this instance. Rice, who edited this inscription, in the 1st ed. of the Śravaṇa Belgoḷa inscriptions, says: "...and in order to contract a marriage with the maiden the lady merit, and confirm it, with a sealed document". *E. C.* II, No. 138, p. 184 (1st. ed.). Narasimbachar's interpretation is followed above. *E. C.*, II, No. 340, pp. 153-4. The passage in the original runs thus: *punya-śrī-kanyākāya vivāhana-vidhaye mudrikām arppayan va*". *E. C.*, II, text, p. 153.

throwing sandal powder and carrying in a palanquin, for the expenses of the temple of the said god.¹

We may now turn to Muhammadan historians and foreign travellers. Firishtah's remarks on the custom of betrothing children in childhood have already been cited in an earlier connection. Nehal, the Mudkul beauty, was to have been married to a youth of her own caste in her childhood "agreeably to the custom of Hindoostan", but "she requested that the ceremony might be delayed, with such earnestness, that it was put off".² Linschoten confirms the opinion of Firishtah that that was indeed a common custom among the Hindus. Linschoten, however, describes the Brahmans of Goa in A. D. 1583. He says: "When the woman is seven yeeres old, and the man nine yeeres, they doe marrie; but they come not together before the women be strong enough to beare children."³ The more orthodox section of the Brahmans would have justified this deplorable custom of theirs by referring to Manu, whose regulation on this important questions runs thus: "A man aged thirty years, shall marry a maiden of twelve who pleases him, or a man of twenty-four a girl eight years of age; if (the performance of) his duties would (otherwise) be impeded, (he must marry) sooner".⁴

Without entering into the question of the demerits of the custom of the child marriage, we may proceed to

¹ E. C., IV., Hg. 60, p. 74.

² Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, II, p. 380, op. cit.

³ Linschoten, Purchas, *Pilgrims*, X, p. 256. This is again confirmed by the remarks of a Jesuit. In A. D. 1709 Fr. Lane wrote thus; "Tis also a Custom in several Castes, particularly in those of the greatest Eminence, to marry their Children in their tender age. The juvenile Husband ties about his Bride's Neck a small Trinket called *Tali*, which is as the Badge of Distinction between wives and Maidens; and thus the Marriage is solemniz'd. If the Husband happens to die before the marriage cou'd be consummated, the *Tali* is taken from the young Widow, and she is not permitted to marry again. As nothing is more contemptible in the Eyes of these *Indians*, than this State of Widowhood; 'twas partly to free themselves from this scorn, that they used formerly to burn themselves with their Husband's body..." Lockman, *Travels of the Jesuits*, II, p. 384. As regards the use of the *tali*, see Commiade, *Q. J. M. S. X*, pp. 150, seq. For further notices of marriage, read Thevenot, *Travels*, pp. 82-3.

⁴ *Manu*, IX, 94, p. 344.

record the remarks of Linschoten on childbirth. This time he speaks of the "Canarins and Corumbins of India", meaning thereby evidently the agricultural section of the people of Kanara and the Kurumbars or Kurubas. "When the women are readie to travell with Child, they are commonly delivered when they are all alone: and their Husbands in the fields, as it fortuneth upon a time, as I and some other of my friends went to walke in the fields, and into the Villages where the Canariins dwell, and having thirst, I went to one of the Canariins houses to aske some water, therewith to refresh us, and because I was thirstie, I stooped downe and thrust my head in at the doore, asking for some water, where I espied a Woman alone within the house, tying her cloth fast about her middle, and before her having a wooden Trough (by the Portugals called Gamello) full of water, where shee stood and washed a Child, whereof as then she had newly beene delivered without any helpe: which having washt, she laid it Naked on the ground upon a great Indian Figgie leafe, and desired me to stay and she would presently give me water. When I understood by her that she had as then newly beene delivered of that Child without any helpe, I had no desire to drinke of her water, but went unto another to aske water, and perceived the same woman not long after going about her house, as if there had beene no such matter, and the Children are brought up in that manner cleane naked, nothing done unto them, but onely washed and made cleane in a little cold water, and doe in that sort proper and come up as well as man would wish, or as any Child within these Countries can doe with all the tending they have, and live many times untill they be a hundredth yeeres old, without any Head-ach, or Tooth-ach, or losing any of their Teeth."¹ This was the condition of the "Canariins and the Corumbins" whom the same traveller calls "Countrimen" who "deale with Tilling the Land, Fishing and such like labours". Further he says: "These are the most contemptible, and the miserablest people of all India..."²

¹ Linschoten, *Purchas, Pilgrims*, X, p. 263.

² *Ibid.*, p. 262.

It cannot be determined whether the remarks of Linschoten as regards the longevity of the agricultural and fishing people could be applied to the Brahmans. But we are aware of the fact that the question of marriage had assumed great proportions, especially in the eyes of the priestly class. And the crucial point then was, as unfortunately it is now to a large extent, in connection with dowry. On this significant detail, Manu has the following to say: "No father who knows (the law) must take even the smallest gratuity for his daughter; for a man who, through avarice, takes a gratuity, is a seller of his offspring...Some call the cow and the bull (given) at an Ārsha wedding 'a gratuity', (but) that is wrong, since (the acceptance of) a fee, be it small or great, is a sale (of the daughter). When the relatives do not appropriate (for their use) the gratuity (given), it is not a sale; (in that case) the (gift) is only a token of respect and kindness towards the maidens".¹ Then again: "Even a Śūdra ought not to take a nuptial fee, when he gives away his daughter, for he who takes a fee sells his daughter, covering (the transaction by another name). Neither ancients nor moderns who were good men have done such (a deed) that, after promising (a daughter) to one man, they gave her to another; nor, indeed, have we heard, even in former creations, of such (a thing as) the covert sale of a daughter for a fixed price, called a nuptial fee".² According to Manu, therefore, "the acceptance of a fee be it small or great, is a sale of the daughter" and hence is to be condemned.³

¹ *Manu*, III, 51, 53-4, pp. 84-5.

² *Ibid.*, IX, 98-100, p. 345.

³ Read *Vaśiṣṭha*: "The purchase (of a wife) is mentioned in the following passage of the Veda; 'Therefore one hundred (cows) besides a chariot should be given to the father of the bride'. *Vaśiṣṭha*, I, 36, p. 7. Cf. *Manu*. "When (the father) gives away his daughter according to the rule, after receiving from the bridegroom for (the fulfilment of) the sacred law, a cow and a bull or two pairs, that is named the Ārsha rite" *Manu*, III, 29, p. 80. But, as already remarked, Manu definitely declares that it is wrong to call this fee a gratuity. As regards the method of giving a girl in marriage, see *Grihya Sūtras* (Āśvalāyana) Part I, Adhyāya 1, Kāṇḍikā 6, p. 166, *seq.* For Śukrācārya's opinion on marriage, *Sukraniti* III, II, 342-7, p. 115.

The Brahmans of a prominent part of Vijayanagara too were precisely of the same opinion. In fact, they even went to the extent of seeking the aid of the State in executing a measure which they themselves had enacted on behalf of the society. They must have realized that the dowry system was becoming more and more unbearable, and that it was telling sadly on the material prosperity of the Hindu households. Although information is not forthcoming as regards the nature and amount of dowry that was demanded amongst the common people, yet we know that among families well stationed in life, it was almost a custom to grant whole villages as dowry. Thus, for example, we have the following in an inscription in Tamil, dated A. D. 1379, in the reign of Immaḍi Bukka Rāya : "By order of Petteyaraśar, Rāchcharasar, minister of the Kāṇṭik-kāra-rāyar-gaṇḍa Nāgaṇṇ-udaiyar, I—the Malaimaṇḍalap-perumāl, mahā prabhu, of Pulliyūr-nāḍu, Nambi Iravi Śeṭṭiyar—granted (on the date specified), as dowry, the village of Paśi-gaipalli in my share of one-third of Pulliyūr-nāḍu to my daughter's sons Iraviyaṇṇan, Kēśava Śeṭṭiyar and others".¹

It was most probably because of the exorbitant nature of dowry and the consequent heavy expenses of marriage that people were compelled to sell their estates. This is what is perhaps suggested in an inscription dated A. D. 1404 which relates that Achapa's son Viṭṭhapa sold to Bēlūr Narasivā Dēva's son Sugaṇṇa the Kaudavaḷḷi village, also called Virūpāmbikāpura, in Beḷuve of the Āraga-vēṇṭe, together with other land, "on account of marriage" (*nāṭu namma prastha-nimittavāgi nimage krayavāgi koṭṭa*).² According to another inscription assigned to about the year A. D. 1424, the Āḷva-prabhu Bommiyakka Heggaditi's son, whose name is missing in this defaced epi-

¹ E. C., IX., Ht. 108, 109, p. 102. The date falls within the reign of Harihara Rāya II (A. D. 1377-1404). The name of the king given in this epigraph—Immaḍi Bukka—cannot be referred to Bukka II who reigned from A. D. 1405-6.

² E. C., VIII., Tl. 134, p. 190, P. II, p. 599. The village was again re-christened Lakshmi-Narasimhapura. See *ibid.*, Tl. 133.

graph, also, on account of marriage, sold land (specified) to the *sthānika* temple priest Dēvapṇa-ayya's son Bōvaṇṇa-ayya.¹

It was about this time that Brahmans of all shades of opinion concerted on a most useful measure of social legislation. They belonged to the Paḍaiviḍu-rājya, as an inscription dated Śaka 1347 (A. D. 1424-5) narrates, and their representative character is shown by the fact that the inscription particularly mentions them as Kannaḍiga, Tamil, Telugu and Lāṭa Brahmans. The agreement which was arrived at as regards this question of Dharma relating to marriage, was as follows: That henceforth marriages among them were to be concluded only by *kanyādāna*, i. e., the father had to give his daughter to the bridegroom gratuitously; and that both the father who accepted money, and the bridegroom who paid money, were to be subjected to punishment by the King, and to be excommunicated from their caste. Their agreement runs thus: "... (On the date specified)... the illustrious Vīrapratāpa-Dēvarāya-mahārāya was pleased to rule the earth,—the great men of all branches of sacred studies of the kingdom (*rājyam*) of Paḍaiviḍu drew up in the presence of (*the god*) Gōpinātha (*of*) Arkapushkaraṇī a document (*which contains*) an agreement fixing the sacred law. According to (*this document*), if the Brāhmaṇas of this kingdom (*rājyam*) of Paḍaiviḍu, viz., Kannaḍigas, Tamiṇas, Telungas, Ilāḷas, etc., of all *gōtras sūtras* and *śākhās* conclude a marriage they shall, from this day forward, do it by *kanyādāna*. Those who do not adopt *kanyādāna*, i. e., both those who give a girl away after receiving gold, and those who conclude a marriage after having given gold, shall be liable to punishment by the king and shall be excluded from the community of Brāhmaṇas. These are the contents of the document which was drawn up." We may note that it contains the signature of "the great men of all branches of sacred studies".²

Two conclusions may be drawn from this epigraph—that "the evil practice of bargaining for marriage", as the late Mr.

¹ E. C., VIII, TL 175, p. 199, P. II, p. 658.

² 49 of 1877; S. I. I. I. No. 56, pp. 82-4; Rangachari, *Top. List*, I. NA. 602, p. 104.

Kṛishṇa Śāstri said, "by one, at least, of the parties concerned was as rampant in Śaka 1347 (A. D. 1425) as it is today;"¹ and that the Brahmans made definite provision for State interference in purely social matters. We are uncertain whether this wise step taken by the Brahmans of the Paḍaiviḍu-rājya was ever followed by the others all over the Empire. But if the remission of taxes on marriage of all classes in Ballāḷapura by Dēva Rāya II, in A. D. 1432, as we have already related,² could be traced to the bold stand made by the Brahmans of the Paḍaiviḍu-rājya in A. D. 1424-5, then, it is, we believe, not too much to say that, so far as the question of dowry was concerned, they were certainly far ahead of their times.

We are not sure whether this could be said of them as regards the other vital questions connected with Hindu womanhood. It cannot be determined, for example, whether the Brahmans of Vijayanagara made any attempts to put a stop to the vile custom of compelling widows to shave their heads. From the account of sati given by Linschoten in A. D. 1583, it is certain that this savage rite prevailed among the Brahmans. That traveller says: "Then shee taketh all her Jewels, and parteth among her friends, and so with a cheerfull countenance, she leapeth into the fire, and is presently covered with Wood and Oyle: so shee is quickly dead, and with her Husbands body burned to ashes: and if it chance, as not very often it doth, that any woman refuseth to be burnt with her husband, then they cut the haire cleane off from her head, and while she liveth she must never after weare any Jewels more, and from that time she is despised, and accounted for a dishonest woman".³

¹ A. S. R. for 1907-8, p. 250.

² E. C., X, Gd. 17, p. 214, op. cit., *Supra*, Volume I, Ch. IV, Section 9. There is an epigraph dated A. D. 1653-4 which relates that Boligadacha Vrajagoruvindla... issued a charitable edict exempting the residents of the village of Kāgollu, which had been given as a *mānyam* to Pākanala Kṛishṇappa Nāyanivāru—from fees for the marriage of their daughters. The edict ends with a vile curse on those who would infringe its clause. Butterworth-Chetty, *Nellore Ins.* II, p. 763. For some remarks on the brideprice, see Richards, *Salem Gaz.*, I, P. I, p. 133.

³ Linschoten, *Purchas, Pilgrims*, X, p. 257.

That Linschoten was not wrong in this is proved by the following statement by Barbosa who also speaks of sati. "All this they do in general without any hindrance, as it is the custom of all. Those who do not so, they hold in great dishonour, and their kindred shave their heads and turn them away as disgraced and a shame to their families."¹

Judged by the institutes of Manu, this attitude of the Brahmans in the last quarter of the sixteenth century can in no sense be justified. For Manu enjoins that a widow is at liberty to (wear and) possess her ornaments after her husband's death. This is evident from the following: "The ornaments which may have been worn by women during their husbands' lifetime, his heirs shall not divide; those who divide them become outcasts."² Further, in the regulations relating to the conduct of a faithful wife after her husband's death, Manu does not mention the barbarous rite of the degenerate Brahmans: "A faithful wife, who desires to dwell (after death) with her husband, must never do anything that might displease him who took her hand, whether he be alive or dead. At her pleasure let her emaciate her body by (living on) pure flowers, roots and fruit; but she must never even mention the name of another man after her husband has died. Until death let her be patient (of hardships), self-controlled and chaste, and strive (to fulfil) that most excellent duty which (is prescribed) for wives who have one husband only....A virtuous wife after the death of her husband constantly remains chaste, reaches heaven, though she have no son, just like those chaste men."³

As regards the occasion when a woman, belonging to the Brahman caste, could be shaved, we have the following in *Vaśishṭha*: "If a Śūdra approaches a female of the Brāhmaṇa

¹ *Barbosa*, Dames, I, p. 216. From the account of sati given by Metthwold, it appears that widows were not necessarily shaved. See Metthwold, *Relations of Golconda*, p. 25.

² *Manu*, IX, 200, p. 372. In the twelfth century, as we shall presently see, the Chōla government of the day permitted widows to own the lands, jewels, and other valuables of their (deceased) husbands.

³ *Ibid*, V., 156-8, 160, pp. 196-7; see also *Vaśishṭha* XVII., 55-6, pp. 89-90.

caste, (the King) shall cause the Sūdra to be tied up in Viraṇa grass and shall throw him into a fire. He shall cause the head of the Brāhmaṇi to be shaved, and her body to be anointed with butter; placed her naked on a black donkey, he shall cause her to be conducted along the high road. It is declared that she becomes pure (thereby)."¹ Nothing is more regrettable than the fact, that then, as it is unfortunately now, the Brahmans of southern India should have been blind to the injunctions of the authors of the *dharma-sāstras*; and that they should have imposed on women a penalty which had not the slightest claim to legality or justice.²

B. Communal Questions—How settled

The clause relating to those who violated the agreement made by the Brahmans of the Paḍaiviḍu-rājya, and their punishment by the king, leads us to the question whether the State in mediaeval times ever interfered in matters concerning the social welfare of the people. There is reason to affirm that at the request of the people themselves, the Government did intervene in their social affairs, especially when it was a question of settling details about trivial formalities, which caused much concern to the humbler sections of the people.

That there was nothing new in the Government of Vijayanagara adjusting the social differences of the people is seen when we examine the measures which earlier rulers took to settle allied questions relating to society. From the fourteenth year of Rājādhirāja II, for example, it was declared (evidently by the State) that a woman who was wedded to a person, was entitled, on his demise, to become the owner of the lands, slaves,

¹ *Vaśiṣṭha*, XXI, 1, p. 109. See also *ibid.*, 2-3, p. 110. Cf. *The Institutes of Parāśara*, X., 15-19, pp. 54-5. (Krishṇa Kamal Bhattācārya, Bib. Ind., 1887).

² It is gratifying to learn in this connection that the Tēgalē schismatics do not shave their widows. They quote from Śaṇḍilyah, Sambhuh, Manu, Khagēśvara Samhita, Hayagrīva Samhita in support of immunity of their widows from the rite of tonsure. Narasimmiyengar, I. A., III., pp. 136-7. As regards the rite of tonsure (*chūḍākarma*) for girls, see *Manu*, II., 66, p. 42; *Grihya Sūtras*, (*Śāṅkhyāna*) Part I., 1, 28, 22, p. 57. See also *ibid.*, *Āśvalāyana* I, *Adhyāya*, *Kaṇḍikā* 17, 19, p. 186.

jewels, or other valuables, and the cattle of her deceased husband ; that if before his death, he made default and had his lands sold, the purchaser had the right of the lands and slaves that belonged to the deceased ; that Brahmans should not till lands with bulls yoked to the plough ; that those classes that were engaged as labourers should not become *vēḷ* and *araśu* ; that *kāvidis*, potters, drummers, weavers, and barbers should not keep locks of hair ; that during their mourning or joyous occasions big drums (*bērigai*) should not be taken; and that they should not possess slaves. Further, bullocks grazing near the village channels should be impounded in pens erected for the purpose ; and cattle-stands or house-sites of the village should not be converted into paddy fields. Finally, it was also ordered that potters, who made small lamps and pots, and sold them, should wear an upper cloth.¹

We have evidence of the settlement of equally complicated questions in the reign of Tribhuvana Chakravartin Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa Dēva (who has been identified with Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa Dēva I), as is related in an inscription dated in the forty-eighth year of his reign. This epigraph deals with the decision arrived at as regards the question of caste, and lays down the profession to be followed by a certain *anulōma* class called *Rathakāras* who are described as the sons of *Māhishyas* by *Karaṇi* women. On the strength of previous authorities such as Yājñavalkya, Gautama, Kauṭilya, Baudhāyana, and others, the *bhaṭṭas* (i.e., the learned Brahmans) of Rājāśraya-chaturvēdimaṅgaḷam defined (1) a *Māhishya* as one born of a *Kshatriya* father by a *Vaiśya* mother ; (2) a *Karaṇi* as the daughter of a *Vaiśya* father by a *Sūdra* mother; and (3) a *Rathakāra* as the son of a *Māhishya* father by a *Karaṇi* mother.

The following means of livelihood were also laid down for adoption by the *Rathakāras* : (1) architecture, (2) building coaches and chariots, (3) erecting *gōpuras* of temples with images on them ; (4) preparation of instruments required by the *Brāhmaṇas* in their sacrificial ceremonies such as ladle

¹ *Ep. Report for 1919*, pp. 97-8.

(*śrīk*) etc., (5) building *maṇḍapas*, (6) not clear, and (7) making jewels for kings such as diadems, bracelets, etc.

It was decided also that this *anulōma* sect of *Rathakāras* was superior to the *pratilōma* sect ('born the other way'), viz., from a father of a lower class, and a mother of a higher class. One of the authorities quoted also states that these *Rathakāras* were entitled to *upanayana* (the sacred thread ceremony), *ijyā* (performing sacrifice), and *ādhana* (receiving sacred fire). Another authority, however, suggests that the *anulōmas* thus entitled to *upanayana* are forbidden from performing the *agnihōtra* (keeping the sacred fire always alive), *aupāsana* (worshipping the fire thus kindled), *pañchamahāyajña* (the five sacred duties prescribed for the Brahmans, viz., (1) *Dēva yajña* [ceremonial worship of gods], (2) *pitṛi-yajña* [ceremonial worship of manes]; (3) *brahma-yajña* [ceremonial worship of ṛishis], (4) *bhūta-yajña* [ceremonial worship of living creatures other than men] and (5) *manushya-yajña* [ceremonial worship of men] and *adhyāyana* [recital of the Vēdas]. The same authority also says that their *upanayana* ceremony ought not to be conducted by quoting the *mantras* (sacred hymns). This was the decision of the learned men of Uyya-kondāṇ-Tirumalai at the beginning of the twelfth century.¹

In the decision of the Chōla kings of the early times we have the echoes of those same intricate communal problems which compelled the Vijayanagara rulers to step into the wrangling circles of the cultivators and the Pañchāḷas, the barbers and the potters, and the weavers and the Śēṭṭis. The cases which the mediaeval monarchs had to solve may roughly be divided into two broad classes—those relating to marriage and the consequent rise in social estimation, and those concerning honours, *birudus*, and rights during festivals and religious occasions. An instance of a lower class claiming equality with a higher class as regards marriage may

¹ *Ep. Report* for 1909, pp. 95-6. As regards the *Rathakāras*, it is interesting to observe that they were an ancient class. See Rāja Radhakanta Deva Bahadur *Śabdakalpadruma*, under the article *Rathakāra*, q. v. Cf. Srinivasa Aiyangar, *Tamil Studies*, pp. 74-5.

be mentioned. The following account of the fate which befell the Bēḍars, who, as we saw, belonged to the Left Hand division, illustrates this as well as other phases of Vijayanagara history. The Bēḍars, who were ruling around the places called Piriyaṭṭaṇa and Tuṅga, where Maṅgarasa and Chaiḡalarāya, two Jaina Kshatriyas, had settled, claimed their daughters in marriage. The Kshatriyas could not openly refuse the demand as the Bēḍars were all powerful. They had recourse to diplomacy: they built a great house with six large halls ostensibly for marriages, and dug a well at the back of the last hall. One day they mustered all their forces and invited the Bēḍars for the marriage. Elated with the prospect of a marriage alliance with Kshatriyas, the Bēḍars repaired to the place with their families. But the Jaina Kshatriyas told them that it was a custom of theirs that only a single pair of married couple should enter the house at a time. The Bēḍars went inside two by two. As each pair went to the innermost hall the Kshatriyas arranged to have their heads cut off and bodies thrown into the well.¹ Thus all the Bēḍars were killed and

¹ *My. Arch. Report* for 1925, p. 15. In three copper-plate grants dated Śālivāhana Śaka 1212, Vikrama Śaka 1012, and Śālivāhana Śaka 1157 referring to the reigns of Bukka Rāya, and a number of other kings some interesting details are given as regards the question of intermarriage among the *gauḍa* and the *reḍḍi* classes, and the different kinds of honours to which they were entitled on festive occasions. These inscriptions are rambling epigraphs and are all dated wrongly, and, therefore, untrustworthy. But some of the details are the following: The *gauḍas*, we are told, were given the right of possessing a palanquin carried cross-ways, round umbrella, torch by day, big and little kettle-drum, silk flag, turban, gold marriage crown, gold necklace, and shoes of honour. One of them states that a number of *reḍḍis* (named with descent), of the Sujana-*kula* and Pembolu-*gōtra*, on the Sultan (not named) demanding one of their daughters migrated (the same night ?) with 101 families and seven elephants to the Naḍinigaḍḍa country. There they sought to make marriages in Chittalapuriṭṭaṇa, but were refused. Whereupon Koṇḍāma Nāyaka and two others went to Penugonḍa and represented the matter to Rāma Rāyal and Bukka Rāyal, who came with an army to Naḍinigaḍḍa. There they held an enquiry as to why the *reḍḍis* of Bōdipet and Chandragiri declined intermarriages, and sent for their *guru* Tātāchārya to decide the question. In his presence the heads of the Sujana-*kula* were invested with honours (like those given above), and they agreed to make certain payments (specified) on occasions of marriages. Marriages were accordingly performed, the Rāyal spending 150 Rāmatenki-varāha for the purpose. *E. C. XIII*, 18, 72, 82, pp. 119, 128, 131, and text, pp. 363, 388, 397. See also Pg.

Maṅgarasa conquered all the country round and became a powerful chief with Piriyaṭṭaṇa as his capital, Changalarāya becoming king of Raṅgapaṭṭaṇa. These two, we may note, were feudatories of the Vijayanagara kings.

The other type of cases relates to the rights and *birudus* granted to communities on festive occasions. There were, for example, the minute distinctions between the Right Hand and Left Hand sections, the rivalries between the Pañchāḷas and cultivators, and the acrimonious differences between the potters and the barbers. The feeling between the Iḍaṅgai and Vaḷaṅgai subdivisions seems to have reached its climax in about Śaka 1352 (A. D. 1440-1), as is related in an inscription dated only in the cycle year Saumya Chittirai, 16, when an agreement was reached as regards some social conduct among the Vaḷaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai classes of two out of the eighteen subdivisions, residing around Poṇṇarappi in Irungōḷappāṇḍi-vaḷanāḍu in Mērkāl--nāḍu, a subdivision of Virudarāja-bhayaṅkar-vaḷanāḍu on the northern bank of the Kāvērī. The parties met in the temple of Tiruvālanduṟai-mahādēvar (in the Trichinopoly district) and settled the question amicably.¹ Two years earlier, however, according to an inscription dated Śaka 1350 (A. D. 1438-39), as given by Taylor, the people of some unspecified town came to a common understanding as regards the disturbances that might be created by the Right Hand and Left Hand sections. It was agreed that if members of either of these subdivisions caused any commotion and fought with each other during public festivals, "the said persons should be forthwith killed on the spot, with spears, without ceremony".²

But this summary procedure did not always characterize the decision of the people as regards communal questions. A

96, p. 132. These considerations of status arising out of marriage may have been responsible for the claims of Śūdra Prapannas to be given the same position as Brahman Prapannas. See Tātāchārya, *Vēdānta Dēśika*, p. 23. Cf the case of Vipravīnōdins given *supra*, Chapter II., Section 1, C.

¹ 253 of 1926; *Ep. Report* for 1926, p. 111. For a minute account of the insignia of the Right Hand and Left Hand Sections, see Oppert, *Org. Inhab. of Bharatavarsha*, p. 90, n. 59.

² Taylor, *Cat. Rais.*, III, p. 305.

copper-plate grant dated only in the cyclic year Siddhārtin,¹ Bhādrapada Śuddha 5, Sō., but assigned to the year A. D. 1379, contains the following interesting details about the manner in which they solved their social problems: "If a caste dispute arises in the country, they (*i.e.* the rulers of the town—the *nāyakas* and *gauḍas*)—will summon the parties before them and advise them. And as they have the power of punishment, the parties must act according to the advice given. This proceeding to be free of cost to them." The royal signature at the end—Śrī Virūpāksha—lends some support to this document.¹

The assemblies summoned by the *nāyakas* and *gauḍas* are to be distinguished from those which gathered under the auspices of the heads of the castes. These latter organizations were called *kūṭa*. Since even in our days every non-Brahman caste has its *kūṭa*, we may imagine that in mediaeval times too each community must have had its own organization. The *kūṭa* of the Ayyas of Kuṛubūr is mentioned in an inscription dated A. D. 1409.²

Sometimes social differences were also submitted to the arbitration of Brahman Voḍayas (Odeyars ?), Elders, and merchants of a prominent city. Perhaps these assembled together to deal with questions which the smallest court comprising the the *kūṭa*, and the next higher tribunal composed of the rulers of the town, the *nāyakas* and *gauḍas*, had failed to decide, or with problems which concerned all the people of the towns and the *nāḍ* or province. We are, however, uncertain about this. An inscription dated Śaka 1464 (A. D. 1542-3) tells us that the Baḍuguluvāru and the Palināṭivāru quarrelled among themselves about the *birudus* to be carried during festal occasions.

¹ E. C., XII, Si. 76, p. 100, text p. 288. The week-day, however, does not correspond. Śaka 1301, Siddhārti Samvatsara Bhādrapad-su. 5 Sō (mavāra) [Saumyavāra] = A. D. 1379, August, Thursday, the 18th. Swami-kannu, *Ind. Eph.*, IV, p. 361. Although there is the king's approval at the end, yet objection may be raised against the copper-plate grant on the ground that it does not contain the usual verses at the beginning. The imprecations at the end are in Kannaḍa, while they are often in Sanskrit. Cf. E. C. XII, Si. 95, p. 101, text, pp. 295-300. B. A. S.

² E. C., X, Gd. 9, pp. 212-13.

The case was submitted to the Vaishṇavas, Voḍeyas, Elders and Merchants of Kāñchi for decision. They granted, on the authority of a previous document on stone, a very long list of privileges including that of *kuñkuma-vasantam*, to the Baḍuguluvāru, though this did not please their opponents.¹

But there were serious questions which necessitated the interference of the State in social affairs. On such occasions the Emperor appointed dictators who were vested with exceptionally high powers. In Śaka 1444 (A. D. 1522-3), for instance, Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya the Great gave to Venkaṭātāyarya extraordinary privileges to deal with socio-religious problems. We may incidentally observe that this great man was not unworthy of the honour bestowed on him. He was the son of Ahōbalāchārya and grandson of Śrīraṅga Dēśika. He is described as the establisher of the Vēdic path, proficient in both the Vēdāntas (Sanskrit and Tamil), as a rich man who possessed palanquins and other paraphernalia and as having performed the Sōma sacrifice, with liberal gifts of money, cows, cloths and land.²

The interference of the State is seen mostly in the affairs of minor communities of weavers and other artisans. According to an inscription dated Śaka 1407 (A. D. 1485-6), in the reign of Kumāra Mallikārjuna, the Kaikkōḷars of Vaḷudilambattū-rājya were granted, in the time of Aṛamvaḷatta Nāyaṇār, the privilege of using *tanḍu* (palanquin) and conch as their insignia on the model of the Kaikkōḷars of Kañchipuram, who were enjoying these privileges.³ A similar charter relating to the same privileges was given to the Kaikkōḷars (of Kañchipuram ?) on their representing the matter to the same dignitary

¹ C. P. No. 13 of 1912-13; *Ep. Report* for 1913, p. 9. These Baḍuguluvāru, we are told in this connection, refused to accept the theory of pollution in matter of food and the clothes to wear. It is conjectured that they may have been shepherds of the Yādava race. *Ibid.*, p. 9. The cyclic year given in this record, Krōdhana, is wrong. Śaka 1464=Plava. Sewell, *The Siddhantas*, p. 304; Ś. 1488=Krōdhana, *ibid.*, p. 306. But according to Swamikannu Ś. 1464=Subhakrit. Ś. 1487=Krōdhana, *Ind. Eph.* V., V., pp. 286, 332.

² *My. Arch. Report* for 1918, p. 52.

³ 473 of 1921.

at Kañchipuram in Śaka 1409 (A. D. 1487-8).¹ According to an epigraph dated Śaka 1425 (A. D. 1503-4), in the reign of Immaḍi Narasimha Rāya, an Agent of the Tuḷuva general Narasa Nāyaka bestowed on the weavers of the three villages Tribhuvaṇa-mahādēvi-parṛu, Naḍuvukaraippaṛṛu, and Nenmalippaṛṛu, the right to have *daṇḍu* and *śaṅku* on all good and bad occasions. They were to enjoy these privileges on the model of those enjoyed by their community of the country situated on the bank of the river Peṇṇai. The epigraph further states that those who objected to this right should undergo the penalty stipulated for the offence mentioned in an inscription engraved at Seliyaṅganallūr.²

The Kaikkōḷars residing round the temple of Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa-Perumāl at Ambāsamudram, according to an inscription dated Śaka 1429 (A. D. 1517-18), having constructed "from the basement to the pinnacle" a temple for the god and his son Bhūtaḷa-Vīra-Rāma, and having also provided for the requirements of the temple kitchen, were granted the hereditary right of receiving a garland in the temple with other incidental privileges.³ Since the name of the ruler's agent is not mentioned in the epigraph, we may presume that this action may have been taken by the temple itself on its own responsibility.

An epigraph dated only in the cyclic year Parābhava but assignable to A. D. 1546, refers us to the reign of Sadāśiva Rāya when Sūrappa Nāyaka, the Agent of the king, governor over Tiruvaḍi-rājya, seems to have enacted measures in connection with the Ilaivāṇiyars. These agreed to accord the same privileges to the Kaikkōḷars of the place as were in vogue according to a previous stone inscription which, however, had been defaced by some member of the Ilaivāṇiyar sect in previous years, and which was now ordered to be so engraved on the temple walls.⁴

¹ 422 of 1925.

² *Ep. Report* for 1918, p. 166.

³ 312 of 1916.

⁴ 41 of 1922.

The importance of the official dictator in social matters is seen in a copper plate grant dated A. D. 1555 which registers the agreement that was reached by (the dictator) Vēdānti-Rāmarājayapa together with the eighty-eight Śrī-Vaiṣṇava Brahmans, Banadarasayya, the Agent for the affairs of Rāma Rājayya Tirumala Rājayya, and Senabōva Śeṭṭi, Agent for the affairs of Rāmapayya. The dispute between the cultivators and the Pañchāḷas, which is the subject of the above grant, took place in the reign of Sadāśiva Rāya. "Words having arisen between all the (?) cultivators and the Pañchāḷas (or artisans) in the place belonging to (the god) Chennigarāya of Bēlūr,—according to the decision formerly given by Rāma-Rājayya-Tirumala-Rājayya regarding the caste observances of the Pañchāḷas, fixing the southern street of Bēlūr for them, the stones were put up at the four boundaries (specified) within which the Pañchāḷas might erect rows of houses, carry on their caste observances and make jewellery, enjoying in the temple of Chennigarāya the same privileges and positions as were granted to the Pañchāḷas at the car-festival in Vidyānagara. Such is the śāsana granted to the Pañchāḷas, in accordance with the order of Rāma-Rājayya-Tirumala-Rājayya, by us—the Vēdānti Rāmarājayapa, the eighty-eight Śrī Vaiṣṇava Brahmans, Banadarasayya, agent for the affairs of Rāma-Rājayya-Tirumala-Rājayya, and Senabova Śeṭṭi, agent for the affairs of Rāmapayya".¹

There is another instance of the officials of the Government settling communal questions. The inscription which gives us this information is undated, but it is possible that it may be assigned to the reign of the Emperor Sadāśiva Rāya. It narrates that in the time of Rāmarāja Nāyaka, a charter to the headmen of potters was given as follows: "When Chāma, Amsamāna, Honna, Dhūma, and Chaṇḍa, these barbers and washermen, saying that for the potters, paring of the toe-nails and tying on the upper cloth are not allowed,²—the chiefs of

¹ E. C., V, P. 1, Bl. 5, p. 45.

² "Apparently the reference is to the case of the bride and bridegroom at the time of marriage." E. C., IV p. 27, n. (1).

the potters saying that they are, gained the victory by (the ordeal of) dipping their hands in (boiling) *ghī* before (the god) Divya Liṅgēśvara in Haradanahalli, the following charter was written. 'For the potters the toe-nails may be pared and the upper-cloth may be tied on-thus it is ordered. The caste tax is nine varāha, gold five varāha. If a woman of Yelavandūr lose her living, the five varāha may be excused and six varāha given.....'¹ The epigraph which breaks off at the end, evidently records the decision which was the outcome of the inquiry conducted by Rāma Rāja Nāyaka.

We have a case of a Provincial Government settling these trivial questions relating to honours during marriage occasions. An inscription dated only in the cyclic year Bhāva but assignable to the year A. D. 1634, on the strength of the name Dīkshitasvāmi—the well known Minister Gōvinda Dikshita of the two Nāyakas, Achyuta and Raghunātha—inform us that a *valakkumuṛi* or petition was made as regards a dispute which arose among the weavers (*paṭṭunūlkār*) and the Śeṭṭis of Paṭṭiśvaram. The problem was in connection with the order of procedure in the receipt of betel leaves and areca-nut during marriages. It was agreed that in cases of disturbances caused on this count, a new cloth worth five *paṇan* should be offered to the goddess (of the local temple) along with thirty areca-nuts and 100 leaves. The epigraph closes with a vow made on the feet of Nāyakkarayyaṇ, who, it is suggested, may have been Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore.²

¹ The date of this is given by Rice thus: "Date? About A. D. 1580". But there is nothing in the original which justifies this assumption. *E.C.*, IV, Yl. 2, p. 27, text, p. 72.

² 257 of 1927; *Ep. Report* for 1927, p. 117. A copper-plate grant dated A. D. 1693 of the time of Raṅga Rāya Dēva Mahārāya "seated on the jewel throne in Ghanagiri-durga" relates some very interesting details about communal fights which arose on account of the procession of the Nandi-kōlu in Anekal. This was between the Śeṭṭis and merchants on one side, and all the other people on the other. The question of the procession of the goddess Kālikā in Nagarta-pēṭe caused complete disorder in both *pēṭes*. Mammuḍi Chikka Rāya Tamme Gauḍarayya gave certain grants (specified) to Veṅkaṭācharya (whose pedigree is given) for having restored order with the aid of the *samayagāras* and the Mutta-dāsris and other people. It was agreed that according to former custom the Nandi-

Social legislation, it may not be out of place to observe, sometimes took a strange turn. Instead of unifying the conflicting elements in the community, the Government helped the dismemberment of the castes. Two records dated Śaka 1545 (A.D. 1623-4) and Śaka 1547 (A.D. 1625-6) register a royal writ granted by Vīrappa Nāyaka of Madura to the five sub-sects of the artisan community, facilitating their separation from each other. It has to be noted that the order does not seem to have proceeded from the king himself but to have been the result of an initiative taken by the subsects themselves. This is inferred partly from the statement that the writ was a privilege granted in the presence Uḍaṅkūṭṭam-pāḍa-gaṇanaiṅjāṇ Kulaśēkharan-āsāri or Uḍaṅkūṭṭa-aṇaiṅjāṇ, who was evidently the leader of the Kaṇmāla community. We may add that the epigraphs which give us the above information, do not enlighten us on the causes which brought about the dismemberment of the artisan community.¹

We may give one more example of State interference in social matters. An inscription dated only in the cyclic year Āṅgiras but assignable to A. D. 1632,² of the reign of Śrīraṅga Dēva, registers an undertaking by the residents of the village Tiruvamattūr, South Arcot district, that the three artisan communities (Kaṇmāla) carpenters, blacksmiths, and goldsmiths of the several villages in the northern *paruru* (ward) shall no more be treated ill, or deprived of their privileges; that the same

kōlu procession should pass through the Dēśada-pēṭe and the goddess Kālikā's procession through the Nagarta-pēṭe. E. C., IX, Ht. 105, p. 101. Interesting as the above details are, they cannot be given entire credence since the epigraph takes us to the year A. D. 1693 when Vijayanagara rulers had ceased to exercise any authority. B. A. S.

¹ 309 and 378 of 1916; *Ep. Report* for 1917, p. 134: "The non-interference of the Brahmans in this connection is significant." *Ibid.* Satyanatha wrongly interprets these inscriptions as having emanated from the Government. "The caste system was considered sacrosanct, and there were occasions of royal interference to check breaches of its rules". *Nayaks*, p. 256. About the year A. D. 1371, "the temple priests (*sthāṇvikaru*) of Nallūr-nāḍ agreeing together caused a *śāsana* to be written. The meaning of this is not at all clear. See E. C., IX, Dv. 73, p. 83, text, p. 189.

² Swamikannu, *Ind. Eph.*, VI, p. 66.

rights and privileges as were given to their brethren in Paḍaivīḍu Śeñji, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, and Kañchipuram should be accorded to them; and that in default a fine of twelve *poṇ* was to be paid by them (residents) [?]. In this record Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka is mentioned as the king's Agent; and *Rāyasam* Tirumalayyan, as the subordinate of the former.¹

C. Excommunication

To the orthodox minds of the mediaeval ages excommunication was a potent weapon of exercising the authority of social groups. In one of its aspects it is related to the problem of outcastes; and this again is allied to that of untouchability which we briefly alluded to while dealing with the social issues which the people of Vijayanagara had to solve. Before we enumerate the different kinds of excommunication in Vijayanagara, we may acquaint ourselves with the views of classical canonists on the subject.

Manu has laid down specific regulations dealing with the question of excommunication from the caste.² "A Brāhmaṇa who unintentionally approaches a woman of the Chāṇḍāla or of (any other) very low caste, who eats (the food of such persons) and accepts (presents from them) becomes an outcaste; but (if he does it intentionally), he becomes their equal."³ Then again: "He who associates with an outcaste, himself becomes an outcaste after a year, not by sacrificing for him, teaching him, or forming a matrimonial alliance with him, but using the same carriage or seat, or by eating with him."⁴

The penances meant for those who desired to atone for their sins are thus given: "He who also associates with any one of those outcastes, must perform, in order to atone for (such) intercourse, the penance prescribed for that sinner. The

¹ 65 of 1922.

² As regards Manu's regulations on outcastes, see *Manu*, III, 150, 157, pp. 103, 104-5; IV, 79, 213, pp. 141, 163; IX, 238-9, p. 384; XI, 185, 190, pp. 468-9.

³ *Ibid.*, XI, 176, pp. 466-7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XI, 181, pp. 467-8.

Sapiṇḍas and Samānōdakas of an outcaste must offer (a libation of) water (to him, as if he were dead), outside (the village) on an inauspicious day, in the evening, and in the presence of the relatives, officiating priests, and teachers. A female slave shall upset with her foot a pot filled with water, as if it were for a dead person; (his Sapiṇḍas) as well as the Samānōdakas shall be impure for a day and night; But thenceforward it shall be forbidden to converse with him, to sit with him, to give him a share of the inheritance, and to hold with him such intercourse as is usual among men; And (if he be the eldest) his right of primogeniture shall be withheld and the additional share, due to the eldest son; and in his stead a younger brother, excelling in virtue, shall obtain the share of the eldest."¹

According to Gautama even a father could be excommunicated, if he had committed certain grave crimes. "Let him cast off a father who assassinates a king, who sacrifices for Śūdras, who sacrifices for his own sake (accepting) money from Śūdras, who divulges the Veda (to persons not authorised to study it), who kills a learned Brāhmaṇa, who dwells with men of the lowest casts, or (cohabits) with a female of one of the lowest casts."²

With these regulations of the lawgivers before us, we may now ascertain the nature and kinds of social punishment under Vijayanagara. All classes of people including Brahmans were liable to excommunication. The members of the priestly class were especially punished if they violated the rules of their caste or those of a communal grant, and sold the shares which they owned in the village to Śūdras. Those who refused the consecrated food of a god were also declared outcastes. An undated inscription, assigned to about A. D. 1568, clearly says that "the Brahman who refuses the consecrated food (*fīrtha-prasādavannu*) of the god Tirumala's tirth is a Chāṇḍāla (or

¹ *Manu*, XI, 182-6, pp. 468-9. See also *ibid.*, 187-92, 196-7, pp. 469-70, for the penance by which such an outcaste may regain his original status.

² *Gautama*, XX, 1, pp. 277-8. *Ibid.*, 2-9, pp. 278-9 for the penances meant for such a sinner. Cf. *Vaśiṣṭha*, XV, 11-2, p. 77; *Baudhāyana*, II, 1, 36, p. 216.

outcaste)."¹ In the grant dated A. D. 1474 recording the gift of the villages Ālugōḍu and Nuggilūr situated in Gayatristhāna, by king Virūpāksha to Kṛishṇa Bhaṭṭa, it is said that "If any among the shareholders mortgage or sell his share to Śūdras, he shall be put out of the Brahman community, and such share shall not belong to this place (*i-vṛittimañtarolage ār obaru tamma tamma vṛittiyānu śūdrarugaḷige ādhi-krayava māḍidare avaru brāhmaṇikege horagu ā-vṛittigaḷu i-taṇḍake salau*).² All the Brahmans (endowed with many titles) of the all-honoured great *agrahāra*, the seat of all learning, Prasanna-Vijayapura, made an endowment for the support of the dancing-girls of the temple of the god Rāmanātha, in A. D. 1372, and lest it should be violated by members of their own community, laid down the following rule: "Whatever Brahmans oppose this, are out of the Brahman community and banished from the village" (*i-dharmmakke āva brāhmaru vighanava māḍidavaru brāhmarige horagu grāma-bahishkṛitaru*).³ Three kinds of social ostracism are mentioned in A. D. 1519 and A. D. 1537. These refer to the Vīraśaivas. The offenders were to be declared outcastes to the *mahā-mahattu* or the holy assembly of the Vīraśaivas; outcastes in respect of *vibhūti* (or sacred ashes) and *rudrākshi*; and outcastes both in this world and the next.⁴

The other instances of excommunication refer to the commercial and agricultural castes. An effaced inscription in Tamil dated A.D. 1369 mentions the grants made by Śūḍaiya... and Poḷu..., who were the servants of Ilakkapper, the betel-pouch bearer of Kaṁpaṇa Oḍeyar. In this grant it is recorded

¹ E. C., XI, Hr. 42, p. 109, text, p. 303.

² E. C., III, M1. 121, p. 68, text, p. 909. See also *Ep. Report* for 1916, p. 140, op. cit.

³ E. C., IV., Gu. 32, p. 41, text, p. 104.

⁴ *My. Arch. Report* for 1920, pp. 42-3. Cf. Imprecations against the Lingavantas and Nāmadhāris in A. D. 1598: *Lingavantan ādava aḷupidare ā-Koppa-āyadali liṅga jaṅgu... pāpake hōka vibhūti-rudrākshige horagu nāmadhāri āgi ādava-i-dharmake aḷupidare Tirupati Śrī-rāṅga-Viṣṇu-Kaṇchili svāmi-sēve aḷida pāpake hōharu*. E. C., VI, Kp. 50, text, p. 332.

that the Nāgalattoṭṭi (caste) of Periya Śattavāram and the Puvattoṭṭi and other castes of Piḷaguvllai granted one *paṇam* for every village (in Tēkaḷ). They decided thus : " He who does not pay shall be an outcaste from the nāḍu, the assembly and the Pañchāṭṭār.¹ In the same year, the Tōṭṭigans as related elsewhere, resolved to do the following : " We of the Tōṭṭigan caste in Pulliyur-nāḍu granted one *paṇam* for every village situated in the eighteen nāḍus...He who does not pay shall be an outcaste from the nāḍu, the assembly, the Pañchāḷam, the Parai, and the eighteen nāḍus". (*Kuḍāḍavan nāṭṭukkum palarukkum Pañjāḷattukkum paraiyikum paḍinetṭunnaṭṭukkum puṇambu.*)² The Pañchāḷas of Tērakaṇāmbi and of various other places (named), made provision for the dancing-girls of the god Rāmanātha of Vijayapura, and especially for the livelihood of the dancing-girl Kētavve. This grant ends in the following manner : " Whoso destroys this grant is put out of the Pañchāḷas, out of his trade, out of the assembly and the nad". (*i-dharmnavanu āvan obba aḷuḍḍavanu Pañchāḷakke hoṇagu āhaḷakke hoṇagu samayakkevū nāḍigu hoṇagu.*)³

Two inscriptions dated in Kollam 555 (A. D. 1379-80) and Kollam 591 (A. D. 1415-16) respectively, refer to the social legislation among the Vēllāḷers and the members of the Vēllai-Nāḍar community. It is said that the former ostracized the latter who earned their livelihood generally by service. A few Vēllai-Nāḍārs having, in their capacity as accountants, agents, etc., committed some unspecified offence against their employers of the Vēllāḷer community, the general public, the heads of the families, accountants and all other members of this latter community in the district, met together and resolved that the three specified offenders be killed, and that it was beneath the dignity of the community to employ in future any Vēllai-Nāḍārs even in cooly service, much less to permit them to be agents, accountants, and officials. Another record dated in Kol-

¹ E. C., IX, Ht. 103, p. 100, text, p. 51.

² *Ibid.*, Ht. 103 (a), p. 100, text, *ibid.*

³ E. C., IV, Gu. 34, p. 42, text, p. 106.

lam 628 (A. D. 1452-3) relates that further restrictions were added to those already registered. The Vellai-Nāḍārs were not to take girls in marriage from the Tamil villagers, nor could they take up service in the Tamil country. Twenty-three specified offenders of the Vellai-Nāḍār community were to be killed whenever they were found. No Vellai-Nāḍār was to be permitted in future to enter the Tamil districts.¹

The measures passed by the Vēllālers were stringent, and their attitude towards the members of the Vellai-Nāḍār community uncompromising. Tamil people, on the whole, as we have seen on many occasions, were loath to take the life of a guilty person, even when he was accused of homicide (not amounting to murder). When such had been the precedent set in the early ages, this action of the Vēllālers is inexplicable. The records do not state the crimes which the Vellai-Nāḍārs committed. Whether the severity of the sentence passed on the Vellai-Nāḍārs was due to the gruesome nature of the offence committed by them, or to the inveterate communal hatred which the Tamil Vēllālers bore—as they do entertain now for the Nāḍārs or Śāṇārs in the Tinnevely district²—towards the latter, who may have been, as is suggested, of non-Tamil origin, cannot be determined. And what is equally difficult to explain is why the king or the provincial ruler “did not interfere in such a social legislation even when it concerned breach of public peace and ultimate loss of lives.”³ The epigraphs are silent on this point; but it may as well be that the Vēllālers had to secure the sanction of the State officials before they could finally punish the Vellai-Nāḍārs. If, as we shall see in the following instances, even the Brahmans of an *agrahāra* could not ostracize one of their own community without the mediation of the officers of the Vijayanagara viceroy, it is evident that the agricultural classes, such as the Vēllālers essentially were, would not have been given unlimited powers

¹ *Ep. Report for 1917*, p. 134.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

in social matters, especially when it concerned the lives of the offenders.

Whether our assumption is valid or not there is an instance of State interference in social matters concerning Brahmans. According to an epigraph dated Śaka 1466 (A. D. 1544-5) a Brāhmaṇa of Chēramahādēvi (mod. Shermādēvi in the Ambāsamudram tāluka) having fallen from his original high caste, his land and house-site were confiscated to the local temple of Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha, with the income whereof four measures of rice were cooked for the god's offerings and used for feeding four Brahmans. The adjudging body that presided over this case of caste degradation was made up of the two local agents of Viṭṭhala, the *Mahamaṇḍalēśvara...*, Nārāyaṇa Chauhattamalla Raṇavijaya Velumapāṭi Veṅgaḷa-Dēva Mahārāya, the *karyakarta* (Agent) of (Viṭṭhala's younger brother) Rāma Rāja Chinna Timmaya Dēva Mahārāja, the *karaṇam*, and the great learned men (*vidvān-mahājanas*) of Chēramahādēvi, Ēlāpuram, and Narasāpuram.¹

The concern which the rulers of Vijayanagara felt as maintainers of the *varṇāśrama-dharma* is also seen to some extent in an epigraph dated A. D. 1548-9 which records that barbers were exempted from fines levied for breaking rules of caste (*kulsiddhayālu*), marriage fees, presents, etc.² If we turn to the western parts of the Empire, we find there too the importance of the State in social matters. Here it seems that a person, who was found guilty of a social crime, lost his estates obviously at the instance of the Government. It is only in this light that we can explain the details of a record dated A. D. 1598 which mentions a grant made by Bhairarasa Oḍeyar to the temple of the god Pārīśvanātha. The epigraph relates that certain areca gardens were assigned to the services of the god. Among those was one which "had been forfeited by loss of caste owing to some crime" which is not specified (*Molegūra-gauḍaninda Suligōḍu Mārappage dhāreneradu biṭṭa*

¹ 718 of 1916; *Ep. Report* for 1917, p. 130.

² Butterworth-Chetty, *Nellore Ins.*, I, p. 217.

Karigarisina-grāmdalli ūva-jātigeṭṭu aparādha-māḍida sam-mandha).¹

D. Social Sins

These inscriptions dealing with excommunications also contain some details about offences which may be grouped under social sins. Since the regulations of the early canonists regarding these are too numerous to be mentioned here,² we shall be content with a brief account of some of the social sins as they appeared to the people of Vijayanagara. It was their inherent orthodox bent of mind, as we shall presently have to explain, which made them include the following imprecations at the end of almost every grant.

*sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō harēta vasundharām |
shashṭi-varsha-sahasrāṇi viśṭhāyaṁ jāyate krimiḥ ||
dāna-pālanayōr mmadhyē dānāt śrēyo' nupālanam |
dānāt svarggaṁ avāpnōti pālanād achyutam
padam ||*³

But more severe words had to be uttered against those who violated grants; and these, as we have already remarked, sometimes took a formidable shape : " Be it the thief or plunderer prowling by night or day, be it the honourable mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, the emperor who rules the world, or the king of kings, who thinks to himself I will seize the villages, lands, or grants bestowed in this place,—at the mere word, thrust him, with his

¹ E. C., VI, Kp. 50, p. 86, text, p. 332, op. cit. For some aspects of the question of excommunication from and readmission into caste, see Ray, *J. B. O. R. S.*, XIII pp. 162, 164-6, 168. On the interesting correspondence between two anonymous Sanskrit pandits on caste, as given in the *Dravidāchārapramāṇasaṅgraha*, read *My. Arch. Report* for 1926, pp. 28—83.

² *Manu*, XI, pp. 430-83; *Vaśishṭha*, XX, pp. 102-9; *Baudhāyana*, II, 1-2, pp. 211-23; *Apastamba*, I, 8, 22-9, pp. 75-92; *Gautama*, XIX, pp. 274-99; *Vishnu*, XLVI-LVII, pp. 149-89.

³ E. C., XI, Cd. 2, text, p. 3. The verses mean: " Whoso usurps a gift made by himself or by another shall assuredly be born as worm in ordure for sixty thousand years. Of making a gift oneself or maintaining another's, the maintaining is the best: for he who makes a gift obtains svarga, but he who maintains one obtains final beatitude". Rice, *My. Ins.*, Intr., p. xxiii.

father and mother and all into the hell filled with worms, for seventy seven crores of years, and continue to visit him with all manner of torments, do you see, O Sin ! Whoso says I am afraid of the land endowments of this god, and trembling in mind like a coward attacked by a serpent, joins his hands in reverence and goes away, let Baira bring him quickly to Kailāsa, do you see, O Merit ! That such merit and sin will be contracted is verily true, do you see, all people ! If you doubt this you will go to hell." Such were the imprecations and benedictions of a grant dated A. D. 1356 of the famous general Naḍegoṇṭe Malla.¹

In about A. D. 1371 when Mēlpuṇḍi Kunniyarasa was ruling the *nāḍu*, Bōdharūpa Bhāgavar-arasu of the auspicious Purushōttama-*parishad*, with others, had a copper-plate grant engraved ending in the following manner: "Whoso does not pay as laid down by the *amachchān* after examination of the temple and the requirements of the worship, shall be looked upon as a traitor conspiring to murder the king of the very *nāḍu* in which he was born, and incurs the penalty of the man who cuts off the nose of him who having bound on the right side seizes on the left, and of one who takes to wife a woman within the prohibited degrees of relationship."²

An epigraph dated A. D. 1430 contains these imprecations : "Whoso destroys this work of merit, becomes as if a sinner born of an adulteress, or born of a notoriously bad woman, born in a vile family, or again of a Chaṇḍāli ; a slaughterer of cows, a drunkard, a murderer of guru, wife and Brahmans, or a thief of gold."³

A record dated A. D. 1530 declares that "those who by force take away land given to Brahmans will boil in the hell called Kumbhīpāka, as many years as the Brahmans from whom they seized it, with their families and descendants, are in suffering therefrom. Whoso carries off the money of an

¹ E. C., XI, Cd. 3, p. 2, op. cit.

² E. C., I, No. 9, p. 55 (2nd ed.).

³ E. C., XI, Cd. 29, p. 9.

agrahāra saying it is for the tribute to the king, or the gift to obtain a wife, or a contribution to save the village, incurs the guilt of incest with his mother".¹

In A. D. 1555 Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka caused the following imprecations to be written in a gift deed of the village Beluvāḍi which he made for the services of the god Harihara : " Whoso maintains this gift will derive the merit of performing countless horse sacrifices. Whatever sinner unable to let it live, destroys it, will incur the sin of killing cows and Brahmans in the Ganges, of parricide, and of causing a mother to eat the flesh of her son."²

Bukkāṇa Nāyaka, son of *kandāchāra* Rāchappa Nāyaka, granted the village of *Seṭṭihaḷli* for the god Virūpāksha of Hāsana, in A. D. 1563, " in order that many meritorious and successful expeditions may be to Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka ". This stone inscription relates : " Whoso of the kings, chiefs, accountants, farmers, subjects, or officials of the Hāsana country (*Hāsānada simeya arasugaḷu prabhugaḷu sēnabōvaru gaṇḍa-prajegaḷu adhi-kārigaḷu ivar olaḡāgi āvanan obbanu tappi anyāyava māḍidare*) fails in the work of merit assigned for the service and offerings of the god Virūpāksha, and does injustice, is guilty of the sin of slaying cows and Brahmans before the *liṅga* and in the Maṇikaraṇika-kshētra of Kāśi, and of incest with his mother and murder of his guru, and will endure torments in the mahā-naraka during many Brahma-kalpas."³

An epigraph dated only in the cyclic year Viḷambi Āśāḍha Śu. 5 but assigned to the year A. D. 1598 June, Wednesday, 28th, mentions the following : " Whoso fails in this (i.e., the order of Tirumala Rājaayya to Pamappa Nāyaka to release the customs dues on Akaḷaṅkajaya's village) (will incur) the order of (i.e., punishment from) the feet of Tirumala Rājaayya,

¹ Rice, *My. Ins.*, p. 39. Cf. Fleet, *J. A.*, IV, p. 329.

² Rice, *My. Ins.*, p. 26, see also p. 42.

³ E. C., V, P. I. Hn. 2, p. 2, P. II, p. 3.

(*Tirumala-Rāja-ayyanavara pādada-āṇe*), and is guilty of putting poison in the dish offered to Raṅganātha, or in the dish offered to the god Narasimha of Madūr". (*Raṅganātha harivāṇake viśavan ikkida*).¹

The same idea is repeated in another inscription dated also in A. D. 1598. This epigraph informs us that those who violated the grant shall incur the sin of having put poison into the offerings of the gods Nañjuṇḍēśvara (of Nañjangūḍ), Chelapiḷerāya (of Mēlukōṭe), Raṅganātha (of Śrīraṅgapattṇa), Agastyēśvara (of Tirumakūḍalu), and Janārdhana (of Belgoḷa), and of having killed within the temple their own parents, cows and Brahmans. They shall be born successively as the children of the dancing-girls of Nañjangūḍ, Mēlukōṭe and Tirumakūḍalu.²

If it is permissible to draw conclusions from the types of imprecations given above, we may say that, among others, the following were considered to be great sins: seizing lands, villages, or grants endowed to a temple and to Brahmans; destroying works of merit; conspiring to murder the ruler of the province; cutting off the nose of a helpless man who had been bound (?); marrying a woman within the prohibited degree; to be born as children of bad women, dancing-girls, or chaṇḍālīs; to be born in a vile family; to be a drunkard; to murder one's own guru, wife or a Brahman; stealing gold; incest with one's own mother; ravishing one's own sister; killing Brahmans and cows in a holy place or within the precincts of a temple; matricide; patricide; causing a mother to devour the flesh of her own son; and putting poison in the dish of a god in a temple.³

¹ E. C., IV., Gu. 52, p. 45, text, p. 113; Swamikannu, *Ind. Eph.*, V, p. 398.

² *My. Arch. Report* for 1911-12, p. 52.

³ To these we may add those mentioned by Vemana—disobedience to one's mother, rebellion against father, and despising one's elder brother. Vemana, *Verses*, Bk. III., v. 12, p. 102. Lakshmiśa gives the popular conception of the five sins: *guru-drōha* or rashly promising to the guru and failing; *daiva-drōha* or assuring God and drawing back; *svāmi-drōha* or not providing for the king's necessity (or of killing the king);

SECTION 2. *Etiquette*A. *Etiquette in the Royal Palace*

Whether it was in the presence of the king or on the battle-field, in regard to foreign ambassadors or leaders of merchant guilds, washermen or dancing-girls, the people of Vijayanagara observed certain rules of procedure in public matters. Paes tells us the following: "Before you enter the place where the king is there are two gates with many guards, who prevent any one from entering except the captains and men who have business there; and between these two gates is a very large court with its verandahs round it, where the captains and other honoured people wait till the king summons them to his presence."¹ As regards admission into the palace, especially on grand occasions, Paes continues thus: "They do not admit every one at once (they allowed us to go into the open part that is between the gates), but there go inside only the wrestlers and dancing-women, and the elephants, which go with their trappings and decorations, those that sit on them being armed with shields and javelins, and wearing quilted tunics."² Then again: "The different pavilions are separated by doors, so that no one may enter unless he is invited."³

Paes also relates about people who desired to seek an interview with the king. "...and he (the king) was barefooted: for no one ever enters where the king is unless he has bare feet, and the majority of the people, or almost all, go about the country barefooted."⁴ But those who were privileged to see the king had to salute him. While describing the royal ceremonies in the palace, Paes informs us the following: "After the king has talked with these men (i.e., the great

ātma-drōha or breaking a solemn oath which has been made; and finally, *dharma-drōha* or violating one's own *dharma*. *Jaiminī Bhārata*, Sandhi 4, v. 2, p. 51 (Sanderson). See also *ibid.*, Sandhi 5, vv. 66-7, p. 105-6; Sandhi 7, pp. 136-7; Sandhi 9, v. 29, p. 182.

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 246.

² *Ibid.*, p. 268.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 252.

lords) on subjects pleasing to him he bids enter the lords and captains who wait at the gate, and these at once enter to make their salaam to him. As soon as they appear they make their salaam to him, and place themselves along the walls far off from him; they do not speak one to another, nor do they chew betel before him, but they place their hands in the sleeves of their tunics (*cabayas*) and cast their eyes on the ground; and if the king desires to speak to any one it is done through a second person, and then he to whom the king desires to speak raises his eyes and replies to him who questions him, and then returns to his former position. So they remain till the king bids them go, and then they all turn to make the salaam to him and go out. The salaam, which is the greatest courtesy that exists among them, is that they put their hands joined above their head as high as they can. Every day they go to make the salaam to the king."¹

* This mode of salutation being so different from that to which the foreign travellers were accustomed, it is not surprising that they should have keenly observed it. Nuniz gives us details about it: "The manner of the salaam which the nobles make to the King every day is this:—In the morning the nobles go to the palace at ten or eleven o'clock, at which hour the King comes out from within where his wives are, and after he has taken his seat they open to the nobles, and each one comes by himself and bows his head and raises his hands. This is what they call the 'salaam' (*salema*). With the king are about ten or twelve men who have the duty, on the entrance of each captain, of saying to the King: 'See, your Highness, your captain so-and-so, who makes salaam to You.'"²

Barradas, while describing the plot by Jaga Rāya to dethrone Chikka Rāyulu, the nephew of Veṅkaṭapati Dēva Rāya I, says: "He (the new King) passed through the midst of the soldiers with a face grave and severe, and with eyes downcast. There was no one to do him reverence with hands (as is the

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 250-1.

² *Ibid.*, p. 372.

custom) joined over the head, nor did he see salute any one."¹ Salutation, as a sign of allegiance, was made in the manner roughly indicated by Couto, who speaks of Tirumala Rāya and his three brothers. These, according to him, "went on one day every year and prostrated themselves before their lawful sovereign in token of his rights over them".²

But since we cannot expect more details from foreign travellers on the manner in which princes and peoples prostrated themselves before their sovereign, we may have recourse to Bāṇa, who while describing the etiquette in the court of the king Prabhākara-vardhana, speaks of the two royal pages Kumāra Gupta and Mādhava Gupta thus: "Entering, they bowed from afar till their four limbs and heads touched the ground, then assumed a suitable position indicated by a kindly glance from the king."³ Skanda Gupta saluted the king Harsha-vardhana thus: "Entering the palace, he saluted from a distance, leaning his lotus hands upon the earth and touching it with his head."⁴

Foreigners, who were not conversant with Hindu etiquette, confounded this ancient custom of saluting one's superiors with kissing their feet. This accounts for the following from 'Abdur Razzāq: "When the *Danaik* had returned from his tour, and had been acquainted with all that had transpired, he was astounded, and after being admitted to the honour of kissing the royal feet, he offered up his thanks for the safety of the king's person, and made more than usual preparations to celebrate the festival of *Mahānūcī*."⁵ Nuniz commits the same blunder: "The King confers very high honour, too, if he permits a certain one to kiss his feet, for he never gives his hand to be kissed by any one."⁶

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 225.

² Couto, *Dec.* VI, 1, v., cap. 5; Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 180. For different modes of salutation, see *Manu*, II, 119-27, pp. 51-3.

³ Bāṇa, *Harshacharita*, p. 121.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 191; see also pp. 71, 126, 198, 211 and 238.

⁵ Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, p. 117.

⁶ Sewell, *ibid.* p. 376.

An important item in the daily routine of the palace was that in connection with the worship of God. While describing the great Mahānavami festival, Paes relates thus: "Then he (the king) passes all along the top of the buildings, and as soon as he is at the end he takes the cap from his head, and after placing it on the ground turns back (to the place) where the idol is; here he lies extended on the ground."¹ It may be presumed that this was done every day in the palace.

In this respect some of the provincial rulers were as orthodox as their royal masters. Their puritanism is thus described in a defaced inscription which has been assigned to about the year A.D. 1435. During the reign of Dēva Rāya Mahārāya when Tippa Rāja Oḍeyar's son Gōpa Rāja Oḍeyar was ruling the Tēkaḷ city, "that Siṅga Rāja had the two lines of fortification round this city built, and holding the office of paṭṭaṇasvāmi by order of the god Nāyinār, so that all the people could see, for the god's *tirumana* had maṇṭapas made before and behind the temples, had a pond constructed called after Gōpa Rāja the Gōpa-samudra, had a palace built for Gōpa Rāja to the west of that pond, and to the right of the god, Siṅga Rāja's palace; and that he might at sunrise and at evening twilight bathe at both times, and have a room for domestic sacrifice, from the threshold of which he might look to the spire of Varadarāja's temple, and coming to the temple, offer *naivēdya* and *tāmbūla* to the god, and taking the *tulasi* and *tīrtha*, make provision for the enjoyment of the god..."²

Some other details in connection with etiquette in the provincial places can be gathered from tradition. "In that place (of Tirumala Nāyaka, south-west of the garden near Rangavilāsaṁ) the king is accustomed to sit down and converse with the ministers or others, his favorites in the evening;

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 267.

² E. C., X, Mr. 4, p. 156. We do not know whether learned Brahmans pronounced a blessing on the reigning sovereign as was done in A.D. 1157 at Tālguṇḍa (Sthanagundur). Rice, *Mys. Ins.*, p. 194. As regards the custom of waving the lamps before the king, see also Lakshmiṣa *Jaimini Bhārata* Sandhi 4, v. 72, p. 78 (Sanderson). See *infra* for royal ablutions; Bāṇa; *Harshacharita*, p. 104.

when flambeaus are lighted up in the avenue at the time of homage, and when female dancers exhibit their skill before the courtiers."¹

The chronicles of the south also contain some interesting information as regards usage in the courts of the provincial rulers. These refer to the times of Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanātha Nāyaka. Since he was a minor, his mother Maṅgammal ruled as regent. "During her regency, *Mangamala* had many *agraras*, temples, and choultries built. But one day, while eating beetle-leaf and areca-nut, she forgetfully took the same with her left hand. Considering the taking of this indulgence with the left hand to be a serious crime, in order to remove its consequences, she constructed roads with avenues of trees, from *Casi* to *Ramiseram*, to *Canya Cumari* (Cape Comorin) and other places; and on the same account had *ter-ṣa kulams* (or reservoirs) dug, choultries built, and water booths constructed: she gave away food, and performed other charities, so that her name became renowned to a great distance."²

B. Coronation

While dealing with the question of etiquette in the royal palace, mention may be made of some details in connection with coronation. The people of Vijayanagara have given us ample evidence of their having been under the influence of classical and mediaeval theories; and it is not too much to suppose that they must have followed the ancient rules as laid down in the *dharma śāstras*, while performing the coronation ceremonies. "The *abhishēka* as detailed in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* begins with seven *mantras* to be uttered by the

¹ Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 157. In a note on the flambeaus which lighted up the avenue, Taylor rightly says that that ceremony called the *divaṭi-salām* or *divaṭi-vandanam* or *divaṭi-koluttu* is "said to have been never omitted, unless the king were sick; and then not to have made the *Divatti-salam* was the same thing as to announce the king's illness.. two or more persons perform various evolutions of double torches in approaching towards the king; they then make their obeisance, in which all others present join". *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*, II, pp. 36-7.

priest performing a *homa* before the ritual of sprinkling takes place. The first *mantra* speaks of the prince's rebirth as the son of *ṛitviks* (sacrificial priests) with his vigour immensely increased by his symbolic entrance into the *homa* fire and exit therefrom, and wishes him capability to keep his subjects from sinful ways. The second wishes him an extended kingdom, a stout physique for its efficient administration, and a good supply of cattle for the performance of the sacrifices. The third wishes him to be the guide of men, and wants him to solemnly say that he would protect the good and punish the wicked. The fourth and the fifth invoke blessing on him for prosperity, while the sixth and seventh for the glorification of the castes by his power, the prosperity of his subjects, and the extension of Prajāpati's protection to him".¹

The ideas of protecting the subjects, of maintaining the *varṇāśrama dharma*, and of upholding the virtuous and punishing the wicked,—which, as remarked in another column, are clearly given in epigraphs of all the rulers and in the writings of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya—are to be traced to the promise which the rulers made on the occasion of their anointment ceremony. It is not the conformity of Vijayanagara theory to classical precept in regard to this question that concerns us so much as the features which came to be associated with coronation in Vijayanagara. But, as in other matters, the mediaeval rulers herein only followed the ancient usage of the land. The ceremony was most often held in a famous temple, in the presence of the great lords and learned men of the court. It was generally commemorated by granting lands and endowments to scholars and pious men. Except in one instance, it was performed by the *rāja-guru* or royal priest. And there is every reason to believe that, at least in the case of one or two

¹ Narendranath Law, *I, A.*, XLVIII, p. 84. Dr. Narendranath Law describes the *abhishēka* ceremony in detail in this article. *Ibid.*, p. 84 *seq.* Cf. Edgerton, *Vikrama's Adventures*, Vols. 26, 27, Section VIII, pp. 48-9. For decorum in the room where the throne is kept, see *Sukraniti*, I, ll. 709-27. p. 48.

monarchs, the ceremony was conducted twice obviously at different places.

Before we enumerate these details, it may be interesting to recall the observations made by Nuniz on what the kings of Vijayanagara did before their coronation. While dealing with Vidyāranya and the founders of Vijayanagara, Nuniz says: "And after that hermit was dead the King raised a very grand temple in honour of him and gave much revenue to it. And ever since, in his memory, the Kings of Bisnaga, on the day when they are raised to be kings, have, in honour of the hermit, to enter this house before they enter their own; and they offer many prayers in it, and celebrate many feasts there every year."¹ Nuniz here evidently has confounded a shrine which may have been built in memory of Vidyāranya with the temple of Virūpāksha at Haṁpe, which, we may be permitted to repeat, was certainly not built in honour of that sage.

The temple of Virūpāksha, however, was the place where the anointment ceremony of the kings of Vijayanagara took place. Thus an inscription dated Śaka 1430 expired, Śukla samvatsara Māgha Śu. 14, contains the following about Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya the Great: "...the illustrious Vira Kṛishṇarāya Mahārāya, at the auspicious time of the festival of his coronation (*paṭṭābhishēka*), for (providing) daily oblations of food (*amṛita-paḍi-naivēdya*), to the holy Virūpāksha-dēva (i.e., of Paṁpā)" granted to the temple the village of Siṅganāyakana-halli.² The fact of the coronation ceremony having been conducted in the presence of the god Virūpāksha, though not specifically stated in the above epigraph, is gathered from the records of his successors, some of whom were also crowned in the other famous temples of the Empire. Achyuta

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 300, and *ibid.*, n. (2).

² Hultzsch, *Ep. Ind.*, I, pp. 363, 370. Dr. Hultzsch thus remarks on the date of the inscription given on the same page: "According to the tables, the Śukla-samvatsara corresponds to Śaka 1482 (A. D. 1509-10)", *ibid.*, p. 363, n. (10). Cf. Ballāla II, granting the village of Hāmarudur in Paḍi-nāḍu-sīma to the Kirtinārāyaṇa temple on the day of his coronation in A. D. 1270. *My. Arch. Report* for 1911-12, p. 44.

Dēva Rāya was crowned in Śaka 1452 (A. D. 1530-1) in the temple of Kālahasti, and on this occasion the king remitted the customs duties on the imports and exports at several seaports¹. This ruler seems to have been crowned twice—once at the place mentioned above, and again at Vijayanagara. This is inferred from Rājanātha's *Achutarāyābhyudayam* in which it is said :

प्रणामशीलः फणिशैलशासितुः कदाचिदग्रे करशंखवारिणा ।
पयोधिकाञ्ची परिणेतृतास्यदे पदेऽभिषिक्तस्सपरंपरागते ॥

Then again Rājanāth says :

कृताभिषेकः कृपया पुरा हरेः स एष साम्राज्यपदेऽभ्यषिध्यत ।
अयाम्बुलेशव्यपदेशतो मही तदाजनि स्विन्नतनुस्तदादरात् ॥²

The late Mr. B. Venkōba Rao suggested that Sāluva Nṛṣimha was also crowned twice.³ On these occasions the great nobles and the royal priest were present. The coronation of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya the Great was graced by the presence of the charming Āravīṭi Bukka Rāja, the famous scions of the family of Aukuvāru, the heroic Nandyālavāru, the warlike Velugōṭivāru, Pemmasānivāru, Būdhālivāru, Rēvalavāru, and other great lords who attended the king night and day with their enormous forces of men, horses and elephants.⁴

¹ A. S. R. for 1923-4, p. 94.

² Rājanātha, *Achutarāyābhyudayam*, Canto III, vv. 23, 36, pp. 65, 71. (1907). See also Venkoba Rao, *Vyāsavyāgharitam*, Intr., p. cvi; *The Sources*, p. 161. S. N. Śāstri translates the verses in question thus: "Once upon a time the devotee of Vishnu was anointed by Him with the waters poured from the conch in his hand, in the place of the husband of the earth which is passing from generation to generation." "This Achyutarāya who had been previously anointed by Vishnu through grace, was anointed in the place of a universal sovereign; at that time the earth through affection for him, became covered with perspiration under the pretext (of?) the drops of coronation water scattered all round." S. N. Śāstri, *Achutarāyābhyudayam*, pp. 20, 22. (1908). Heras, *Aravīdu*, p. 15, where it is said that Achyuta Rāya's coronation took place at Tirupati. This is a groundless assumption. B. A. S.

³ Venkoba Rao, *ibid.*

⁴ A. S. R. for 1908-9, p. 185. Śāstry includes chariots among the forces. He has also identified the nobles mentioned above. *Ibid.*, n. (2).

We may digress a little in order to form an idea of the coronation scene at the court of Vijayanagara. Rājanātha, in his well known work mentioned above, gives us an admirable picture of the coronation of Achyuta Rāya, when, so we are told, the queen Varadāmbikā was also anointed to the throne. Thus does Rājanātha relate :

समञ्चितं कञ्चुकिनां जयारवैः सहासराजन्यजनेन केनचित् ।
 अलंकृतं साङ्ग इवाङ्गजः शनैरसावयासीत् अभिषेकमण्डपम् ॥
 अनादि नान्दीभिः अनर्दि मरुतैः अराणि वीणाभिः अभाणि वेणुभिः ।
 भरेभि मेरीभिः अगर्जि जर्जरैः अगारि शृङ्गैः समकालि काहलैः ॥
 अपाङ्गितप्रेङ्खदमीशुवीचिकाकृतावलम्बैरिव गन्धवारिभिः ।
 करान्जसौवर्णघटापवर्जितैः तम् अभ्यषिञ्चत् तरलेक्षणजनः ॥
 कृतामिषेकः तुलुवक्षितिक्षितां कुलाग्रणीः कुङ्कुमवारिधारया ।
 करीव सितो गिरिधातुनिर्झरैः शशी इव सायन्तनसन्ध्यया अरुचत् ॥
 अलोकि लोकैः हरिचन्दनोदकं विजृम्भितं मण्डपवेदिकाङ्गणे ।
 निरीक्ष्य कान्तं नृपम् आशयात् अमान् भुवोऽनुरागो बहिरुद्यतो यथा ॥
 आधारयत् पाण्डरम् अम्बरं क्षितेः अधीश्वरः स्नानविधेः अनन्तरम् ।
 समाप्तवर्षस्नपनो यथा गिरिः शरन्मुखे छान्नितम्बम् अम्बुदम् ॥
 समाप्य सर्वा समनन्तरक्रियां नृपासनस्थो नृपतिः निरैक्ष्यत ।
 सुमेरुसङ्गी इव सुरेन्द्रपादपः श्रियः सखेव श्रितभानुमण्डलः ॥
 प्रचालितोऽग्रे परिचारिकाजनैः नृपस्य नीराजनदीपिकोत्करः ।
 दिगन्तरभ्रान्तिमिषात् नटिष्यतो दधौ प्रतापस्य स पूर्वरङ्गताम् ॥
 अरालकेशीभिः अनादि मेदिनीस्वयं वरप्रेयसि शोभिते श्रिया ।
 बलाहके दर्शितवार्षिकोदये न किं शिखिन्यो नटनं विबृण्वते ॥
 विनीतसामन्तविधूतचामरद्वयान्वितोऽलक्ष्यत धूर्वहः क्षितेः ।
 तुषारशैलो दृषदाहतिद्विधापनीपतत् नाकधुनीपया इव ॥
 मनुक्रमो रक्षति तत्कुलक्षमापतीन् इतीव अनुजिघृक्षया गतौ ।
 तमीशसूर्यौ इव धारिते किमपि अराजताम् आतपवारणे विभोः ॥

कलिङ्गभूमेः कमिता कलाचिकां मणीनिबद्धां मगधोऽस्य पादुकाम् ।
 शकाधिपः चामरमञ्जरीम् अधात् स्वयं कृपाणीमपि सिंहलेश्वरः ॥
 क्षमाभुजः काञ्चनपुष्पम् अग्रतः प्रकीर्य भक्त्या प्रतिपादितोपदाः ।
 व्यनंसिषुर्वशमणिं विधोस्त्वरविघाटितान्योन्यकिरीटकोटयः ॥
 महत्तरे मानवलोकशासितुः मनोऽनुकूला महिषीपदे तदा ।
 कृताभिषेका सलगक्षितीशितुः वरात्मजा आसीत् वरदाम्बिकावधूः ॥
 चकार यत् मेरुम् अनादिमः पुमान् सुवर्णरूपं सुरसंसदां वशे ।
 सुवर्णमेरुं स्वयम् अस्य सेवको महीसुरेभ्योऽदित मानवेश्वरः ॥
 अनेन राज्ञा चिनवेङ्कटादिरपि अयोजि लक्ष्मीं युवराजपूर्विकाम् ।
 क्षमापतौ राज्यरमा सयौवनक्रमा च कौमारम् असौ असूचयत् ॥¹

The most prominent person on such occasions was the *rāja-guru* or royal-priest. That he conducted the ceremony is evident from inscriptions and literature. We are told that Venkaṭapati Dēva Rāya was anointed to the throne by Tātāchārya, "the *guru* of his own *gōtra*, and other chief-Brahmans", in a copper-plate grant dated A. D. 1587.² This is repeated in another copper-plate grant dated A. D. 1589,³ and again in A. D. 1602-3.⁴

In one instance the Vijayanagara emperor was anointed to the throne by a great noble and not by the royal priest. This is proved by a copper-plate grant dated A. D. 1545 which contains the following: "Then Sadāśiva Mahārāya, son of Timmāmbā and Raṅgakshitīndra, was anointed to the throne by Rāma, the ruler of the great Kārṇāṭaka kingdom and husband of his (Sadāśiva's) sister, and by the chief ministers."⁵

¹ Rājanātha, *Achyutarāyābhudayam*, Canto, III, vv. 34-5, 37-50, pp. 70-9. (1907); S. N. Śastri, *Achyutarāyābhudayam*, p. 21-4.

² E. C., VII, Sh. 83, p. 32.

³ E. C., XII, Ck. 39, p. 85.

⁴ Butterworth-Chetty, *Nellore Ins.*, I, p. 31, Read Dikshitar J. Bhand. *Or. R. Ins.*, IX, Pts. II-IV, p. 338, for some remarks in this connection.

⁵ E. C., IV, Ng. 58, p. 128; E. C., V, p. I, Hn. 7, p. 5; E. C., IX, Cp. 186, p. 170. Cf. Heras, *Aravida*, p. 15.

In the history of the provincial governors, too, there is a similar instance of a violation of the classical principles concerning the dignitary who was to perform the coronation ceremony. The *paṭṭābhishēka* of Viśvanātha Nāyaka was performed by the Pāṇḍya king Chandraśēkhara.¹

C. *Foreign Ambassadors—How Received*

We may now describe the manner in which they entertained foreigners. The provincial rulers maintained the high traditions of the Vijayanagara kings of receiving foreigners with honour suited to their rank. Nicholas Pimenta, "Visiter of the Jesuits in India",² thus tells us how the Nāyaka of Tanjore received him: "He entertained us kindly, and marvelled much that wee chewed not the leaves of the Betele which were offered us, and dismissed us with gifts of precious Clothes wrought with Gold, desiring a Priest of us for his new Citie which hee was building."³

There seems to have been some method about the treatment of fallen enemies. Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya's noble example of showing deep concern for the safety of the subjects of a vanquished king, as given in detail by Nuniz, may not have been the only instance of a Vijayanagara ruler or of his subordinates treating generously his or their conquered enemies. In the battle between the king of Kandy and Pedda Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka, the former lost his life. "The king of *Candi* being a crowned head his dead body was respectfully placed on his elephant, and then sent to the capital, to receive the usual funeral rites."⁴

D. *Placing the Vajra-bayasaṇige*

Etiquette governed the actions of the people in public and private life. When foreign *prithvī-śeṭṭhis* came to a particular locality, they were treated with marked courtesy. According to a copper-plate grant dated only in the cyclic Siddhārtin, Bhādrapada, Śu. 5, Monday, but assignable to A. D. 1379, "if

¹ Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II, pp. 109, 117; Heras, *Aravidu*, p. 128.

² Pimenta, *Purchas, Pilgrims*, X, p. 205.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 208.

⁴ Taylor, *Cat Rais.*, III., p. 185.

the prithvī-śeṭṭis of any countries within the four seas came to another country, first presenting to them betel leaf, dress and allowance of food, the authorities of that country will give... to those śeṭṭis". The same record narrates that, in addition to those honours the *prithvī-śeṭṭis* were granted the customs duties "on the roads both ways".¹

The names of the Sālu-mūles, the elders, and the other prominent classes are also associated with an interesting public ceremony in connection with what was known as placing the *vajra-bayasaṇige*. This was an ancient custom of conducting public work, and was very common during Hoysala times. The Mamdāpur inscription of the Yādava king Kanhara, dated Śaka 1172 (A.D. 1250), informs us that "the five hundred Svāmīs of the blest Ayyāvaḷe" and the Vīra Baṇaṇjas of the immemorial Kuṛumbetṭa in the Kūṇḍi Three-Thousand, granted certain tolls for the benefit of the three-turreted temple called the Trikuṭa-prasāda of the same town. On this occasion Kalidēva Śeṭṭi, "the emperor of the community," was seated in the *vajra-bayasaṇige* in.....of the immemorial Baṇaṇju town in Kuṛumbetṭa.² An inscription dated only in the cyclic year Parābhava, but assignable to the year A.D. 1306, tell us that the possessor of all titles, the *mahā-gaṇas* including Nandinātha and Virabhadra and the chief men of Hoyisaṇa-nāḍu, Kongu-nāḍu and other eighteen districts, having placed the diamond (?) *bayisaṇige* on the ground, assembled below the banian tree at the northern gate of Hosahoḷalu, and that in their presence all *mahājanas* of Hosahoḷalu, which was a portion of the immemorial *agrahāra* Rāyasamudra, the great Minister Mādighedēva Daṇṇāyaka's *sēnabōva* Paduvaṇṇa's *balu-manusa* (? agent)³ Paṇḍāri Dēva, who was the officer of Hosahoḷalu, the Superintendent Kāvaṇa, Kēṭayya's son Huli-gereḍēva, the *mahājanas* of Hoysana-nāḍu, and others (named), made a grant of land to Sōmayya to provide for the offerings

¹ E. C., XII, Ck, 76, p. 100, op. cit., text, pp. 288-9. The date corresponds, but for the week-day, to A. D. 1379, August 18th, Thursday. Swamikannu, *Ind. Eph.*, IV, p. 361.

² Barnett, *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, p. 30. and n. (1).

³ "Strong man ? Right-hand Man?" B. A. S.

of the god Sōmanatha of the *mūlasthāna* in the north-east set up with the consent of the *mahājanas*.¹

The ceremony of setting up the *bayasaṇige* is also seen in early Vijayanagara history. A stone inscription dated A.D. 1378 of the times of Harihara Oḍeyar (i.e., Harihara Raya II) informs us that "the champion over Khaṇṭikāra-Rāya Nāraṇṇa Voḍeyar's son Dēpaṇṇa Voḍeyar was ruling the kingdom of the world"; and that in connection with a fair which was established in the Rāmēśvara village of Sādaḷi-nāḍ, the Sādaḷi Gauḍas (named), the five Śeṭṭis of Scre, and all the elders of the Sālu-mūle, having set up the *bayasaṇige*, made certain regulations, according to the custom of the Sādaḷi, (*Sādaḷiya maryādeyalu*) and granted specified dues to Dēpaṇṇa Voḍeyar.² We had an occasion of relating how the dignitaries, who belonged to the Sālu-Mūle Baṇaju sect with their numerous followers, conferred the Mayoralty of the Earth on the great Minister Muddaya Daṇṇāyaka in the year A.D. 1382. This high honour was bestowed on that famous general by them after they had "placed the diamond *vaisaṇige* in the presence of the holy lotus feet of the god Virūpāksha", and had taken their seat "having agreed among themselves with supreme affection" about the important question in hand.³

E. Miscellaneous Regulations

We may add a few more notices on the subject before we proceed to deal with orthodoxy in Vijayanagara. These concern washermen and dancing-girls. An inscription "of a peculiar and confused character" with an unintelligible date which has been assigned by Rice to about A.D. 1700, describes privileges to which washermen were entitled. Although this inscription is of doubtful authenticity, yet it contains the details about washermen who were to "be fed and given betel and nut in every house in due order from left to right, and that

¹ *My. Arch. Report* for 1914-15, pp. 56-7. Mr. Narasimhachar's comments on this custom may also be read. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

² *E.C.*, X, Cd. 112, pp. 196-7, P. II, pp. 205-6.

³ *E.C.*, V., P.I., BL 75, op. cit.

whoever disobeys this should be excommunicated".¹ A stone inscription dated A.D. 1356 relates that "among the dancing-girls of the temple (at Tēkkaḷ), Malaiyāttai Śrīraṅga Nāyakiyār Māṇikkam, daughter of Śeṇḍikkā-dēvī, was granted the first turn in the temple of Aruḷāla-nādan, and certain lands (specified), and her sister Varadi, the first turn in the temple of the consort of the above god and certain lands".² This epigraph proves that the pre-Vijayanagara custom of entertaining *dēva-dāsīs* in temples continued under the mediaeval monarchs, and that etiquette governed even the trivial details of temple ceremonies.³

SECTION 3. *Orthodoxy*

A. *Among the Monarchs*

The desire of the people of Vijayanagara to give undue prominence to the minutest details of public or private conduct is to be traced to their inherent orthodox nature. What appears to foreigners as pagan formalities were really indispensable ceremonials to the Hindus, who were under the abiding influence of their classical doctrines. Nuniz relates to us that the "The King of Bisnaga is a Brahman; every day he hears the preaching of a learned Brahman, who never married nor ever touched a woman".⁴ Although Nuniz is wrong in stating that the Emperor of Vijayanagara, Achyuta Rāya, was a Brahman, yet he suggests in his words an important feature of the everyday life of the Hindu kings. This was the company of learned men among whom they passed a part of their time. Mr. Venkoba Rao has identified the learned Brahman mentioned by Nuniz with Vyāsarāya, the great Vaishṇava teacher.⁵ Sōma-

¹ E.C., IX, Kn. 89. p. 132, and *ibid.*, n. (1); see also Kn. 90, pp. 132, 133, n. (1).

² E.C., X, Mr. 21, p. 161.

³ As regards etiquette after dinner, see Lakshmiśa, *Jaimini Bhārata*, v. 34, p. 122 (Sanderson); for offering the tambulam, see Brown, *The Rajas*, p. 7; on etiquette while speaking, Vemaṇa, *Verses*, Bk. III, vv. 107-8, p. 123, (Brown).

⁴ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 390.

⁵ Venkoba Rao, *Vyāsayōgicharitam*, Intr., p. lxxvii.

nātha in his *Vyāsayōgicharitam* tells us that Narasa Nāyaka, Vira Narasimha and Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya were daily being instructed in Dharma by that celebrated Vaishṇava leader. About Narasa Nāyaka Sōmanātha says :

एवमेव भक्त्या संभावयन्तं रहस्येन धर्मपदोपदेशेन प्रत्यहमनुगृह्णन्¹

Vira Narasimha was likewise devoted to the same *rāja-guru*:

पुण्यकीर्तनेन वसुधाधिपेन हंसेनेव कमलाकरः प्रत्यहम्
उपसेव्यमानः²

Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya's noble example of devotion to Vyāsarāya was unique:

तेन कृष्णमहीपालेन त्रिसन्ध्यं कुलदेवतायामिव मकुटतटमालतीकुसुम-
शेखरीक्रियमाणनखमयूखजाते महानुभावे...व्यासयोगिनि....³

B. In Public and Private Charters

Only the strictest conformity to the *śāstras* could be expected of rulers who were thus under the spiritual guidance of renowned *rāja-gurus*. The innumerable grants recording gifts of land to persons and institutions enable us to assert that the monarchs of Vijayanagara made it a point to include in them details of the *gōtras*, *śākhās*, and *sūtras* of the donees, the minutest particulars contained in the *pañchāṅga* or calendar, and benedictory and imprecatory verses taken from the *purāṇas* and *itihāsas*. Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya on the application of the excellent minister Tippasōma, son of *kandūchūra* Brahman the minister Mādappa, in A.D. 1513, granted to Viśvēśvara, who was a highly esteemed teacher, versed in the *śrauta* and *smārta*, ever performing the six rites, and who was the son of Mādhavārādhyā of the Haritānvaya Āpastamba-*sūtra* and Yajus-*śākhā*, the village named Bhaṇḍāripalli in the country between the Tuṅga and the Bhadrā called Yeḍatore, in the

¹ *Vyāsayōgicharitam*, p. 59.

² *Ibid.*, p. 64.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 67-8.

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Honnur-sīme of the Śrīraṅga kingdom, situated east of Śirīyūr, south-west of Benkīpura, north of Jannāpura, giving to it another name of Kṛishṇarāyapura.¹

In the reign of the same great monarch the head-jewel of that king's court (*lad-rājānāsthāna-śirōmaṇi*) the great minister Hisūr Mallarasayya, who was in charge of the Narasiyapura-sīme of the Hoysala-nāḍ, granted to Mallayya-dēva, son of Mogūr Sōmayya-dēvodeyar, of the *sōmēśvarā-chārya-sampradāya* of Ōraṅgal, the village of Hāchraraguppe belonging to Kerēyārapurasthaḷa, giving it the name of Mallayyadēvapura. This stone inscription is interesting because it contains several titles which are not in the form usually given to Vijayanagara kings. Its date is given thus: *Śrīmat Śālvāhana-śaka-varsha 1438 sanda varttamāna-Dhātu-samvatsarada Pushya-śuddha 7 lu Maṅgaḷa-vāradalu ghaḷige 29 mahā-nakshatra Uttarā...sanda ghaḷige 24½ nitya-nakshatra Rēvaṭi-ghaḷige 47½ Śivayōga 14½ Vaṇijākaraṇa yint i pañchāṅga-siddhāyada-tithiyalu...²*

It is not surprising, therefore, that a people who were thus uncommonly careful in the matter of including the details of the *pañchāṅga*, should have copiously copied verses from the *purāṇas* and *smṛitis* in the grants. The imprecatory verses beginning with *sva-dattām* and ending with *achyutam-padam* which we have just referred to in this chapter, are similar to those found in the *smṛitis*.³ A copper-plate grant dated A. D. 1403 recording the gift of the village of Sibur in Chetur-nāḍ, to certain Brahmans (named) by Harihara Rāya,

¹ E.C., VII., Sh. 1, p. 2. On Yedatore, see Barnett, *Ep. Ind.*, XII., p. 296, and Fleet's note on the same, *ibid.*, p. 296, n. (4). The instances where the *gōtra*, *śākhā*, etc. are mentioned are too many to be cited here. A few specimens may be given here. E.C., V., P. I., Cn. 167, p. 198; E.C., IV., Hs. 24, p. 86, Yd. 59, p. 62.

² E. C., V., P. I, HN. 19, p. 243, n. (2), 244; P. II, pp. 724-5. The date corresponds to A. D. 1516, Dec., Tuesday 30th (Rice gives it as A. D. 1517). But I am unable to verify further details. According to Swamikannu, *Ind. Eph.*, (V., p. 235) the *nakshatra* Uttara-Bhādrapada falls on Monday the 29th = Paushya-Su. 6. See, for another example, 402 of 1912.

³ Eggeling, *Cat. of the Skt. MSS. in the Ind. Office*, II, pp. 387-8.

contains the following evidently from the composer of the *śūsana*:

Śrī-Rāma-vākyaṁ:—

bahubhir vasudhā dattā rājabhis Sāga- rūdibhiḥ|
Yasya-yasya yadā bhūmis tasya tasya tadā phalam||

Āditya:—

svalpāṁ apī mahīm yas tu dadāti śraddhayānvitah|
sa yāti Brahma-sadanam yasmān nāvarttatē punah||

Bṛihaspati:—

Prāsādā yatra sauvarṇā vasu-dhārāś cha kāmāśah|
gandharvāpsarasō yatra tatra gachchati bhūmidah||
ājñā śulkam cha daṇḍaś cha mudrā-karaṇam ēva cha|
śīmā-nirṇaya-karṭṭvam prajābhyō bhaya rakṣaṇam||
yathēśṭam cha karādānam kuru-samsthāpanam tathā|
mandiram dvi-vidham kshētram gōshṭam cha vanam ēva
cha||

kṣitibhūtam cha yat kshētram mṛga-vāsas tathaiva cha|
nadī-parvata bhōgāś chō ashṭa-bhōgāḥ prakīrtitāḥ||
ētair ashṭābhir aiśvaryaish ashṭa-bhōgāis samanvitān|
yō dadāti sura-śrēṣṭha grāmam satkṛtya bhaktitah||
guru-daivata-viprēbhyah puṇya-kālēshu buddhimān|
sa yāti Brahma-sadanam ēka-vimśa kūlānvitah||
anēka-kūlām tatraiva bhōgān iṣṭān manōramān|
anubhūya punar bhūmau rājā bhavati dhārmikah||¹

An inscription dated A. D. 1421 ends with the usual verses among which we have the following: "The quail and the boar, the she-buffalo and the elephant, the teacher and the donor, these six went to *svarga*." Rice commented thus: "It is said to be taken from the *Māsa-mahātmya* of the *Vāyu* or other purāṇa, and refers to the merit arising from making a

¹ E. C., XII, Si. 95, p. 101, text pp. 299-300, The verses may be thus translated: Rāma—"The earth has been enjoyed by Sāgara and other kings; according to their (gifts of) land so was the reward". Āditya: "Though he grant but a small portion of the earth, he will go to Brahma's abode and not return." Bṛihaspati: "To where there are golden pavilions, where is the cow of plenty and he will obtain all he desires, where the gandharvas and apsaras are, there goes the donor of the land. The power to issue commands, to levy customs dues and fines,

tank. A quail once scraped a hole in the ground; a boar came and made it larger; a buffalo and elephant each in turn enlarged it still more; a holy man then pointed out that it could be made into a tank or pond; and the king to whom he gave the advice carried out the idea and made a grant of it. For their respective shares, in this work of merit all six went to *svarga* or paradise."¹

C. *How Gifts were made*

Some details about the nature of the gifts and the manner in which they were given are also available. An inscription dated A. D. 1463 of the times of Immaḍi Prauḍha Dēvēndra (i. e., Mallikārjuna Rāya) informs us how he got himself ready for an occasion of granting gifts: "He, being moved to make grants, having bathed in water from the sacred tīrthas, attired in purified flaxen garments, united with Brahmans who had performed the religious baths, the great king (with titles) named Immaḍi Prauḍha Dēvēndra (on the date specified), on his birthday (or under his natal star), in the pure Bhāskara-Kshētra, at the foot of the Hēmakūṭa hill, on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadra, in the presence of the god Virūpāksha,—in a holy place, at an auspicious time in the presence of the god Chandramauḷi in the Bārakūru-vēṇthe of the Bārakūru kingdom, gave the villages belonging to Chaturmandi...for the offerings

to use a seal, to fix boundaries, to protect the subjects without fear, to impose taxes at his will, to establish work-people,—moreover, houses both kinds of land, cattle folds, woods, waste ground, lands filled with game, rivers and hills—which are the eight means of enjoyment,—along with these eight sources of wealth and eight means of enjoyment will he, O greatest of the gods, who gives villages to a guru, to the gods or the Brahmans, at meritorious times, that wise man, go to Brahma's abode, with twenty-one generations of his family. After there enjoying for many ages all the pleasures his heart desires, he will be born again as a righteous king." *E. C.*, XII., p. 101.

¹ *E. C.*, XI, Hr. 52, p. 110. n. (1). This verse also appears in the grant by the benevolent Muhammadan officer Shaikh Mallik in A. D. 1653. *E. C.*, VII, Ci. 43, pp. 185, n. (1), 186. For an extraordinary and unusual verse in a grant dated A. D. 1516 recording the victory of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya in the Gajapati kingdom, see *E. C.*, V., P. I., Hn. 13, p. 7. For Rice's remarks on the same, *ibid.*, Intr., pp. xxx-xxxi.

to that god Rāmchandra."¹ In a copper-plate grant dated A. D. 1426 we are told "that king Prauḍha Rāya, (on the date specified), being in the *dāna-maṇṭapa* in the presence of the god Virūpāksha on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadra, for the purpose of making the *kalpa-latā* gift, ascertained on enquiry from the learned men that according to the *śāstras* it was equal in merit to the *tulā-purusha*."²

There is one more detail about the manner in which grants were made, which may be noted here. Another copper-plate grant assigned to the year A. D. 1410 relates that Harihara Rāya II, "seated on his hereditary throne in the city named Vijaya...examined the *dāna-śāsana* made by Dharmarāja in the Dvāpara-yuga...granted of his own accord, with pouring of water and presentation of gold coins, flowers and *akshate*," the village named Dharmēśvarapura on the bank of the Kshīra-nadi in the Gajakōṇapuri (Āneguṇḍi) kingdom for the worship of the god Dharmēśvara." Although the copper-plate *śāsana* looks suspicious because of its wrong date³ and the statement that the *dānā-śāsana* was made by "Dharmarāja in the Dvāpara-yuga," nevertheless it contains one point about which all inscriptions agree. This refers to the ceremony of pouring water and the presentation of a gold coin. Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya in Śaka 1436 (A. D. 1514-5), at the time of making a gift, was surrounded by his *purōhitās* and a number of Brahmans well versed in the *śrāuta* learning; and he also gave many gifts with pouring of water together with a gold coin.⁴ The references to this detail of the ceremony are found in almost every record of the times. It may be observed here that even on occasions of remission of customs and other dues, the provincial rulers observed the same formality. Mallinātha Oḍeyar,

¹ E. C., VIII., Nr. 79, pp. 158-9. The inscription evidently is to be interpreted in the sense that the king gave the villages which were in the Tuḷuva-rājya, according to the usual custom, in the temple of Virūpāksha. B. A. S.

² E. C., XII, Tm. 11, p. 5.

³ E. C., IX, Supplement, Ht. 34 p. 172 "This (the date) is given as the Śaka year denoted by the letters *rangalōka* (=1332), the year Vikṛiti. But this does not fall within Harihara's reign." Rice, p. 171, n. (1).

⁴ Gopinatha Rao—Amṛta Rao, *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 165.

who was in charge of Bemmattanakallu, raised an upper storey of stone for the god Siddhanātha of that locality, constructed other works of merit, and in order that this work of merit might continue for ever, presented Chikkapura in Bemmattanakallu, with pouring of water for the decorations, illuminations, and offerings of the local deity.¹

D. Enumeration of Gifts

As regards the articles that were given away as gifts during these occasions, we have also some interesting details. Vīra Mārappa Oḍeyar, according to an inscription dated A. D. 1347, "bathing in the water of the ocean at the time of the *parva*, pouring a libation to the *manes*, the highly generous Mārappa made gifts to Brahmans of lands, cows, virgins, and gold in quantities", while on a visit to the temple of Śiva at Gōkarṇa.² Viṭṭhala Oḍeyar, the learned governor of Āraga Eighteen Kaṁpaṇa, in A. D. 1403, as we have already seen, is described thus: "The *hēmādrī* gift did Viṭṭhala mantri but once make, and forthwith there was a *hēmādrī* gift from house to house of all the Brahmans."³ The gifts which Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya the Great made in A. D. 1513 are thus enumerated:—

*brahmāṇḍam viśva-chakram ghaṭam udita-mahā-
bhūtakam ratna-dhēnum|
saplāmbhōdlīmś cha kalpa-kshitiruha-latikē kāñcha-
nīm kāmādhēnum||
svarṇa-kṣmām yō hiraṇyāśva-ratham api tulā-
pūrusham gō-sahasram|
hēmāśvam hēmagarbhām kanaka-kari-ratham pañ-
chalāṅgali atānī||⁴*

¹ E. C., XI., Cd. 2, p. 2.

² E. C., VIII., Sb., 375, p. 66.

³ E. C., VI., Kp. 53, pp. 6-7, op. cit.

⁴ E. C., VII., Sh. 1, p. 2, text, p. 2. These gifts were the following: "The golden egg, the golden wheel, the golden pot, the golden cow, the seven golden seas, the wishing tree, the golden cow of plenty, golden earth, golden horse-chariot, a man's weight in gold, a thousand cows, a golden horse, the golden-wombed (Brahma), gold elephant-chariot, and the five

Achyuta Rāya's liberality was equally remarkable.¹ After his victorious campaigns in the south, i.e., in the cyclic year Naṇḍana, on the 12th day of the bright half of the month of Karkāṭaka he visited the temple of Varadarāja at Kāñchi, weighed himself against pearls in the presence of the god, bestowed the gifts called *mahābhūtaghaṭa* and *sahasragōḍāna* and made presents of rich jewels set with rubies, diamonds, emeralds, topaz, and lapis lazuli, together with villages, to worthy recipients.² It is obvious that Achyuta Dēva Rāya followed the example of his illustrious predecessor, who, according to the epigraph dated A. D. 1515 already cited, "did he again and again bestow the great gifts described in the śāstras, together with the grants associated with them."³

E. Witnesses

The names of the witnesses, whose signatures were appended to the grants, also bespeak the orthodox nature of the people. In most of the records we have divine as well as human witnesses. Thus an epigraph dated A.D. 1583 contains the following :

*āditya-chandrāv anilo' nalaś cha dyaur bhūmir āpō
hṛidayam Yamaś cha|
ahaś cha rūṭriś cha ubhē cha sandhyē dharmasya
jānāti narasya vṛittam||*

Then we have human witnesses who are called in the epigraph *nara-sākshigaḷu*. These are thus described : *Tīrthahaḷ (!) iya Amarēndra-puri Śrī-Pādaṅgaḷu Bukkarūya-purada Mahā-janaṅgaḷu karttugaḷa oppīta Hariyaṅgaḷa*

ploughs." E. C., V., P. I. Hn. 13, p. 4. The *hiraṇya-garba* and *tulā-puruṣa* are also mentioned among other great gifts, in connection with the Hoysala kings Viṣṇuvardhana in A. D. 1117 (Rice, *My. Ins.*, p. 215,) and Sōmēśvara Dēva in A. D. 1255. E. C., V., P. I, Ak. 108, p. 157. On the *tulāpuruṣadāna*, see A. S. R. for 1912-13, pp. 142-5; *The Sources*, p. 117; Acharya, *Dicty. of Hindu Arch.* p. 246; *Ep. Ind.*, XIII., p. 295, and n. (1); *My. Arch. Report*, 1920, p. 37. Here we have Vira Nārasimha weighing himself against gold.

¹ Achyuta Rāya made in A. D. 1531 the *sapta-sāgara-dāna*. E. C., IV., Kr. 11, p. 101.

² A. S. R. for 1908-1909, pp. 187-8.

³ E. C., VII., Sh. 1, p. 2, op. cit.

tad-binnaha-sākshigala oppita.¹ Superstition was to some extent responsible for the inclusion of the following witnesses by Tippe Śetti of the Vijayanagara treasury, when, as related above, in A. D. 1423, he dedicated to the god Tirumala (of the Chikka-Honnuru-grāma, Huṇṣūr tāluḱa ?) the tank which he had constructed, in order that merit might accrue to his parents, on the east side of Chikka-Honnūru. The record contains "the witness of the Fish, Tortoise and Boar, and the eight regents of the points of the compass, of the chief holy meritorious Brahmans, of the priests, *nambis*, and body servants of that god Tirumale, of Vīraṇa-ayya of Kariyamaranahalli, the ? snake-charmers (*hāvvarum*), the ? tellers of omens by lizards (*ballimunnibarum*), of all these sacred persons..."²

F. Fasts and Feasts

In the observance of fasts and feasts, too, we have evidence of the devoutness with which monarchs as well as people clung to classical precepts. To foreigners this was familiar. Thus Paes relates: "You should know that among these heathen there are days when they celebrate their feasts as with us; and they have their days of fasting, where all day they eat nothing and eat only at midnight."³ We can gather more details from epigraphical records on this subject. The Vijayanagara monarchs certainly did not introduce any innovation in this matter. In earlier times as well it was not uncommon for high officials to be strictly orthodox in their daily avocations. Thus, according to an epigraph dated A.D. 1218, in the times of the Hoysala king Ballāḱa II, "the Sāvāsi official, great master of the robes, (with praise) bathing and sacrificing at dawn and observing both *ēkādāśis*, worshipper of the feet of Brahmans and *gurus*, worshipper of the divine lotus-plant of the god Jaitanātha,—Jaya-Bhaṭṭayya Nāyaka having set up the god Jaita-Narāyāna",

¹ E. C., VIII, Tl. 172, p. 199, text, p. 656. These witnesses are the following: "Sun and moon, wind and fire, sky, earth and water, conscience and Yama, day and night, morning and evening,—these know the acts of a righteous man." Cf. E. C., V, P. I., Hn. 36, p. 11.

² E. C., IV, Hs. 27, p. 86, text, p. 236.

³ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 262.

received from the Hoysala king Ballāḷa Dēva a grant of forty *gadyāṇa*.¹

In Vijayanagara times princes as well as people celebrated the *vratas* and sacrifices enjoined in the Hindu scriptures. An inscription dated A. D. 1356 relates that sometime after the illustrious minister Sōmapa had built the temple of Śrī-Śōmanātha, "in observance of the Monday-vow (*sōma-vāra-vrata*), the king (Bukka's son Kumāra Kaṁpaṇa) paid a visit to "the most blessed god Sōmanātha", and made grant of a large village for the god. Kumāra Kaṁpaṇa, according to the same record, was a "unique treasure of music, a tree of paradise to the learned", and was "intent on establishing *dharma*."²

Bukka I's famous minister was Mādhava, who was "renowned in the world for his good qualities". This great man, who was "invested with authority for punishing the evil", "with Brahman purity and Kashtra victorious power for protecting the earth from fear", is highly praised in an epigraph dated A. D. 1368. He was "an astonishing expert in policy, like Brihaspati in exceeding wisdom", "always composing poetry which gives new pleasure to the minds of all"; and because he "cleared and made plain the ruined path of the *uṇishads*, which was overgrown and dangerous from the serpents the proud advocates of evil doctrines", "was praised by the wise as the guru who established the path of the *uṇishads*". Although he had "accepted the government as far as the Western ocean", yet "in order to have an oversight of that kingdom without trouble, on the advice of the Śiva guru Kāśivilāsa Kṛiyāśakti, he worshipped in the manner of the Saivāmnāya the god of gods embodied in his own favourite linga, Triyambakanātha, by means of daily special ceremonies and by a number of rites and practices. Then at a certain time (specified) in order to fulfil the great Śaiva vow which he had commenced with special rites a year before as directed in

¹ E. C., V, P. I., Hn. 61, p. 18.

² E. C., X, Kl. 222, p. 64.

the *Śiva sandhyā*, desiring to make the donations required to complete that great vow", he secured permission from his lord Bukka Rāja, and bought the village of Muchchundi, in his own Eighteen-maṇḍala country "with the knowledge of the authorities of the maṇḍala". He gave it as well as two other hamlets situated in Nāgarakhaṇḍa, to learned Brahmans, renaming it "Vidyēśvarapura, after the eight Vidyēśvaras who were the objects of adoration of his vow."

We may here also observe the qualifications of the donees. They were "like incarnations of Vidyēśvara, pre-eminent by their virtues and the country of their birth, travellers to the farthest point of the *Chārāyaṇīya-alicharaṇāmnāya*, daily observers of all the rites appointed in the pure Śivāmnāya, ever devoted to the worship of the Ashṭa-mūrti, Kāśmīr-Brahmans".¹

Another instance of a devout Hindu may be mentioned. Śrāvakratu Sōmanātha Dīkshita, son of Dēvaru Sōmayāji, of the Kāśyapa-gōtra and Ṛik-śākhā, is described in A. D. 1418 as "the performer of the *yājñapēya*, *sarvatōmukha* and *prā-tiasanta* sacrifices".²

G. Piety among High Officials

As regards the orthodoxy of high officials, who were not of the priestly class, we may cite the evidence from an inscription dated A. D. 1629 which speaks of Immaḍi Tammaya Gauḍa. He was the grandson of Sugaṭur Tammaya Gauḍa "of

¹ E. C., VII Sk. 281, pp. 146-7. op. cit. These Kashmere Brahmans may have been of the same stock as the Sārasvata Brahmans. If the relationship between these Kashmere Brahmans, their antecedents, and the events that led to the migration of earlier chieftains from Kashmere—like Jaya Bhaṭṭaya Nāyaka who, in the epigraph already cited, is called "a rājā by right of the Kāśmīra country"—could be traced, then it is not improbable that the community which has been known as the Sārasvatas may have come to Kārṇāṭaka along the western coast at the beginning of the thirteenth century A. D. In this connection I may add that the Mādhava of this inscription has been identified with Mādhava Vidyāranya. See M. Srinivasa Rao—Krishnaswamy Aiyar, *Panchadaśi of Vidyāranya* (with Eng. Trans. notes etc.) Intro., p. xi. The editors of this work do not believe that Mādhava was ever a *sanyasin*. "In all extant inscriptions Madhava is known as Madhava Amātya, Mantri or Sachiva and never Achārya or Vidyāranya." *Ibid.* p. xiii.

² E. C., X, Bg. 17, 18, p. 233.

the fourth *gōtra*". He, his wife, and certain Gauḍas (named) had the *agnishtōma* (sacrifice) performed by Kṛishṇa Sōmayāji (descent stated).¹ But a more interesting example of puritanism is that of Bāchappa, son of Kīrti Dēva. We have had an occasion of mentioning this *Bhāṭa* in the previous pages. According to an epigraph dated A. D. 1358 he performed various works of merit, *e. g.*, tanks, channels, areca-gardens, constructing golden palanquins, *chāmaras*, and umbrellas for gods; and in addition to these he made sluices to the tanks he had constructed, planted lines of trees on the four sides, and performed the ceremony of *upanayanam* to the *pīṭal* trees planted at the four corners.²

H. *Samśkāras*

Without entering into the details of the various *saṁskaras* or rites which orthodox Hindus perform,³ we may note briefly that the fact of their having been celebrated by monarchs as well as subjects, reveals to us the inborn conservatism of the people. Rājanātha tells us the following in his *Achyutarāyābhyudayam*:

अयं पुंसवनादिकं ययावद्विहितं कर्म विशामधीश्वरेण ।

तनयस्य तदीयं गर्भमाजो विभवस्येव नयो विवृद्धयेऽभूत् ॥⁴

That the rulers also observed the *nāmakaraṇa* rite is proved by an epigraph dated Śaka 1386 (A. D. 1464-5) which relates that Mallikārjuna Rāya "having bathed and prepared himself to make a grant", "at the festival of giving a name to his son Dēva Rāya, in the pure Bhāskara-kshētra at the foot of the Hēmakūṭa hill, in the presence of the god Virūpāksha" at

¹ E. C. X., Mb. 62, p. 94.

² E. C., III, Ml. 22, p. 58.

³ For a minute account of these, see *Grihya Sūtras* (Śāṅkhāyana), P. I, 1, Adhyāya, khanda 19-28, pp. 45-57; *Manu*, II, 29-30, pp. 34-5; 34, 36, 37, p. 36; 65, p. 42; Barnett, *Hinduism*, pp. 51-2.

⁴ *Achyutarāyābhyudayam*, Canto II, v. 16, p. 36. (Srirangam, 1907.) "Then Pumsavana and other purificatory ceremonies performed according to the śāstras by the king, were for the growth of the child existing in the foetus even as righteous conduct is for the increase of prosperity." S. N. Sastri, *Achyutarāyābhyudayam*, p. 12.

Harimpe, made a grant of the village of Saraballige, now rechristened Gajabēṭe-Dēvarāyapura, situated in the Āraga kingdom, to Srigririnātha's eldest son Dēvappa Daṇḍādhīpa, the protector of the great Āraga kingdom.¹

We may also here add that kings were named after their grandfathers. This is specially noticeable in the names of the rulers of the Saṅgama dynasty. Harihara Oḍeyar's younger brother was Kaṁpa or Kaṁpaṇa, and the son of the latter was called Saṅgama, obviously after his grandfather Saṅgama. Bukka Rāya II was the grandson of Bukka Rāya I. Harihara Mahārāya II's son was Dēva Rāya I whose son was also called Harihara. Dēva Rāya's grandson was named Dēva Rāya II. In the Āraṇḍi dynasty too we have similar instances of rulers who were named after their grandfathers. Rāma Rāya, the famous Regent, was the son of Śrīraṅga and Rāma Rāya's son was also called Śrīraṅga; and the latter's grandson was also known by the same name.²

From the genealogical table of the engravers of Vijayanagara given in the Chapter on Administration, the reader must have realized that among them too there prevailed the custom of naming persons after their grandfathers.

I. Obsequial Ceremonies

It is obvious that the Hindus and Jainas of Vijayanagara paid equal attention to the death ceremonies.³ The observations of Nuniz about the ceremonies among the Brahmans may be recalled in this connection. We have some more notices in inscriptions which are interesting. Saṅgama II made a grant of the village called Biṭrugunṭa or Biṭṭarakunṭa to twenty-eight Brahmans on the anniversary of his father's death.⁴ One of the most prominent names among the royal *bhāṭs* is, as we have

¹ E. C., VIII, Tl. 206, p. 209; Gopinatha Rao, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 17.

² Rice, *My. & Coorg*, pp. 112, 120. See also *A. S. R.* for 1907-8, pp. 246, 253; *A. S. R.* for 1908-9, p. 195.

³ For a detailed account, *Grihya Sūtras*, (Śaṅkhāyana) P.I, 4, Adhāya khaṇḍa 1, p. 106 seq; Barnett, *Hinduism*, pp. 52-3; Wilkins *Mod. Hind.* p. 439 seq.; Hemingway, *Tanjore Gaz.*, pp. 76-7.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, III, pp. 22-3, 27.

just remarked, that of Bācheyappa. "When that Bācheyappa, obtained supreme bliss (*i. e.*, died) his elder son Bukkaṇṇa, performing penance in (the presence of the god) Virūpāksha, sent his bones to Vāraṇāsi"¹. On Harihara Mahārāya II obtaining *nirvāṇa* "in the year Tāraṇa, in the rainy season, in the month Nabhasya (Bhādrapada), the tenth *tilhi*, on Sunday (=31st August 1404) under the constellation Pitṛi (Magha)", his learned Minister Viṭṭhaṇṇa Oḍeyar, who was governing the Āraṇa kingdom, granted the village called Muktaharihara-pura to certain Brahmans to commemorate the death of the king.²

We are to suppose that funeral obsequies were conducted in the orthodox manner on this occasion. From the following undated epigraph assigned to about the year A.D. 1500, it seems that women through their priests made offerings of a similar nature. Sugutūr Chikka Tammaya Gauḍa's elder sister Halasa Rātama, "through her purōhita Kṛishṇa-bhaṭṭa Tirumala Sōmayāji, offered at the feet of the goddess in this southern Gayā *tilōdaka*, and *piṇḍa*, securing the reward of making the offering in Kāśi, Gayā and Prayāga, as declared by Vālmiki."³

The *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Gava Rājaya, according to an epigraph dated A. D. 1571, performed the funeral rites for his father Venkaṭādri Rājaya, and granted "the village of Saulaṅga to Vijendra Voḍeyar's Maṭha of the Ānegoṇḍi Maṭha", in order that merit might accrue to his father.⁴ Granting lands for charitable purposes in order to commemorate the death of parents or of the ruler was, therefore, a feature of Vijayanagara times. And as regards performing funeral rites, we may mention that on the death of Rāma Rāya on the battle-field of Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi, his adopted son Ali 'Ādil Shāh, according to the author of *Rāma Rāyana Bhaikhair*, sent the bones of the great Hindu ruler to Benares.⁵

¹ E. C., III, MI. 21, p. 58, op. cit.

² E. C., VIII, TI. 129, pp. 188-9.

³ E. C., X., Mb. 76, p. 97.

⁴ E. C., VII, HI. 60, p. 172.

⁵ Mack. Coll.

Foreign travellers describe the funeral ceremonies of a class of people but with some inconsistency in their accounts. Barbosa, as we remarked in connection with the castes in Vijayanagara, gives a detailed account of the people who were "very like unto the Bramenes, who wear round their necks certain cords of twisted silk, from which hangs a cloth bag containing a stone" which they call *Tambarane*. These, as Dames rightly suggests, could only have been Līṅgāyats. Barbosa gives further an account of their funeral rites. "Many of them are merchants and trade as well.' They marry only one wife, and when one of them dies the wife buries herself alive. They dig a great hole deep enough to come up to her neck, and place her in it alive, standing on her feet, and begin to shovel in the earth around her, trampling it down with their feet until she is covered up to the neck with well-trodden earth. Then they place a great stone over her, and there she stays alive and walled up in clay, and they carry out other ceremonies for her, (which would take too long to describe : a miserable and pitiful thing, making us consider what strength ambition and reputation have in this world, when they can induce these women to submit of their own will to such a horrible end, for nothing else than for honour and to be held in good repute, failing which they would be regarded as no longer alive).'¹ According to Barbosa, therefore, this was a custom among those people who wore the *Tambarane* round their necks—that is to say, the Jaṅgamas or Līṅgāyats.

Now to turn to Nuniz. This chronicler says the following in connection with sati : "This is the custom throughout all the country of the heathen, except with that caste of people called Telugus, amongst whom the wives are buried alive with their husbands when they die. These go with much pleasure to the pit, inside of which are made two seats of earth, one for him and one for her, and they place each one on his own seat and cover them in little by little till they are covered up ;

¹ *Barbosa, Dames, I, pp. 218-20; Stanley, pp. 94-5.*

and so the wife dies with her husband."¹ That Nuniz is positive about the name Telugu is clear from his earlier statement relating to them. "There is another class of men called Telumgalle; when these die their wives are buried alive with them."² There can be no doubt, therefore, that according to Nuniz the Telugus were addicted to this rite.

Caesar Frederick also observed this custom, but unlike Barbosa and Nuniz, this shrewd observer gives us one of the most gruesome accounts we have of the rite, without telling us anything about the name of the people among whom it was common. Caesar Frederick says: "Also in this Kingdome I have seene amongst the base sort of people this use and order, that the man being dead, hee is carried to the place where they will make his sepulcher, and setting him as it were upright, then commeth his wife before him on her knees, casting her armes about his necke, with embracing and clasping him, untill such time as the Masons have made a wall round about them, and when the wall is as high as their neckes, there commeth a man behind the woman and strangleth her: then when she is dead, the workmen finish the wall over their heads, and so they lie buried together." With Caesar Frederick it was "the base sort of people" among whom "this use and order" was found."³

There is one more traveller who also witnessed this unfortunate custom. It was Gasparo Balbi who writes about the events of A. D. 1582 thus: "Without the Citie of Saint Thomas is another Citie environed with walls, made of earth, and inhabited with Gentiles Souldiers, whose Chieftaine is called Adicario (adhikāri?), who hath power to execute justice. They observe the custome to burne their Dead in this Citie, as at Negapaton; but neere to this is a Citie called La Casta degli Orefici, Goldsmith rowe; they have a custome when the

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 393.

² *Ibid.*, p. 390. Mr. Thompson accepts this blunder of Nuniz as a fact. According to him sati took the shape described by the Portuguese chronicler in the Telugu country. *Suttee*, p. 39.

³ Caesar Frederick, *Purchas, Pilgrims*, X, p. 96.

Husband is dead, to make a pit in the earth, and there to place the dead corpse crosse-legged ; and on the other side his living Wife in the same manner, and their kindred cast earth upon her pressing her downe, that shee may die also...."¹ Here we have the same practice current among the goldsmiths on the east coast.

We may remark here that Metthwold, in his *Relations of Golconda*, speaks of it as having been common among the weaver caste in the kingdom.²

We have to decide as to the people who thought it worthy to die in this manner. The travellers who noted the custom were certainly correct in their assertion that there was such a rite in the Vijayanagara Empire. But it cannot be maintained with Barbosa that it was prevalent among the Liṅgāyats, nor with Nuniz, among the Telugus. The evidence of inscriptions is more conclusive on this subject. The people who died in the manner related above were the Jainas, most of whom, as is well known, were merchants and traders like the Liṅgāyats. The popularity of this kind of death was due to the precedent set by famous Jaina teachers and influential Jaina nobles. We shall first give one or two examples of the death by *samādhi*, as they called it, among the humbler classes of the Jainas. These again were called Gauḍas. A record dated A. D. 1458 relates that Siriya Gauḍa of Kuppe died, and his wife Tangaṇṇa Gauḍi fell into the tomb along with him (*ātana kūḍe samādhiyana (n) u kūḍidaḷu*).³ Then again in A.D. 1465 Kavaḍi Bēla Gauḍa's wife Lākhayi Herggaḍi entered into the linga (*svaṛag oḍadu liṅgada olaḡāḍaḷu*).⁴ In about A.D. 1509 when Haraūr Chāuṇḍa Gauṇḍa's son Bomma Gauḍa went to *svarga*, his wife Bommi Gauḍi, sitting in the tomb (*samādhi kuḷitu*) also went to *svarga*.⁵

¹ Gasparo Balbi, *Purchas, Pilgrims*, p. 148.

² Metthwold, *Relations of Golconda*, p. 28, and p. 28, n. (3).

³ E. C., VIII., Sb. 496, p. 83.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Sb. 524, p. 86.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Sb. 165, p. 23.

A rapid review of this rite will make it clear that it was an ancient custom in the Karṇāṭaka. The following account of entombment in the thirteenth century and after proves that Jaina ascetics as well as Jaina aristocrats had given prominence to the cruel custom. The epigraph describing it is dated A.D. 1274. Bālanchandra-panḍita-dēva, the beloved disciple of Māghnaṇḍi-bhaṭṭāraka-dēva, of the Śrī-Mūla-saṅgha, Dēśiya-gaṇa, Pustaka-gachchha, Koṇḍakuṇḍānvaya, Ingalēśvarabaḷi, Śrī-Samudāya, and "famous in the world for his teachings on penance, announced to the four castes saying 'at noon (on the date specified) I shall enter into the tomb', and commanding them saying, 'You should all obtain dharma: you must forgive me (or, I ask your forgiveness)'. Having performed all the rites of *sannyasana*, seated on the *palyankāsana* (or couch) praising the forms of the *pañcha-paramēśhṭi*",¹—in a manner that gained approval from his own and from other sects he suffered perfect entombment. All the Bhavyas (the blessed ones, that is, the Jains) of the royal city of Dōrasamudra, performing all the ceremonies suitable for the occasion, as a memorial for his departure (or death), made images of their guru and of the *pañcha-paramēśhṭi*, and set them up, extending his merit and fame.² This was the recognized mode of death among the Jaina *gurus*. Māgha Chandra Dēva, who is mentioned along with the renowned *gurus* Pārśva Dēva and Bāhubalivṛati, and whose death is recorded in an epigraph dated A.D. 1371, must have "obtained *mukti*" in a similar manner.³ Our assumption is proved by an epigraph of A.D. 1372 which informs us that Srutimuniśvara's disciple, Māghanaṇḍi Siddhānti Dēva, Srutakīrti Dēva, Munichandra Dēva, Bāhubali Dēva, Pārśva Dēva, Jīnachandra Dēva, and one or two others whose names are effaced, "renouncing all, entered the tomb, and attained to the (exalted) state."⁴

¹ *Pañcha-paramēśhṭi* or the five chiefly desired ones—the Arhantas, Siddhas, Achāryas, Upādhyāyas and Sādhus". Rice, E. C., V., P. I, p. 87, n. (2).

² E. C., V., P. I., Bl. 131, p. 87.

³ E. C., III, Nj. 43, p. 99.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Nj. 64, p. 101.

The dismal details given by Caesar Frederick and Gaspare Balbi about the manner they "made a wall round about in a pit in the earth", may be contrasted with the following accounts of the death of a few Jainas in the latter half of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries. A stone inscription, dated A.D. 1372, refers us to the reign of Vira Bukka Rāya, when the *rāja-guru*, head of the Balat-kāra-gaṇa, Simhanandi Āchārya's lay-disciple, Soraba Vira Gaṇḍa's daughter, wife of the Ālva-mahā-prabhu Tavanidhi Brahma, Lakshmī Bommakkā, with the rites of *samādhi* expired and went to *svarga*.¹ An effaced inscription assigned to about the year A.D. 1400 relates the following: "On a certain day Aruhāt Paramesvara (? made known to) Munibhadra (*vondānondū-dinām Aruhāt-Paramēśvaram MunibhadraŚiriyanna.....chintaneyam māḷpa*) that he would grant the happy state to Śiriyanna, who was a perfect lay-disciple. At the favourable time, when the rain of flowers was falling, and with a noise like thunder the sounds of great drums were rolling, (*ghana-rava-bhēri-dundubhi mahā-murajam bahu-vādyā-ghōṣadim*) singing songs to himself, the sādhu Śiriyanna swiftly clung to the feet of Jīna, never to leave him, —how fortunate was he."²

Munibhadra Dēva, disciple of Chandrasēna Sūri of the line of Jinasēna and Virasēna of the Uddhura-*vaṃśa*, had the Hisugal *basadi* made, and the Mulugund Jinēndra temple extended. This is related in an inscription dated A.D. 1388. The epigraph continues to give the following information about him: "After the performance of penance, elucidating his chosen *āgama*, having driven away sin, Munibhadra Dēva was for long without anxiety. At length, having added to his virtue, Munibhadra Dēva becoming aware that his end was approaching, as the leaf of the lotus in the water casts off the drops, so having severed himself from all outward things, the great Munibhadra Dēva, practising

¹ E. C., VIII., Sb. 199, pp. 31-2.

² *Ibid.*, Sb. 153, p. 22, P. II., pp. 65-6.

the prescribed rites, prepared for the higher state, and quitting this life (on the date specified) with all the rites of *sannyasana*, through the tomb entered upon the enjoyment of eternal happiness."¹

Another example of a lay Jaina dying in the orthodox manner is given in an epigraph dated A.D. 1408. This record tells us that Gōpa Mahāprabhu was the ruler of the town of Kuppaṭūr in Nāgarakhaṇḍa. He "shone as purified by Jina-dharma, his blameless career like steps to paradise". His son was called Śiriyāṇṇa. "Śiriyāṇṇa's son, the Male-nāḍ, *mahā-prabhu* Gōpaṇṇa, having enjoyed the society of his wives for many days, abandoned family pleasures, and (on the date specified) making gifts to Brahmans of gold, grain, land, cows and all the other gifts,—discarding all pleasures of the mind or the palate, repeating the praises and prayers of the Jina-dharma, taking the hand of the Mōksha-Lakshmī, he with great joy went to heaven, amid the plaudits of all the good. Seeing that, Gōpa's wives, making all gifts to Brahmans, with pure minds doing reverence to the lotus feet of Siddhānta-yōgīndra, thinking on the feet of the great Vitarāga, went to heaven.—Gōpāyi and Padmāyi."²

J. Purificatory Ceremonies

That foreign travellers not conversant with the customs and manners of the Hindus could be superficial in their observation is evident from the remarks of Pimenta, who, writing about the Nāyaka of Gingee, in A.D. 1599, thus describes the orthodox surroundings of that ruler. "The Naicus shewed us his golden stuffe, amongst which were two great Pots carried on their shoulders full of water for the King to drinke. The Jogues which had returned by land from Bengala, brought in such vessels water from Ganges for the Courtiers, they were encompassed with filthie base clothes, which they kissed as holy vessels notwithstanding."³

¹ E. C., VIII., Sb. 146, p. 21.

² *Ibid.*, Sb. 261, p. 41.

³ Pimenta, *Purchas, Pilgrims*, X., p. 217.

How far Nicholas Pimenta could be trusted in connection with this detail can be seen by examining a few epigraphs which deal with this kind of water. An inscription, dated Śaka 1428 (A.D. 1516-17) of the times of Vira Narasiṃha Bhujabala Mahārāya, informs us that a gift of gold for a lamp was made for bringing a pot of water from the Kāvērī for the sacred bath of the god Ratnāchalēśvara at Ratnagiri, Trichinopoly district, and for offerings in the mornings.¹ There is reason to believe that there was an official who was in charge of the "holy water" from the Ganges, from the following inscription dated A.D. 1524. This record deals with the grant of Marayanahalli, rechristened Daṇḍāyakapura, for the chief evening offering of the god Varadarāja of Kalu-ūr, by Kōṇapa Nāyaka, who was the "bearer of Ganges water to Kṛishṇa Dēva Mahārāya."²

The anxiety which the people felt for performing purification ceremonies of temples is illustrated in an epigraph dated A.D. 1432. In the reign of Dēva Rāya II, when the champion over three kings, Hiriyaḱaṭṭige Amareya Nāyaka's sons Guṇḍappa Nāyaka and Amareya Nāyaka were ruling Vijaya-Sōmanāthapura which is Nuggiyahalli, the manager of his (Hiriyaḱaṭṭige Amareya Nāyaka's ?) house, the Eḷanhaṅka-nāḍ-prabhu (with epithets) Jāla Bhīma Śēṭṭi's son Chikka-Bhīmaṇṇa, assembling the Brahmans of Nuggiyahalli, caused the *samprōkshaṇa* of the god Sadāśiva to be performed.³

The instance of minister Mallarasayya, as is related in an epigraph stated about A. D. 1500 which we have already seen, of the times of the *Mahānāyakāchārya* Yallappa Odeyar, coming to Benṇageṛe, stopping the daily allowance at the Nārāyaṇa temple, having proper *prōkshaṇa* (or purification) performed for the god, and granting a *śāsana* regulating the worship and ceremonies,⁴ only proves the care which the

¹ 147 of 1914.

² E. C., IX., Ma. 82, p. 61.

³ E. C., V., P. I. Cn. 241, p. 226.

⁴ E. C., VIII., Sb. 323, p. 55, op. cit. *Supra*, Volume I, pp. 182, 376.

people and the State took to maintain the precincts of a temple holy. We cannot determine for want of evidence the nature of the incident which led to the stopping of the daily allowance at the temple, the purification ceremony which it entailed, and the consequent regulation of worship and ceremonies.¹

We cannot think of ending our observations on the orthodox surroundings in and outside the great capital without having the pious personality of Annamarādhyā *alias* Kompalli before us once again. In a record dated A. D. 1429-30 we have the following about this devout personage :

"...the descendant of the Kaundinya-gōtra, the follower of the excellent Āpastamba-sūtra,

" who is glorious, the student of the Yajus-śākhā, who is brilliant in virtue,

" who is the son of the Brahman Mallikārjuna, who is of unlimited spiritual power,

" who is intent on the performance of the deeds prescribed by the *Srautas* and the *Smārtas*, who is intelligent,

" who is a fit person for receiving gifts of land, who is the foremost of Brahmins,

" who is modest, distinguished, famous and high-souled,

" who has studied the four Vēdas and understood them by the Śaiva scriptures ; he is the lord of the northern gate at Śrīśaila, and is renowned on earth,

" He placed the *mantra* consisting of five letters (*Nama-Sivāya*) and a Rudrāksha having one face on one scale (and he himself sat on the other). Oh wonder ! he went up!"²

¹ For some more notices in connection with orthodoxy, e.g., griha-pravēśa, read Taylor, *O. H. M. SS.* II., p. 153, where it is said that Tirumalai Nāyaka built a palace called after own name, and that in "the Sittari month of the Bava year the ceremony of entering to reside in the new palace was performed". As regards etiquette before beginning to build an edifice, as is related in an inscription, dated A. D. 1670, see *E. C.*, XII., Pg. 46, p. 122. Subramiah Pantalu relates some incidents relating to the blind beliefs of Tātāchārya, *I. A.*, XXVII, p. 324.

² Butterworth-Chetty, *Nellore Ins.*, I., p. 16.

CHAPTER VI

PUBLIC SERVICE, HONOURS, AND PATRIOTISM

SECTION I. *Pre-Vijayanagara traditions*

The people of western and southern India gave expression to their sense of service to the State in apparently superstitious but truly patriotic acts of bravery. Patriotism, as understood in our own times, it must be confessed, is rarely to be found in the mediaeval ages ; but they had a notion of loyalty and service which was remarkable for the decades in which they lived. The heritage which the people, especially of the Karnāṭaka, gave to the land in this respect was bound to leave a permanent mark on the minds of the later generations. It is true that superstition may have guided the less ignorant to perform what may indeed be called a strange custom. Sōmeya and his uncle (?) Bāchcheya died fighting in a conflict with robbers, who had outraged the modesty of women, in A. D. 1198. A *viragal* or memorial stone in honour of the heroes, was set up, and wet land was granted that food and flowers may be offered to it.¹ The custom of setting up *viragals* to commemorate the death of a gallant man in a fight was universal in southern India; but that of granting lands for the offering of such memorial stones is mentioned only in this singular inscription. But nobler examples are those of men and women of the thirteenth century. In about A. D. 1215, in the reign of the Hoysala king Vīra Ballāḷa Dēva, the great master of robes, the Halivāna-sāvanta, Si...śeya Nāyaka's mother Honnakkā Nāyakiti died ; and her female servant Ma...ya...kiti Honni " gave her head to the hook and gained the world of gods ". The stone set up on this occasion was called

¹ *My. Arch Report* for 1926, p. 58.

thira-sthāyiyāgi nil (l) isida kallu (stone set up as a permanent memorial).¹

But the example set by the great general Kuvara Lakkaya, his wife, and his brave soldiers in about the year A. D. 1220 is hardly rivalled in the entire range of Karnāṭaka history. Kuvara Lakkaya, or as he was also called Kuvara Lakshma, was the minister of the same Hoysala king Vīra Ballāḷa II. But "between servant and king there was no difference, the glory and marks of royalty were equal in both". The record which gives us this information also praises Kuvara Lakkaya for his bravery and learning, and relates that "he gave his word to king Ballāḷa that he would keep him free from fear. Not like ministers who, binding a *toḍar* on the leg as a decoration, guarding the wealth they obtain as if fearing to lose it, taking good care of their persons, in the time of trouble to their master accept service under another family,—he remained faithful to king Ballāḷa in all circumstances". The great general had 1000 warriors bound to him by an oath. There arose some occasion for the celebrated minister to prove his worth; and "his warriors, his beloved wife (*Suggala Dēvi*) and himself having with him surrendered their whole life to their ruler", mounted up "the splendid stone pillar covered with the poetical *vīra-sāsana*", thereby proclaiming their devotion to their royal master.² This epigraph does not inform us the exact circumstances which prompted the gallant general and his wife and warriors to give up their lives for the sake of their ruler.

But the precedent thus shown was maintained in later years as is proved by epigraphs dated A.D. 1257 and A.D. 1292. In the former we are told that Śivaneya Nāyakaṇ, who belonged to the well known family of Gaṇḍa Nārāyaṇa Śeṭṭi, "with five of his servants, fulfilled his engagement (or vow) with Ballāḷa Dēva". The same epigraph continues to narrate that "Lakkeya Nāyaka, with his wife Gaṅgā Dēvi and three

¹ E. C., XI., Mk. 12, p. 91; *Kavicharite*, II., p. 7. See *infra*, Chapter IX, for a detailed account of the *śiḍi* performance.

² E. C., V., P. I., Bl. 112, pp. 71-4.

servants, fulfilled his engagement with Narasinga". To the same celebrated family which traced its descent from Gaṇḍa Nārāyaṇa Śeṭṭi belonged Kanneya Nāyaka. This brave man with his wives Ummavve, Javanavve and Kallavve, and with ten maid-servants and twenty-one man-servants, six times embraced Garuḍa on (or from) the head of an elephant and fulfilled his engagement with Sōmēśvara Dēva.¹ The other inscription is dated A. D. 1292 and refers us to the reign of the Hoysala king Vīra Narasiṃha Dēva. The high traditions of the family to which Kanneya Nāyaka belonged were continued by his son Singeya Nāyaka who "with his wives Kētavve, Honnavve and Nāchavve, and with ten maid-servants, and twenty man-servants on (or from) the head of an elephant six times embraced Garuḍa, and fulfilled his engagement with Narasiṃha Dēva" (...mēle āru-bāri Garuḍanan appi bāseyam pūraysidanu).²

Honours were conferred on these gallant men who sacrificed their lives in order to "fulfil their engagement" with their rulers. Kuvara Lakkaya, as we have remarked, received the privilege of binding a golden *toḍar* on his left leg. This was given to him together with the right of tying "the pearl *peṇḍe* round his lotus foot". "The clusters of pearls in his *gaṇḍa-peṇḍāra* shone like the stars, and the golden *toḍar* on his ruddy left foot like the fresh opening *champa* blossom".³ *Gaṇḍa-peṇḍāra* seems to have been conferred also as a title by the Hoysala rulers. Thus under Hoysala Narasiṃha Dēva, in A. D. 1277, Sōmeya Daṇṇāyaka's son-in-law Kumāra Dorabhak-kare Daṇṇāyaka is called the king's chief crest-jewel minister, the *gāyi-gōvaḷa*, *gaṇḍa-peṇḍāra*, and *maṇḍalika-jūbbā*.⁴

The Tamil kings too showed their appreciation of the services of their subjects by bestowing on them honours and

¹ E. C., IV, Kr. 9, pp. 100-101.

² *Ibid.*, Kr. 10, p. 101; Rice, *Mysore & Coorg*, p. 171; *My. Arch. Report* for 1914-15, pp. 55-6. For other examples of men who died fighting for the interests of a temple in A. D. 1281-2, see *My. Arch. Report* for 1927, pp. 40-1.

³ E. C., V, P. I., Bl. 112, p. 73, op. cit.

⁴ E. C., IX, Kn. 72, p. 129.

privileges. According to an inscription dated A. D. 1004 Manija fought gallantly during the reign of the Chōla king Rāja Kēsarivarman Perimmānāḍigaḷ, and secured from the monarch the privilege of wearing a *paṭṭa* inscribed with the title *Kshatriya-Sikhāmaṇi-Koṅgāḷva*, together with a *nāḍ* called Mālavvi (mod Mālambi).¹ In the reign of Sundara Pāṇḍya in A. D. 1227, his great minister Sōran Uyyaniṇṇāḍuvāṇ *alias* Gurukulattariyaṇ was not only entitled to a great many titles but to the honour of enjoying a rare privilege. Whenever he visited a temple, a *kālam* had to be sounded proclaiming—“Hail! Gurukulattambirāṇ is come!”²

SECTION 2. *Public Service under Vijayanagara*

We have brief notices of rewards for public service in Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya's *Amuktamālyada*. “It is good that a king should reward a worthy man having well tested him, before himself requesting him and before a third party recommends. The reward should come unawares like the fruits of the jack-tree and like a dream.”³ But inscriptions contain more information on the subject. The rulers recognized the services of their subjects, and conferred on them rewards in the shape of grants of land and titles and honours together with privileges and rights.

One of the earliest records which mentions what appears to be State service is that dated A. D. 1380 of the times of Harihara Rāya. His younger brother Vira Mallappa Oḍeyar's son Channappa “when the Turuhkas were swarming over Ādavāni *durga* and kingdom, conquered those Turuhkas, took possession of the *durga* (or hill-fort) and kingdom, and gave them to Harihara Rāya” receiving a kingdom of his own in return.⁴ An effaced inscription dated A. D. 1460 tells us that

¹ E. C., I, No. 46, p. 68 (2nd ed.)

² *Ep. Report* for 1923, p. 110. For the rights and privileges of king's officers under the Tamil rulers, see *S. I. I.*, III, P. III, p. 301; *S. I. I.*, II, pp. 512, 530 *seq.* For some notice of loyalty to a departed monarch, Bāṇa, *Harshacharita*, pp. 160, 173.

³ *Amuktamālyada*, J. I. II., IV, v. 274, p. 75.

⁴ E. C. XII, Kg. 43, pp. 39-40.

when the great minister Dēvarasa was ruling Gutti, the Maḷalagade *mahā-prabhu* Mācha Gauḍa's...Māda Nāyaka's son Bayire Nāyaka gave his life in his master's service (*tamma voḍeyana svāmi-kāryyakke tanna prāṇavako! [t] anu*).¹ During the reign of Sadāśiva Rāya, according to a copper-plate dated A. D. 1557, the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Rāma Rāju Tirumala Rājayya Dēva granted to Mahīpati Yerrama Nāyaka for faithful service done to the State and for guarding the country the villages of Gooty, Tāḍpatri, Vellaḷūru, Śiṅgaṇamla and Siyyaḍa, with the right of receiving ten *varāhā* for every 100 *varāhā* of tax collected from the villages, together with the produce from two *markāls* of seedlings out of every twenty, and one bundle of fodder from that got out of two-fifths of an acre of land.² The Emperor Veṅkaṭapati Dēva Rāya in A. D. 1589 granted to the Hiriyūr-sthaḷa Śyānabhōga Tipparasayya Kare Vīrayya a deed of gift (*dāna-paṭṭe*) as follows: "This Vīrayya being engaged in our service, and Kenchanṇa Nāyaka having made known to us his previous history (*i-Vīrayyanu namma sēve mādālāgi Kenchanṇa-nāyakanu ivara pūrva-vartamāna binnahūm mādālāgi*)—we, approving of the service that this Vīrayya has rendered, have granted unto him an estate" which comprised eleven *sthaḷas* and 185 villages under the *kaṭṭes* (or ponds) in which were many *mānya* rice-lands (specified).³

But this one example of a dutiful citizen who received a *dāna-paṭṭe* does not adequately convey the different modes by which the rulers of Vijayanagara recognized the merits of those who did valuable service to the State. Granting lands was one method of appreciating the service of the people. Under this heading may be included the granting of *umbāḷi* lands, of *mānya* and *koḍāgi* lands, and of *gaudike* rights. There were six kinds of *umbāḷi* lands: that which for want of a different designation may be called personal *umbāḷi*, the *grāma umbāḷi*, *dandige umbāḷi*, *ṭallaki umbāḷi*, cow *umbāḷi* and permanent *umbāḷi* lands. The first of these was called a

¹ E. C., VIII, Sb. 488, p. 82.

² S. R. Aiyangar, *Cat. of C. P. in the Mad. Mus.*, No. 29, p. 53.

³ E. C., XI, Hr. 88, p. 114.

bhaṭa grant. In A. D. 1535-6 the Viceroy Veṅkaṭādri Ayyavāru gave to Jivarakshaka Bhaṭṭu Naṇḍi Rāju the village of Cheruvu-palli situated in the *sīma* of Kanagiri as a *bhaṭa agrahāra*.¹

The custom of granting *umbali* lands was handed down from early times. In the reign of the Western Chālukya king Tribhuvanammalla Dēva, according to an effaced record dated A. D. 1076, the thirty-two thousand Brahmans of the great Gauḍa *agrahāra* gave lands as *umbali* to the son of Lakkabbe of Gauḍa, for having fought and slain during the depredations committed by the forces of Kali Sāntara Dēva.² This custom passed on to the rulers of Vijayanagara as well as their officials, although we have to admit that in some instances, as in the following dated about A.D. 1598, the epigraphs do not enlighten us on the specific services which necessitated the granting of *umbali* lands. The epigraph in question relates that the *Mahā-nāḍ prabhu* Biḍyavara Mummaḍi Chikkappa Gauḍaraiya gave to his son-in-law Kereya Gauḍa and his daughter K...mma, the village of Karikere a hamlet of Brahmasamudra belonging to Kōra-māgaṇi, as a *grāma umbali*.³ Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya in A. D. 1525 granted the new village of Lakumāpura, otherwise called Kṛishṇa Dēva Mahārāyasamudram, in the Būḍihāl-sīme, to the learned Lakshmīdhara Bhaṭṭa, son of Kṛishṇa Bhaṭṭa, with all usual rights.⁴

The third class of *umbali* lands may be called *daṇḍige umbali*. In A. D. 1532, Rāmpaya, son of Bācharasaya, Agent for the affairs of Achyuta Rāya, made a grant of Hēraḍighaṭṭa village as a *daṇḍige umbali* to Liṅgaṇa Gauḍa of Singaṭigere, with all the rice-lands, fields, and money rent (*suvarṇāḍḍya*). The same epigraph relates that the donor approved "of the erection of the *koḍagi* boundary stones according to the *śāsana* forwarded by Lakkarāja Timmapaya, *pārūpatyagōra* of

¹ Butterworth-Chetty, *Nellore Ins.*, II, p. 661.

² E. C., VII, Sk. 50, p. 51.

³ E. C., XII., Tm. 66, p. 16. We could have taken this gift as dowry but for the silence about the question of marriage or marriage expenses in the epigraph. B. A. S.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Ck. 10, p. 73.

our Būdhīhāl Sīme".¹ This may indicate that official enquiries were set on foot before a grant of *umbāḷi* lands was made.

A *daṇḍige umbāḷi* also carried with it, like all kinds of *umbāḷi* gifts, the usual rights. In some instances it was granted for the *gaudike* of a *nāḍ*. Bayirappa Nāyakayya's agents Kampanṇa Nāyaka and Nandyapa Nāyaka in A.D. 1543 granted to Śītakaḷ Gaṅgappa Nāyaka for the *nāḍ-gaudike* a *daṇḍige umbāḷi* village, inscribed on stone as follows: "Having given the *nāḍ-gaudike* of the Kōḷāla-sīme which was favoured as their *māgaṇi* by Achyuta Mahārāya, we grant you freedom from tax for dry and wet fields in all the villages of this *sīme*, and as a *daṇḍige-umbāḷi* we grant you Vommachihalli belonging to the Kōḷāla-nāḍ-sīme, together with all rights" (specified) as a permanent endowment.²

Another kind of *umbāḷi* land was called *ṭallakki umbāḷi*. Chavara Chennaya Nāyakaya's Agent Rāmaparasaiya granted to Nallapa Nāyaka, in A. D. 1573, as a *ṭallakki umbāḷi*, the Aḷalugaṭa village in the Bidare-sīme of the Ānabiddajare-Śivagaṅge-sthāḷa, in the kingdom of Penugonḍa.³

Cow *umbāḷi* (called *Hasa* [*Hasu?*] *umbāḷi*) was granted in A.D. 1541, by Āchirāja Tirumala Rājayya to the Gaudas of Chelūr together with the tank of the Bēḍanakaṭṭe village, the dry fields, and the local rights of the village (*grāma-sthāna-mānya*).⁴

Finally, we may note that there was the hereditary permanent estate granted as an *umbāḷi*. Rāja Oḍeyar, son of Chāmarasu Oḍeyar of Maisūr, during the reign of Veṅkaṭapati Dēva Mahārāya, in A. D. 1615, made for the god Rāmachandra of Vahnipura, a grant of village of Bēvinahalli, belonging to Bannūr, which he had received from Veṅkaṭapati Dēva

¹ E. C., VI., Kd. 126, p. 23.

² E. C., XII., Tm. 59, p. 15.

³ E. C., XII., Gb. 59, p. 28. It may be conjectured that this kind of *umbāḷi* was granted for some service rendered by those who were in charge of the *ṭallakki* or palanquins of the provincial rulers. This is, however, only an assumption we are unable to prove. B. A. S.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Gb. 49, p. 26, text, p. 80.

Mahārāya as an hereditary permanent estate (*sthāyiyāgi vumbalīyāgi banda Bannūra sthālakke* etc.)¹

Mānya lands were also granted to persons of conspicuous merit. According to Dr. Fleet *mānya* lands mean "lands either altogether exempt from taxation or liable to only a trifling quit-rent".² Allied to these were the *koḍage* or *koḍaṅge* or *koḍaṅgi* gifts. So early as about A. D. 767 we come across these *koḍaṅge* grants. A damaged stone record assigned to that year relates that "Vikramāditya coming to Jannaya's side", gave a *koḍaṅge* of twelve *kuḷa* (of land) to a person who was called Vāṇi...³ Another record of about A. D. 970 informs us the occasion when *koḍaṅge* gifts were made. In the times of Dilipayya, when the cows of Damme of Balla were being carried off, Basalva's son Keyye fought and died in the struggle. For him the *bhaṭar*, being pleased, granted a *koḍaṅge* of ten *koḷaga*.⁴

When we come to Vijayanagara times, we meet with a variety of *mānya* grants. *Koḍage mānya*, *puri mānya*, *kaṭṭu koḍage*, *prabhu koḍage*, *dayirya koḍage*, *satige koḍage*, and *nettaru koḍage*—those were the seven different kinds of *mānya* grants. There were the ordinary grants styled simply *koḍage* gifts. Thus in about A. D. 1490 Nañja Rāja Oḍeyar made a grant of a *koḍage* house to Bōḷa-Mallikārjuna Oḍeyar.⁵ We have some details about the different kinds of *koḍage* grants. In A. D. 1419 Aubhala Rāja Oḍeyar caused a *śāsana* of temple endowments and Brahman endowments to be written. These were given as gifts for the decorations and festivals of the god Harihara "at the meritorious time of Śivarātri". The record which contains the details relating to the above endowments also tells us about "the gauḍa's *koḍage mānya* granted to Singe Gauḍa's son Rāma Gauḍa,—Maddagirihaḷḷi, and under the Voḍina

¹ E. C., III., TN. 116, p. 91, text, p. 306.

² Fleet, I. A., IV., p. 332 (n).

³ E. C., X., Mb. 86, p. 99.

⁴ Ibid., Mb. 93, p. 99.

⁵ E. C., IV., Ch. 35, p. 4.

channel space for 2000 areca trees, with *nāḍ-gauḍike* in each village".¹ *Koḍage mānyas* were also granted to temples. Narasaṅṇa Nāyaka's.....Hochi Nāyaka and Kōṭipa Nāyaka, according to an inscription dated A. D. 1497, granted a *koḍage mānya* for the Tippūr temple.² As regards the other kind of *mānya* lands, we have the following in a record dated A. D. 1525. In that year the Eḷavaṅka (Eḷahanka) *nāḍ-prabhu* Kempayya Gauḍa granted the Pura *maṭha śāsana* as follows:—"The Chennapura village (? built by) Haima Gauḍa, belonging to our Eleyūr-sīme, have we granted to you as a *puri mānya*, together with all rights (specified)".³

The remaining four kinds of *koḍage* gifts are now to be enumerated. The most common grant under this heading is that related to the *kaṭṭu koḍage*. This was generally given to those who made agricultural improvements. They were usually called *kaṭṭu kodage* or *keṛe koḍage*, although instances are not wanting to show that similar gifts were made for the same purpose in a *dharma-śāsana*. In A.D. 1428 Lakkaṅṇa Oḍeyar granted to Singarasa's son Annadāta a *dharma-śāsana* embodying the gift of rice-lands and dry fields below the tank built by Danakani Dēvi, who was evidently the wife of Annadāta, in the Bēlūr-sīme belonging to the Muḷuvāyi kingdom, with all rights, free of all imposts.⁴ In this grant the name *kaṭṭu kodage* is not mentioned. *Kaṭṭu koḍage* was also granted by private individuals. Hiriyaṅṇa Gauḍa granted to Golamayya.....a *kaṭṭu koḍage* in Māradehalli in about A. D. 1577.⁵ From a record dated about A. D. 1698, we may infer that *kaṭṭu koḍage* was also known as *keṛe koḍage*. In that year Rāuta Rāya caused to be written and gave to the Holeyas of Kaltuṭanahalli a *keṛe koḍage śāsana* for having restored the Doḍḍagāvanahalli tank.⁶

¹ E. C., XII, Mi. 20, p. 106.

² *Ibid.*, Gb. 2, p. 17.

³ *Ibid.*, Kg. 23, p. 35.

⁴ E. C., X., Kl, 104, p. 31.

⁵ E. C., IX., Dv, 65, p. 82.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Ht., 41, p. 92.

Prabhu koḍage was the name given to the *koḍage* referring to the chiefship of a village. In the reign of Achyuta Rāya in A. D. 1532, the village of Mallayyanapura in Arakoṭāra-sthaḷa was given to Virabhadra Nāyaka, son of "the favourite for the affairs of that Mahārāya (the Emperor), the Perumāḷa-adhikāri Kāmyappa Nāyaka of Arakoṭāra," as a *koḍage* for his chiefship (*prabhu-koḍagey āgi*), together with all the lands and taxes pertaining thereto.¹

From a stone inscription assigned to the year A. D. 1406, or thereabouts, we know that there was another kind of *koḍage* grants called the *dayirya koḍage*. The record, the date of which "is altogether wrong," informs us that "by order of Harihara Rāya II, the minister Yalaṛasa Oḍeyar granted to Virappa of Haṭṭiyūr in Hulliyūr-nāḍ, the Torava-samudra village in Hullūr-nāḍ as a *dayirya koḍage*, free of all imposts.² In all likelihood this kind of grant may have been made for some kind of gallant service rendered on the battle-field or in the course of a cow-raid, although we have definite evidence of the method by which they recognized the merits of brave persons in war or in a cow-fight. We are also uncertain about the nature of *satige koḍage*. In A. D. 1522 Elapa Nāyaka, son of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya's servant Ellapaṇṇa, granted Kageṛe in the Bidure-sime as a *satige koḍage* to Annana Gauḍa.³

There was one kind of *koḍage* grant which was given to those who showed their courage in a fight to rescue the cows of a village or against thieves and highwaymen. This was known as *netluru-goḍage*. On the cows of the Nelavatti *agrahāra* being carried off by Dēse of Beḷagavatti, the tailor Padma's son Chikka recovered them, although he died in the attempt. All the Brahmans of the *agrahāra*, therefore, in

¹ E. C., IV., Ch. 93, p. 12, text, pp. 35-6.

² E. C., X., Mr. 87, p. 175. The date is given thus: *Jayābhayudaya-Saka-varuṣhaṅgaḷu nālku-sāvirada-nānūru-nāl-vatta-nālkaneyalu naḍa varamāna vyavahārika-Vyaya-samvatsarada Kārttika—Su. 1 ārabhyavāgi*. P. II, p. 171.

³ E. C., XII., Gb. 51, p. 27.

A. D. 1125, made a grant of land (specified) to Padma as a *nettaru-godaḡe*.¹ Sometimes a *nettaru-godaḡe* was granted by the ruler of the province in the presence of the farmers and subjects of the locality. Thus in A. D. 1223 when Leṅkaṇa Nāyaka of Karimale captured the cows of Maḷavalli, Māva-bōva of that place opposed him, recovered the cows but lost his life in the encounter. The *Mahamaṇḍalēśvara* Nigalūr Bommi Dēvarasa, with the approval of the farmers and subjects of Maḷavalli, granted land (specified) to Chikka-bōva, younger brother of Māva-bōva.² On other occasions the king himself ordered the grant of a *nettaru-godaḡe*. The inscription which gives this information is unfortunately very much defaced. Nevertheless we are told that in A. D. 1283, in the times of the Yādava ruler Rāmachandra Dēva, a certain Rāya with his servants "entered upon the battle," and evidently he or someone lost his life in the struggle. "Pleased at his heroism, his king granted land as a *nettaru-godaḡe* to Maduve Nāyakitti".³

Allowances granted to the relatives of those who died in a cow-raid, siege, or riot were called merely *umbali* grants or *nettaru-godaḡe* in Vijayanagara times. In A. D. 1387 "some one fell in fight at Chandragutti" and an *umbali* was granted to his son.⁴ Another incomplete record dated A. D. 1436 informs us that "the servant of Bomma-gavuḡa of...of Eḡe-nāḡ...Chandragutti of Banavāsi Twelve Thousand...Hiriya Tammaya Nāyaka, besieging Kaṇagoṡa in the service of his master, fell. For his children was granted an *umbali*".⁵ In

¹ E. C., VII., Hk. 65, p. 172. Cf. This method with that of the early times when a *kālnāṡu* was given to those who fought in a cow-raid. E. C., X., Mb. 228 of about A.D. 890, p. 126; Mb. 203 of A. D. 934, p. 122. *Kālnāṡu* means a grant for the purpose of setting up (*naḡu*) a memorial stone (*kaḡ*) My. Arch. Report for 1912-3, p. 31.

² E. C., VII., Sk. 268, p. 144; see also Sk. 217 of A. D. 1248, p. 130.

³ E. C., VIII., Sa. 63, p. 104. See also Sb. 502 dated A. D. 1294 p. 84; E. C., VII., Sk. 211 of about A. D. 1294, p. 129, Cf. *Mṛityuka-vṛitti* or death allowance mentioned in the Chandel grants, Ghoshal, *Ag. Syst.*, p. 63.

⁴ E. C., VIII., Sb. 512, p. 85.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Sb. 490, p. 82.

the reign of the same monarch, Dēva Rāya II, according to another effaced record, his minister Irugappa Oḍeyar ruled over Gōve and Chandragutti. "From Eḍe-nāḍ, especially from Kuppeyahallī, Malalagade Bomma Gauḍa, in the service of his *guru* Nāgi Dēva, besieged Banavāsi,...thinking that if they gave...they would be beaten...Bayichana of the school (*sāle-yana Bayichanu*)...and gained the world of gods. For his children, the forty-two, being pleased, granted land (specified) as a *nettaru-gōḍāna*".¹ We are to imagine that when marauders drove off the cows of Koṇḍaganale, in A. D. 1448, and Mādi Gauḍa and Sūrappa Gauḍa, father and son, both fought with the army, stabbed the men, seized the horse, and distinguished themselves with the highest devotion, provision must also have been made for their children by the people of Koṇḍaganale. The record merely ends with the fact that on this occasion "Madi-Gauḍa's wife and mother both went to *svarga*".²

That war relief was granted to the children of those who fell in a fight or riot is clear from an epigraph dated A.D. 1462 which mentions that in the riot at Heddase, Kesalūr Tippha Gauḍa having laid about him and died, a grant of land (specified) was made for his wife and children.³ But there can be no doubt that on some occasions, the services of brave men were merely commemorated by inscribing their deeds on a *vīragal*. When the cows of Puleya Haraūr in Hiriya Jīḍḍa-ḷige-nāḍ were being impounded, in A. D. 1454, when Liṅgappa Oḍeyar was the governor of Chandragutti, certain Gauḍas of Kuḷavāḍi (named) fought and died in the struggle. A combined *vīragal* (*sāṅgatyada vīrakallu*) was set up for those who died. The inscription does not mention any *umbali* gift granted to their children.⁴

This was certainly not the usual manner in which the people of Vijayanagara appreciated the services of

¹ E. C., VIII., Sb. 489, p. 82.

² *Ibid.*, Sb. 559, p. 89.

³ *Ibid.*, Sb. 506, p. 84.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Sb. 168, p. 24.

those who gave up their lives for public good. Even in later Vijayanagara history we have evidence of *nettaru-godages* having been granted by the rulers or their subordinates. An inscription dated A. D. 1569 relates that Tirumala Rāya Dēva Mahārāya was pleased to order the grant of the *māgaṇi* of Golahalli in the Doḍḍēri-sīme of the Rāya-durga-sthala, to Aubhalaiya, son of Doḍḍēri Malapa Gauḍa, "for sacrificing his life", as a *nettaru-godage*; and that the *Mahānāyakāchārya* Harati Lakshmīpati Nāyaka forthwith executed the royal order by assigning it as a permanent gift, with all rights, to the donee.¹ Keḷadi Rāmarāja Nāyaka-ayya granted to Hiriya Kaliyūr Timma's (son) Malarasa a *nettaru-godage* (specified) in the Hennagēri village, in A. D. 1571, for some service not stated in the epigraph.² In about A. D. 1598 Keḷadi Malle Gauḍa gave to the Yalagaṇale torch-bearer (*divaru*) Bommayya's son Kāma a *nettaru-godage* as follows: "Your Bommi having died in our service, we have given for him land (as specified) in Beḷala-matti."³ Sugaṭūr Immaḍi Tammaya-Gauḍayya granted land (specified), in A. D. 1602, for the children of the cowherd Hiriya Chennaiya for "having exerted himself at the time of need and died".⁴ This could only have been a *nettaru-godage*, since the Sugaṭūr rulers, as is evident from a grant dated A. D. 1630, were aware of the traditional method of recompensing the services of dutiful subjects. In this year, when "Rāma Dēva Rāya was ruling the empire of the world", Sugaṭūr Chikka Rāya Tammaya Gavuda granted to the *Daḷavāyi* Soṇṇaya Gauḍa a *nettaru-godage śāsana* as follows: "You having taken great trouble and carried out for our government the list of orders written out for our affairs, we grant to you...in the Sugaṭūr village."⁵

¹ E. C., XII., Mi. 10, p. 105. The interpretation given here is questionable.

² E. C., VIII., Sa. 21, p. 95.

³ *Ibid.*, Sa. 26, p. 95.

⁴ E. C., X., Si. 14, p. 181.

⁵ *Ibid.*, K1. 164, 165, p. 55.

Umbali gifts were also called *gaudike-daṇḍige-umbali*, or merely *gaudike* rights. According to a copper-plate dated A. D. 1486, "by order of the king" Narasiṅga Rāya, Gaṅge Gauḍa was granted the *gaudike* of Hejāji, which he had built, and of other villages (named) for some service not mentioned in the record.¹ In A. D. 1528 Rāma Bhaṭṭa's . . . granted Kāmanahaḷḷi belonging to Aramala-sthaḷa (boundaries specified) to Akkimaṅgala Tammappa Gauḍa as a *gaudike-daṇḍige-umbali*, free of all imposts.² A stone inscription dated A. D. 1554 informs us that Niḍugal Kōmāra Timmaṇṇa Nāyaka granted to Tumukuṇṭe... Dharmagōḍu Gauḍa a *gaudike* for having built a fort for the village, excavated channels, and restored the village of Tumukuṇṭe, together with the *āya dammas*, horse, umbrella, and lands (specified) as *satige mānya*.³ Similar improvements must have been made by Arasiyakere Seṭigoṇḍa Gauḍa, who received from Niḍugal Timmaṇṇa Nāyaka, in A. D. 1560, the *gaudike* of Arasiyakere together with land (specified) as a *mānya* to be enjoyed as a *kāṇāchi*.⁴

SECTION 3. *Titles and Honours*

In addition to the system of granting lands to persons who performed useful services to the country, the State also bestowed titles, honours, and privileges on all classes of people. The rulers themselves assumed great titles, and their subordinates, as in other matters, imitated them. Without entering into the question of the validity of the claims of the rulers of Vijayanagara to assume a string of grandiloquent *birudus*, we may allude briefly to the titles of the greatest monarch of southern India, Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, before narrating those of some of the most prominent generals and viceroys of Vijaya-

¹ E. C., XII., Tm. 54, p. 15.

² E. C., X, Sd. 15, p. 181.

³ E. C., XII, Pg. 39, p. 121.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Pg. 38, p. 120. *Kāṇāchi* is the Kanarese form of the Tamil *kāṇiyāṭchi*.

nagara.¹ An inscription dated Śaka 1430 (A. D. 1518-9) gives the following *birudus* of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya : "The angry punisher of rival kings ; he whose arms resemble (the coils of the serpent Śēsha) ; he who is versed in protecting the earth ; the destroyer of those kings who break their word ; he who satisfies suppliants ; he who is fierce in war ; the king of kings and the supreme lord of kings ; the destroyer of the three kings (of the south) ; he who terrifies hostile kings ; the Sultan among Hindu kings ; he who crushes the wicked like tigers ; and the double-headed eagle which splits the temples of troops of elephants " ;²—"his generosity praised by the wise, this king of kings Kṛishṇa Rāya, established on the jewel-throne in Vijayanagara, daily surpassing Nṛiga and all others, shone in the power of good fortune and the fullness of fame from the eastern to the western mountains and from the extremity of Hēmāchala to Sētu."³ Sometimes, however, the great Emperor was merely styled *samasta-bhuvanāśraya*—"The Refuge of all worlds"—which carries us the memories of the Hoysalas and the Western Chālukyas.⁴ These *birudus*, which were not altogether unjustifiable, except in a few instances, sounded incredibly pedantic to foreigners like Pimenta.⁵

¹ For the *birudus* of various rulers, the following may be read—Harihara Rāya II.: *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 125; Sālūva Nṛsiṃha: *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 84. On the *Bhērūṇḍa* title of the monarchs: *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 369; n 63; Achyuta Rāya: 162 of 1905; Sadāśiva Rāya: 151 of 1907; 148 of 1907; Veṅkaṭapati Dēva I.: *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 186; Ranga Rāya II.: *Ep. Ind.*, XI, p. 328; *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 343. *Ep. Carn.* may also be consulted in this connection.

² *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 369.

³ *E. C.*, VII, Sh. I, p. 2; See also *S. I. I. I.* pp. 80, 120, 123, 131-2, n. (7), 139; 169; Butterworth-Chetty, *Nellore Ins.*, I, p. 315, and (n). For Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya's qualifications: *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 370; *Ep. Report* for 1909, p. 118. On the titles *Aśvapati*, *Gajapati*, and *Narapati*, *Haiderabad Arch. Series, Ins. at Nāgai*, No. 8, p. 6; *E. C.*, II, p. 45 (2nd ed.) ; *My. Arch. Report* for 1921, p. 26; Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, I, p. 13; *I. A.* XV, pp. 9, and 9, n (52); 13; *I. A.*, XVII, pp. 225, 227; *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 33, n (2). For Gajapatis of Orissa, Mackenzie, *Local Records*, Vol. XLIV, p. 491; XLVI, p. 105; XVIII, p. 218.

⁴ *E. C.*, III, Intr., p. 25 Nj. 63 of A. D. 1519, p. 101.

⁵ Pimenta gives some of these *birudus*. *Purchas. Pilgrims*, X, pp. 209-10.

The princes and viceroys also assumed titles. Prince Virabhūpa in Śaka 1508 (A. D. 1586-87) bears the following *birudus*: *samaya-drōhara-gaṇḍa*, *Ayyāvali-puravarādhiśvara* (*Ailāvalīpura* of other records), and *dakṣiṇa-samudrēśa*.¹ Kṛishnappa Nāyaka, in a record dated Śaka 1489 (A. D. 1567), is given these titles—*Kaṇchipuravarādhiśvara*, *Mōkālīpaṭṭa-vardhana*, *samaya-drōhara gaṇḍa*, *samaya-kōlāhala*, *Ailāvalī puravarādhiśvara*, *Pāṇḍya-kula-sthāpanāchārya*, and *dakṣiṇasamudrādhipati*.² The Ummattūr chieftain Malla Rāja Odeyar, in A. D. 1532, was styled thus: "...the lord of the Ummattūr kingdom, hunter of elephants, *gēṇāṅka-chakrēśvara*, *javādi-kolāhala*, *arasaṅka-sūnegāṭa*, a Hanuman in crushing enemies. . . ."³

We may also note the *birudus* of less important dignitaries. In A. D. 1529 the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara hanneya-gajapati*, *dharaṇī-varāha*, and *manneya-śārdūla-chamaṭi* Bhōga Rāja (or Bhōgaya Dēva), with other titles (*ivu modalāda-birudūvali-bhūshitarāda*) was the Nāyaka placed over Śrīraṅgaṭṭaṇa by Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya.⁴ The *Mahāprabhu* Bhairanṇa Nāyaka is given the following *birudus* in A. D. 1472: *Maleya-hulimārthāṇḍan* (the sun to hill tigers), *Idigay-eṇṭu-daṇḍigeya manneyara-gaṇḍa* (champion over the *manneyas* of the Idiga Eight Daṇḍige), *the mother-home to both (sects of) Nānā-dēśis*, chief—lord of *Aiśvarya-pura*, the *Pārśva-tīrthēśvara* of *Idugāṇi*.⁵

The heads of religious institutions were also known by their titles. In a grant dated Śaka 1450 (A. D. 1528-9) Sadāśiva Sarasvatī, disciple of Chandraśekhara Sarasvatī, of the Śrīngēri Maṭha is called—*The great sage working for salvation*,

¹ Gopinatha Rao, *Ep. Ind.*, XII., p. 161.

² Gopinatha Rao-Raghaviah, *Ep. Ind.*, IX p. 330, Kṛishnappa Nāyaka was the grandson of the Nāgama Nāyaka and the son by Nāgama of Viśvanātha Nāyaka.

³ *My. Arch. Report* for 1920, p. 37, Cf. The titles of Chikka Rāya of Ummattūr in A. D. 1506. *E. C.*, III, M1. 95, p. 65, text, pp. 196-7; *E. C.*, IV., Ch. 107, p. 14.

⁴ *E. C.* III, Sr. 2, p. 7.

⁵ *E. C.*, VIII, Sa. 60, p. 103.

the great saint and anchorite, whose body is besmeared with holy ashes, who wears a necklace of rudrāksha beads ; who is high-souled and talented, who has practised the eight-fold path of the Yōga ; who is compassionate to all beings, (but) is (himself) above the pair of opposites like heat and cold, which only give rise to pain ; who is possessed of knowledge and freedom from attachment ; also is master of himself, and the Guru, who is Śiva incarnate.¹ The *birudus* of Chandra-chūdā Sarasvatī, the head of the Kāmakoṭī-pīṭha of the Śārādā Maṭha of Conjeeveram,² are thus given in a record dated Śaka 1444 (A. D. 1522-3) : The talented and high-souled saint, the disciple of Mahādēva Sarasvatī, a devotee of Śiva, the famous commentator on all the śāstras, and an expert in māyavāda (the doctrine of māyā).³ According to a record dated in Śaka 1307, expired (A. D. 1385), the Jaina teachers of a school led by Simhanañdin were called by the following titles : āchārya, ārya, guru, dēśika, muni and yōgēndra.⁴

Titles were also bestowed on men of learning and ordinary citizens. Mr. R. Narasimhachar has given us a list of the titles given to poets. These were the following:

ಕನ್ನಡಜಾಣ, ಕವಿಪಂಚಮಾರ್ಗಣ, ಗುಣರತ್ನ, ಚಂದನತೀಲಕ, ಚುಡಾರತ್ನ, ಜಿನಮುನಿಸಾದ, ಬಲ್ಲವರರಸ, ಬುಧಜನಮಿತ್ರ, ಭೂಭುಜರತ್ನ, ಭೂಸುರ ತೀಲಕ, ಮದನಾಂಗನಾಶನ, ವರಕವಿಚಂದ್ರ, ವಾಣೀಮುಕುರ, ಎದಗ್ಗ ಚುಡಾರತ್ನ, ಎದಗ್ಗಲಲಾಮ, ಎವೇಕಚೂಡಾರತ್ನ, ವೈರಾಗ್ಯನಿಧಿ, ಸರ ಸ್ವತೀಮಣಿಹಾರ, ಸರಸ್ವತೀಮುಖತೀಲಕ, ಸುಕವಿಕಂಠಾಭರಣ, ಸುಕವಿ ಚೂಡಾರತ್ನ, ಸುಕವಿನಿಕರನಿಕಿಂಪ, ಸುಗುಣಕಂಠಾಭರಣ, ಸುಜನಮ ನೋಜ, ಸುಜನಮುಖಮಣಿಮುಕುರ, ಸುಜನ್ಮಕಬಾಂಧವ⁵

To the celebrated poet Allasāni Peddana, Krishṇa Dēva Rāya gave titles as well as the coveted anklet called *kavigaṇḍa-penḍāra*. This we gather from the pathetic verse of the great

¹ Venkaṭēśvara-Viśvanātha, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV., p. 175.

² Reputed to have been founded by the great Śaṅkarāchārya. Venkaṭēśvara-Viśvanātha, *Ep. Ind.*, XIII., p. 123.

³ Venkaṭēśvara-Viśvanātha, *Ep. Ind.*, XIII., p. 132.

⁴ *S. I. I.*, I, p. 156.

⁵ *Kavicharite*, II, p. 175.

poet written on the death of his beloved patron. "Why did he (king Kṛishṇa) get down from his mad elephant wherever he met me and lift me up to sit by his side? Why did he raise up the palanquin (which carried me), with his own arm, when I was taken round in procession on presenting my poem *Manucharitra*? Why did he put on my leg with his own hand, the anklet *kavi-gaṇḍa-peṇḍāra* saying 'You alone deserve it'? Why gave villages to me wherever I chose to have them, called me *Āndhrakavi-pīlāmaha* and *Alasāni Peddana* 'lord of poets'? Fie upon this living carcase of mine that breathes still without accompanying that great Kṛishṇarāya to heaven!"¹

We have already seen that Tiraka Gauḍa, younger brother of Bomma Dēva Gauḍa, in the course of the muster of troops summoned by Vīraṇṇa Oḍeyar to quell the rising of the Bēḍar chief Boḷeya Mummeya Nāyaka, remarked that Guṇḍa Daṇṇāyaka, the famous general of Harihara Rāya, had given him the title of "Champion over the three Kings" (*mūvara-rāyara-gaṇḍa*).² An inscription dated A. D. 1424 relates that Chāma Nṛipāla, who constructed the great Haridrā dam, was known by the title of *gaṇḍara-gūli*.³

These titles which are found in profusion in epigraphs and literature, were conferred on recipients after due formalities at the royal court or in the *chāvāḍi* or the court of the provincial rulers. Learned men and poets received their titles in this manner. Some details about this can be gathered from an inscription dated A. D. 1447 already cited in an earlier connection. We saw that Mallikārjuna Rāya being disposed to perform an act of Dharma, and having bathed and put on pure and clean garments, was surrounded with Brahmans on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā, in the Bhāskara-kshētra, at the foot of the Hēmakūṭa-giri. The occasion was in connection with the honour that was to be given to Ādityāryya (descent stated),

¹ *Lives of Telugu Poets*, p. 190; Kṛishṇa Śāstry, *A. S. R.* for 1908-9, p. 185, n. (3).

² *E. C.*, VIII, Nr. 29, p. 132, op. cit.

³ *E. C.*, XI, Dg. 29, p. 39, op. cit.

the author of *Bhāshya-bhūshaṇa*. This man was proficient in all learning. The king having examined him in a learned assembly in all branches of study, and all the learned men being pleased, granted him the village of Nallaṅgi in the Rāyadurga kingdom.¹ An epigraph dated A. D. 1505 informs us that Bhujabala Pratāpa Narasiṃha Mahārāya, "in the course of bestowing the great gifts, among them, when bestowing the *mahābhūta-ghaṭa*, in the presence of the god Śrī-Raṅganātha", on the bank of the Chandrapushkaraṇī, honoured Raṅganātha Bhaṭṭa, versed in the six *darśhanas*, with the office of *āchārya* together with the gift of the village Honnakahaḷḷi in the kingdom of (the Ummattūr chief) Chikka Rāja Oḍeyar.²

As regards the name of the place on which the rulers sat, we have the following in connection with Kampana Oḍeyar in an inscription dated Śaka 1289 (A. D. 1367-8): the king while seated in the *jūnakī-maṇḍapa* in the Puṇyakōṭīśvara temple at Little Conjeeveram, Chingleput district, honoured Śrī-Parakāla Nambī with the name of *karuṇākara-dūṣaṇ* together with honours, privileges, and a dwelling-house.³

In fact, the rulers of Vijayanagara not only granted lands and high sounding *birudus* to persons of distinction but also gave them certain coveted privileges and insignia of honour. The famous dictator Veṅkaṭatātārya, whom, as already narrated above, Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya the Great invested with uncommon religious powers in A. D. 1523, was entitled to receive the first *tīrtha* and *prasāda* in all the great Viṣṇu temples in Vijayanagara, Ghaṇādrī, and all the 77 *durgas* subordinate to them, e. g., Chandragiri-durga, Gutti-durga, etc., in all the cities to the east and west of Vijayanagara as far as the sea; in all the *durgas* to the north and south as far as Madura and in all the holy places such as Kañchi, Triśaila, and Khādrī excepting

¹ E. C., XII, Mi. 69, p. 128. As regards these learned assemblies, we have in Nāḷaḍiyār some interesting details. *Nāḷaḍiyār*, Ch. XXXII, p. 202, seq (Pope).

² E. C., IV, Gu. 67, p. 47.

³ 27 of 1921. The method in which the Sālu-Mūle Baṇajigas of various places conferred the Mayoralty of the Earth on Muddayya Daṇṇāyaka in A.D. 1382 may also be recalled here. E. C., V, P.I. Bl. 75, p. 53, op. cit.

Śrīraṅgam, Ahōbala and Ghaṭikagiri; privileged to get the first honours in the assemblies of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas; and authorized to make enquiries into the conduct of all castes owing allegiance to Rāmānuja and to punish the delinquents in regard to religious and social matters.¹

The rulers gave privileges also to religious institutions. The *svamīs* of the Śringēri Maṭha, for example, were recipients of great honours and privileges at the hands of the Vijayanagara kings. A copper-plate grant dated A. D. 1463 relates that Immaḍi Dēva Rāya Mahārāya, folding his hands to his forehead (in reverence) gave a *vaibhava-tāmra-śāsana* (or copper *śāsana* conferring insignia) as follows: "Now, in the presence of the god Virūpākshēśvara, we grant to you in addition, two five branched torches, five *kalaśas* above the palanquin, and so forth..." in confirmation of the rights already enjoyed by Rāghavēśvara Bhārati Śrīpāda.² These other insignia, we may also here note, are mentioned in another copper-plate dated A. D. 1450 which speaks of the *vaibhava-tāmra-śāsana* granted by Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda to Chidbōdha Bhārati of Gōkarṇa. In addition to other privileges this record relates that Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda conferred on the donee "throne, crown, palanquin, white umbrella, *chārmara*s on both sides, *makara tōraṇa* (a kind of arched canopy), fan, daylight torch, yellow and red flags and such insignia, with cymbals, conchs, *cakra*, and other musical instruments, in the presence of people come from many countries."³

The State also conferred high privileges on men of distinguished service. An inscription dated Śaka 1506 (A. D. 1584-5)

¹ *My. Arch. Report* for 1918, p. 52.

² E. C., VIII, Nr. 68, p. 158.

³ *Ibid.*, Nr. 67, p. 157. The late Mr. Venkoba Rao suggested the following—"... A. D. 1500 was the traditional date for the acquisition by Sri Vyasarayasvami of the green flag—rather the green umbrella—on a camel". *Vyāsavyōgicharitam*, Intr. pp. xiii, cxxxix. The same writer also suggested that the green flag may have come from Babur. *Ibid.*, p. cxxx. As regards the Vijayanagara rulers acquiring the green umbrella, (*Sāluvaābhudayam*, Canto VII), it appears that Sāluva Nṛsiṃha also possessed one. See Venkoba Rao, *ibid.*, cviii. See *supra*, Volume I., Ch. V. Sec. 3 for the remarks of 'Abdur Razzāq on the umbrellas borne before the *daṇḍāyaka*. B.A.S.

relates that Veṅkaṭarāya Dēva Chōḍa Mahārāya, a prince of the Solar race, received certain privileges in the Ahōbala temple under orders from the king Vīra Pratāpa Raṅgarāya Dēva, at the request of Voṁ-Sāthagōpa-Jiyyamgāru. The reason why the Vijayanagara monarch granted him the privileges is also stated in the same epigraph. The grandfather of the donee, Koṇḍarāja (Veṅkaṭarāja) Timmarāja, had expelled the Muhammadan chief Vībhurāmu (?Ibrāhīm), who had occupied the temple of Ahōbala for seven years with the aid of the Haṇḍevāru chiefs. For restoring the temple to its original state, the family of Veṅkaṭarāya Chōḍa Mahārāya was granted great honours by the orders of the king.¹

Temple authorities also gave privileges to persons of distinction. In Śaka 1454 (A. D. 1532-3) the right of securing holy water and consecrated food after worship in the temple of Śrī Dēvanāyaksvāmi, in the village of Tiruvāhindrapuram, was given to one Rāmānuja Āchārya.² Certain religious privileges were conferred on a Brahman by 74 chief priests of the Vaishṇava faith in A. D. 1538 during the reign of Achyuta Rāya.³

The State further granted privileges to ministers and viceroys. Two pillar inscriptions of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya the Great (A. D. 1515) relate that the lord Nādiṇḍla Appa "obtained from the glorious king Kṛishṇa and minister Timma (*the right to use*) a palanquin, two *chaurīs*, and a parasol, and the posts of superintendent of Vinikoṇḍa, Gutti, and the city on the golden mountain (Mēru), of commander-in-chief of a large army consisting of rutting elephants, horses and infantry, and of sole governor of that kingdom." The same records relate that "the glorious lord Sālva-Timma, the minister of the glorious Kṛishṇa, the first among kings, gave to his younger son-in-law, the glorious Gōpa, the best among governors and an excellent

¹ 70 of 1915.

² Sewell, *Lists*, II, C.P. No. 18, p. 34; Rangachari, *Top List*, I, SA. 335, p. 169.

³ Sewell, *ibid.*, No. 74, p. 9; Rangachari, *ibid.*, SA. 198, p. 154. Cf. the privileges and duties of a temple superintendent given in 89 of 1906; Rangachari, *ibid.*, SA. 592, p. 199.

minister, the post of governor of the whole empire of the city of Koṇḍavīṭi, together with an army consisting of rutting elephants, horses and infantry, and (the right to use) a palanquin and two *chaurīs*.”¹

The *History of the Carnataca Governors* relates that Viśvanātha Nāyaka was granted by the State valuable jewels and the apparel “which he (the king) had on his own person”, because that famous general had killed a big buffalo at one stroke. And when Viśvanātha brought his own father a prisoner to the capital, the Emperor gave him robes and other presents.²

The same account informs us that the chief man of the village Pugalur, named *Udiyan Sethopathi*, (Uḍaiyan Sēṭupati?), safely escorted the chief *guru* of Mnttu Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka to Rāmēśvaram, and received in recognition of his services, grants of land, villages, honorary dress and various ornaments as presents.³ For the insignia of a chief man of a village we may refer to an inscription dated A. D. 1472 which mentions that Iduvaṇi Baliya Gauḍa's son Haivaṇṇa Nāyaka, the foremost man in Ānevalige in Nagirathāvu, was entitled to possess an umbrella, betel bag, lamp-stand pillar, ornamental coin (*aṅka-ṭenke*), and others (*muntāda-lēja-mānyavanu*).⁴

Rights were also given to the first settlers in a new town. This was obviously to aid the building of new towns. Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka's Agent Viṭṭhaṇa Nāyaka was holding the *pāru-patya* of the Bāgūr-sīme in A. D. 1554, in the reign of the Emperor Sadāśiva Rāya. The inscription relates that the outer *pēṭe* (evidently of Bāgūr) being in ruins, Narasimmaiya of the Customs petitioned to Viṭṭhaṇa Nāyaka, “whereupon he sent for Liṅgaṇa Gauḍa and many others (named) all the

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, VI, pp. 130-1.

² Taylor, *O.H.MSS.*, II, pp. 7, 13.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁴ *E. C.*, VIII, Sa. 60, p. 103; P. II, p. 277. A doubtful record assigned by Rice to about A. D. 1527, mentions that Saṅkaṇṇa, the head man of Pīṭhamane village, in Nāgarakhaṇḍa, received the privilege of having the first *prasāda*, the first *tambūla*, in all the *agrahāras* and towns in the *nāḍ*, together with an “independent oversight of all the religious ceremonies in this Kupatūr-nāḍ”. *Ibid.*, Sb. 265, p. 43, and n. (1).

subjects, and directed them to have the *pēṭe* built, giving it another name of Kṛishṇāpura after Ere-Kṛishṇappa Nāyakayya and populate it. Those who settle there will be free of all taxes for one year from the time they come; after that they will not only be included in the family agreement, but if they have taken possession, we and the subjects will give up (our claim).” (*bandanthū-vakkalige vokkalu banda vundu-varusha sarva-mānya munde vakkala voḍambaḍikeyalu biṭṭukoṭṭa pramāṇav allade anubhava māḍidare nāvu prajegaḷu pariharisi koḍuvevu*).¹

Presents were also given to masons, artisans, and carpenters. According to an inscription dated A. D. 1431, Tippha Rāja Oḍeyar’s son Gōpa Rāja Oḍeyar’s minister was Mallama Rāja. The son of Mallama Rāja was named Siṅga Rāja. This official “had the image Gaṇḍa-bhēruṇḍa, which was on the Māragaudaṇakaṭṭe west of Dūḍanahaḷḷi in Pāla-nāḍ, brought to the door of the *gōḷpura* of the *maṇṭapā* facing the god Varada-rāja.” And on this occasion, he had the “wood-work done by the hand of the Āvikal carpenter Pēvōja’s son Chājā-ōja”, and having set up the door, and “the iron work done by the hand of the blacksmith Añjala Diviṅgōja, gave to those *ōjas* horse and umbrellas, with hereditary land (*kāñi-bhūmyagi*) (as specified).”²

In connection with the royal pardon extended to Eleyūr Viśvanātha Śeṭṭi’s sons Nāgi Śeṭṭi and Kāmi Śeṭṭi by Harihara Rāya, as given in a record already cited, dated A. D. 1379, we may be allowed to repeat that in addition to the customs dues which the donees received from the king, they also secured palanquin and umbrella with *kalaśa* as their insignia.³

The leaders of commercial organizations worked in fields other than their own, and the State and the people recompensed their labour by giving them titles and customary rewards.

¹ E. C., XI, Hk. 112, p. 132, text p. 379.

² E. C., X, Mr. 3, p. 156. We have already noticed the presents given to Iraṇa Bōva who built the high towers of the Kaṇḍehaḷḷi fort, in about A. D. 1533. E. C., XI, Hr. 36, p. 109, op. cit.

³ E. C., XII, Si. 76, p. 99, op. cit.

The great Jaina-Śrīvaiṣṇava controversy of A. D. 1368, as we remarked in an earlier connection, ended amicably, and "Busuvi Śeṭṭi, the good son of Harvi Śeṭṭi of Kalleha, having made petition to Bukka Rāya, sent for Tātayya of Tirumale and had (the *śāsana*) renovated. And both the *samayas* (creeds) uniting, bestowed the dignity of *Saṅgha-nāyaka* on Busuvi Śeṭṭi".¹ *Sumanṭira-murti-acharya* was the chief sculptor who worked at the sculptured pillars of the *vasanta-manṭapa* at Madura in the reign of Muttu Tirumala Nāyaka. From the *The Accounts of Tirumala Naicker, and of his Buildings* we learn that the ruler, in order to do him honour, "gave him betel, on which he had himself spread *chunam*; and, by reason of being much occupied in looking after the work, the sculptor took it and disrespectfully put it into his mouth, before the king, when, a moment after, recollecting that he had acted improperly, he became inwardly afraid, and with an instrument cut off the two fingers with which he had conveyed the betel-leaf, etc. to his mouth. But the king bestowed on him four kinds of dresses; and had a hand made of gold, which he also gave to him."²

Koṛana Haripa's son Si . . ., who is described as "the worshipper of the feet of all the Brahmans of the immemorial *agrahāra* Kuppāṭūr", according to an inscription dated about A. D. 1470, killed a big tiger which had come into the Kēdagi wood in front of the town "by forcing it out with a great noise", and hitting "it savagely with a big club". It may be that he lost his life in his great adventure but the record informs us that "on rejoining the thousand, they gave him the name Ripu-Māri."³

SECTION 4. *Patriotism*

The endearment of the people to their rulers is seen chiefly in the numerous records which contain grants of land

¹ E. C., II, No. 344, p. 147. (2nd ed.).

² Taylor, O. H. MSS., II., p. 151.

³ E. C., VIII, Sb. 258, p. 40. These remarks on the honours granted to various persons of merit may be compared with those of Nuniz who

for charitable purposes together with the significant phrase "for the merit of the king". These epigraphs range from the earliest age to the last decades of Vijayanagara history, and are to be read together with the remarks we have already made in regard to protection and Dharma in the previous pages. The influence exerted by the monarch in these times was purely personal; and it is not surprising that, instead of the notions of nationality of the later ages, the people should have prayed for the merit of the king or for the success of his arms, and identified the prosperity of the country with the personal well being of the ruler.

Monarchs as well as their viceroys were held in great esteem by the people. Virūpa Rāya, son of the king Bukka Rāya, was, as we have seen, the viceroy over Āraga Eighteen Kampana, in A.D. 1367. "In order that Virūpa Rāya might have a firm kingdom", the (people) of the Fifty nāḍs (of Āraga Eighteen Kampana, the Gutti Eighteen Kampana, and Idugunḍi) made a grant of land (specified) in Bandiganali village, for the offerings of the god Śankara obviously of the same locality.¹ "In order that the *Śurattān* (Sultan) of Hindu kings, Hariharanātha's son Bukka Rāyan might exercise universal sovereignty", as is related in a Tamil inscription dated A. D. 1380, Tāmandai Ādināta's son set up the image of the god Ādi-Nārāyaṇa-perumāḷ at Muraśūr as an act of king's charity.² Bukka Rāya's popularity is proved by other charitable endowments as well. According to a grant dated only in the cyclic year Duṇḍubhi but assignable to the year A. D. 1382, Irugappa, the famous general, and the son of the general Vaichaya, "for the merit of the glorious *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Bukkarāja, the son of Arihara-rāja," (i. e., Harihara Rāya) granted the village of Mahēndramaṅgalam in the district of

speaks of the scarves of honour given by the king to his people when they went to the palace to pay him their land rent. Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 370.

¹ E. C., VIII, Nr. 34, p. 133.

² E. C., IX, An. 49, p. 115.

Māvaṇḍūr, to Trailōkyavallabha, the god of Tirupparuttikkunṇu a tax-free *pallichchandan*.¹

Harihara Rāya II was also a popular monarch. "For the success to the sword and arm of" Harihara Rāya, Rāja-rājar and the inhabitants of the Pulliyūr-nāḍu, including Tuṇavar Nambiravi Śeṭṭiyar, the superintendent of the Pulliyūr-nāḍu, made a grant of certain specified lands and several taxes for the god Varadarāja of Pulliyūr in A. D. 1385.² Mahēśvara-panḍita-ārādhyā, in A. D. 1397, by means of a *dharma-śāsana* granted to Mudda Girināthayya the village of Aṇḍiganallī, rebuilt by the *prabhu* of Kōlāla-nāḍ "in order that life, health, and wealth might increase to" Harihara Rāya.³

About Bukka Rāya II we have the following in an inscription dated A. D. 1388: Śrī-Veṅgaḍa Nāyakkar's younger brother Nāgeya Nāyakkar granted in the customary manner certain specified lands (to Virappa Nāyakkar ?) "for the success of his (Bukka Rāya's) sword and arm".⁴

The great minister Vīra...nta of the Kāśyapa-gōtra, "in order that all prosperity might be to Mallappa Oḍeyar", son of Bukka Oḍeyar, in A. D. 1421, made a grant of the village of Indalavāḍi for the offerings of the god Dāmōdara of Bannūrugatta.⁵

The various merchants of Māmbaḷḷi (in Yeḷandūr Jāgīr?), in A. D. 1428, agreed to pay 1 *gadyāṇa* for every loom together with certain other fees, effaced in the inscription, for the expense of the god Vaidanātha of Māmbaḷḷi, the bathing place of Hariharanātha, "in order that he (Dēva Rāya) might obtain universal dominion".⁶ The great minister Maṅgappa Daṇṇayaka's son Pratāpa Rāya granted the Virūpākshapura

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, VII, pp. 115-16. Dr. Hultzsch explains the term *pallichchandan* as "land belonging to a Jaina temple", *ibid.*, p. 116, n. (1).

² *E. C.*, IX, Ht. 93, p. 98, n. (1).

³ *E. C.*, X, Kl. 248, p. 69.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Bp. 17, p. 138.

⁵ *E. C.*, IX, An. 86, p. 119.

⁶ *E. C.*, IV, Y1, 69, p. 34.

village in Yelahaṅka-nāḍ with a rental of twenty *honnu*, for the offerings and decorations of the god Sōme-dēva in front of the town in Sakanasamudra (*Sakanasamudrada voḷagaṇa ūr-mundaṇa Sōme-dēvara nayivēdya-aṅga-raṅga bhōḡakke*), "in order that long life, health, and increase of wealth may be to Dēva Rāya Mahārāya, and from love to Paramēśvara."¹ The singular instance of the Prithvī Śeṭṭi of the Chandragutti Eighteen Kampana, Lāyadakere Śirumi Śeṭṭi, who committed suicide in A. D. 1449, on account of Dēva Rāya II "having come to his setting", as given in a previous page, may be recalled in this connection.² We have also had an occasion of citing the evidence of the poet Chandra about the regard in which Dēva Rāya II was held by the people.

Mallikārjuna, who was also known as Immaḍi Praudha Dēva Rāya, was likewise beloved by the people. An inscription dated Śaka 1374 (A. D. 1452—3) informs us that Dēvappagaḷ, son of Annadātā Daṇṇāyaka, granted the village Kaṇakkanpattu *alias* Śedirāyanallūr, to the temple of Tiruppulippagava-Nāyaṇār at Pāttūr in Kaḷattūr-kōṭṭam, in Jayaṅgona-chōḷamaṇḍalam, for the health of the king.³ In a record assigned to about the same year we are told that Haṁparasa, of the Customs, granted as an endowment for the god Annadāni Mallikārjuna of Śrīgiri Kuḍukūr the dues, customs, and mill tax of four villages (named), free of all imposts, "in order that merit might accrue to Mallikārjuna Rāya".⁴ Muḷuvāyi Jannarasa in A. D. 1465 granted a *dharma-śāsana* embodying the gift of the tribute money for sacred ashes (*vibhūti-gāṇike honnu*) and the revenue from forced sales (*kaḍḍāyada-huṭṭuvallī*) levied for the palace from the temples of the Muḷuvāyi kingdom, for the offerings of the god Svayambhūnātha of the Maḍavaḷa-sthāna of Kēsambaḷa in the

¹ E. C., IX, Bn. 127, p. 24.

² E. C., VIII, Sb. 18, p. 4, op. cit. *Supra*, Chapter I.

³ 295 of 1910.

⁴ E. C., IV, Hs. 96, p. 93.

Eḷavañji-nāḍ in the Muḷuvāyi kingdom, "in order that merit might accrue to Mallikārjuna Rāya Mahārāya".¹

The *Gaṇḍaragoḷli* (*Gaṇḍara-gūli*) *Daḷavāyi* Soṇṇappa Nāyaka's son Bairappa Nāyaka granted by means of a *dharma-śāsana* in A. D. 1541 the lands of the Simpāḍipura-sīme in the Haṇabe-sīme, and one pond, to Maleyakānta Dēva of Śiva-gaṅga, in order that *dharma* may be to Narasiṅga Dēva Mahārāya.² In the reign of Virūpāksha Rāya, Muḷuvāyi Hariyappa gave to the Muḷuvāyi city merchant Daṇḍapa's son Yeleya Saṅkapa Śeṭṭi also a *dharma-śāsana*, in A. D. 1468, remitting to him certain specified dues and imposts, also for the same purpose.³ We can only assume that the Narasiṅga Rāya mentioned in the above epigraphs could only have been Sāḷuva Nṛsiṁha, about whose popularity, as we have already stated, even Nuniz was constrained to remark. That Nuniz was accurate in his estimate of that great ruler is proved by an epigraph dated about A. D. 1478. This record states that Varadarāja Dēva gave to Gauḍahaḷli Doḍḍayya Oḍeyar, son of Mudirāja Oḍeyar, a *dharma-śāsana* of a *pura* transferring the village of Chakkalūr with all taxes (specified), in the presence of the god Varadarāja, in order that *dharma* may be to (with titles) Kaṭhāri Sāḷuva Narasiṅga Rāja Oḍeyar.⁴ Āyiammaṇ and Ísarappaṇ made an agreement in Śaka 1408 (A. D. 1486-7) to burn a lamp before the god in the Aruḷāla-Perumāḷa temple at Little Conjeeveram, Chingleput district, for the merit of the king Sāḷuva Narasiṅga.⁵

Sāḷuva Immaḍi Narasiṅga Rāya's popularity is also commemorated in epigraphs. His servant Kasaveya Nāyaka in A. D. 1433 granted the Nandiyakuṇṭe-sīme in Vāṭa for the anointing and festivals of the gods Vāṭa Kēśava and Hanu-

¹ E. C., X, Bp. 18, p. 139.

² E. C., IX, DB. 40, p. 68.

³ E. C., X, Mb. 20, p. 75.

⁴ E. C., IX, Cp. 158, p. 166.

⁵ 667 of 1919.

manta, in order that *dharma* may be to Immaḍi Narasiṅga Rāya Mahārāya.¹ For the same purpose the royal treasurer Dēvappa Nāyaka's son Balanātha, converting Kempa . . . halli into the Narasāmbu . . . *agrahāra*, granted it to Kaya Nañjinātha Dikshita's son Narasimha Dikshita in about A. D. 1495.² The *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Timmaya Dēva Mahā-arasu's son Narasaya Dēva Mahā-arasu gave to Gūliya and the other priests (*sthānikaru*) of the god Bhairava of Śihati a *śāsana*, in A.D. 1495, granting them twenty-eight *gadyāṇa* for the offerings and festivals of the god "in order that merit might accrue to Narasinga Rāya Mahārāya and to our father Chikka Timma Rāja."³ Tipparasa-ayya, house-minister (*maneya-pradhāna*) of Kaṭhāri Sāluva Narasiṅga Rāya, granted Bānūr and Hulikal in Baya-nāḍ for the decorations and illuminations of the god Bāṇēśvara of Magge in Baya-nāḍ, in about A. D. 1498, "in order that Narasinga Rāya Mahārāya might have a secure reign for a thousand years."⁴

It is superfluous to state that Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya's popularity was universal. The epigraphs which we have selected here, convey very meagrely the love and regard which the people of southern India bore him, and which has been handed down to our times. Śrīpati Rāya Timmaya's son Rāyapaṁ Koṇḍamarusu granted in A. D. 1512 the village of Rāyakunṭa, otherwise called Ayōdhyāpura, in the Penugonḍa kingdom, for the worship of the seasons of the god Rāmachandra of Penugonḍa, in order that *dharma* might be to Vīra Kṛishṇa Rāya and merit to Śrīpati Timmapa.⁵ A gift of land was made by the same great general for the same purpose in the same year (Śaka 1434, Āṅgirasa) to the temple of Mallik-ārjuna-dēva at Kambhadūru, Anantapur district.⁶ A private

¹ E. C., X, Gd. 80, p. 229.

² *Ibid.*, Gd. 78, p. 229.

³ E. C., X, Kl. 34, p. 8.

⁴ E. C., IV., Hg. 74, p. 76.

⁵ E. C., XII., Pg. 5, p. 117.

⁶ 96 of 1913.

person built the temple of Vīrabhadra at Kommuru, Kistna district, in honour of the great monarch in A. D. 1516.¹ According to the late Mr. H. Kṛishṇa Śāstri, we have to interpret an inscription dated A. D. 1517-18 in the sense that a grant of land was made to the temple of Chaudēśvari at Chōḷasamudram, Anantapur district, in order that the same ruler might have issue. Here too it was again the same great Brahman-general Koṇḍamarusayya, son of Timmarasu-mantri, who made the gift.² Harihara Nāyaka, son of Mallappa Nāyaka, in Śaka 1441 (A. D. 1519-20) gave as a gift revenue amounting to 33½ *paṇam* to the temple of Tirumala-Uḍaiya-Nāyinaṛ at Dēvasthānam Dēvakkāpuram, North Arcot district, for the merit of the Emperor Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya and Tirumalai Nāyaka.³

In Śaka 1443 (A. D. 1521-2) and with the same object of expressing his patriotic sentiment, Vāśal Timmappa Nāyaka granted the village of Saṅganapaḷḷi in Chandragiri-rājya for offerings to Aiñjand Piḷḷaiyār in the third *prākāra* of the temple of Kālahastīśvara, at Kālahasti.⁴ In the next year (Śaka 1443) Maṅgaraśaṇ, who has been identified with Taraṇikka Maṅgaraśayyaṇ, viceroy of Tiruvaḍi-rājya, granted the village of Chidambaranāthapuram to the temple of Chidambaram for the welfare of the great ruler.⁵ Sāluva Gōvinda Rāja, son of Bāchi Rāja, in A. D. 1522, gave as a gift 477 *gadyāṇa* with an array of imposts for the offerings, decorations and festivals of the god Triyambaka of Terakanāmbi, "in order that our lord Vira-pratāpa Kṛishṇa Rāya Mahārāya may obtain abundance of horses, elephants, armies and wealth, and gain victorious dominion in all quarters".⁶

An equally patriotic chief was Basavayya, who assigned in the same year the rents, customs, and all other rights

¹ Sewell, *Lists*, I, No. 7, p. 83.

² 87 of 1912; *Ep. Report* for 1912, pp. 80-1.

³ 358 of 1912.

⁴ 182 of 1922.

⁵ *Ep. Report* for 1914, p. 99; see also 426 of 1909.

⁶ E. C., IV. Gu. 1, p. 35.

of the village Sōgehaḷḷi in Bayi-nāḍ-sthaḷa, for the decorations of Rāmēśvara-līṅga of Maṭakere, in order that merit might accrue to Kṛishṇa Rāya Mahārāya.¹ In Śaka 1446 (A. D. 1524-5) a grant of the village of Ghaṭanahaḷḷi in the Uchchhaṅgi-vēṇṭhe, was made (by Viśana Rāvutta, son of Murāri Rāvutta ?) to Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa for the merit of the Emperor.² Hanumappa Nāyaka in A. D. 1527 "in order that *dharma* might be to Kṛishṇa Rāya Mahārāya", granted land (specified) as a *koḍage-mānya* to a donee not mentioned in the record.³ An inscription dated A. D. 1528 informs us that Dēvarasayya made a grant of Āludūr village, in Tāyūr-sthaḷa, (to the Brahmans of Ummattūr ?) as a permanent endowment. This epigraph contains the usual phrase that "merit accrue to Kṛishṇa Rāya Mahārāya" and at the same time, "by order of Kṛishṇa Rāya Mahārāya".⁴ Since we know from various sources that that great monarch was too generous and noble to order a petty official to commemorate his sense of patriotism by a grant of land, we may reasonably assume that the phrase "by order of Kṛishṇa Rāya Mahārāya" may have been used in the sense of the donor's having made public the gift in the presence of the officers of the king.

These officers themselves were popular, as records embodying gifts of land in their honour or for their merit, do testify. In a partly effaced inscription dated A. D. 1514, Dēvarāyapaṭṭana Timma Oḍeyar's son Keñcha Sōmaṇa Nāyaka granted Vāniyagere, giving it another name of Sōmasamudra, for the offerings of the god Janārdhana of Bairavapaṭṭana, in order that merit might be to Narasiṃha Nāyaka, who was evi-

¹ E. C., IV, Hg. 78, p. 76.

² 288 of 1918.

³ E. C., X, Mb. 37, p. 78. A record dated only in the month of *Tai*, 10, informs us that a certain Kāmu Nāyaka gave a village as a *dēvadāna* to the temple of Tiruvakkīsuram-Uḍaiya-Nāyiṅār, in the name of the monarch. 100 of 1919. Another record of a similar nature tells us that a gift of land for a lamp to the shrine of Iḷaya-Nāyiṅār was made by Virūpaṇṇa Nāyaka, son of Ellappa Nāyaka, in the name of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya. 102 of 1919.

⁴ E. C., IV. Ch. 15, p. 2.

dently the officer placed over Bairavapaṭṭaṇa.¹ Rāyadurga Tippiarasa's son Bhōgarasa in A. D. 1527 granted the village of Kaḷavekal, otherwise called Tippasamudra, of Mukundasāgara in the Kundāṇi-sīme belonging to the Muḷuvāyi-chāvaḍi, for certain specified offerings and lights of the god Prasanna-Virūpāksha, in order that *dharma* might be to his ruler Tippa-rasa Oḍeyar.²

The people continued to show their love for the great monarch till the last year of his reign. An inscription dated A.D. 1529 in front of the Mallikārjuna temple at Paṅkajarahalli, Chikkanāyakanahalli tāluka, tells us that on the holy occasion of Śivarātri, Chenni Śeṭṭi of Bāṇavāḍi granted in the presence of the god Virūpāksha of Pāmpākshētra, the village of Paṅkajarahalli for the god Mallikārjuna of the village, for the prosperity of the Emperor Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya.³ Chandra Śēkharayya, according to an inscription also dated in the same year (Śaka 1451), gave as a gift the village of Gaṭirājupēṇṭa to Rāchūṭi Virāṇoḍaya of Basava Maṭha, for the merit of the great monarch, Dēmarasayya, and himself.⁴ In an effaced epigraph assigned to the same year, Malapa Nāyaka "granted this *pura*" (Chaudayanahalli in Tiptūr ?) "in the name of his mother Mudaiya", to Virapa Oḍeyar in order that merit might accrue to Kṛishṇa Rāya.⁵

¹ E. C., IX. Cn. 164, p. 167.

² E. C., X, Mb. 97, p. 100, P. II, p. 91. There are certain considerations against this stone inscription dated *Śalivāhana-śaka-varuṣha 1449 neya Sarvajitu-samvatsarada kṛtika-Śu 12 lu*=A. D. 1527, Nov., Tuesday, 5th. Swamikannu, *Ind. Eph.*, V, p. 257. The ruler mentioned in this epigraph is Virūpāksha Dēva Rāya Mahārāya, who is given the usual titles of *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Rāja-paramēśvara*, and *Vira-pratāpa* of the Vijayanagara monarchs. This date falls within the reign of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya the Great (A. D. 1509-29). Virūpāksha (II), son of Dēva Rāya II, by Simhaja Dēvi, ruled from A. D. 1467-78. The only possible explanation of the appearance of Virūpāksha in A. D. 1529 is that he may be a member of the royal family, whose identity is yet to be ascertained, entrusted with the care of government by Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, while the latter was away from the capital. B. A. S.

³ *My Arch. Report* for 1918, p. 52.

⁴ 15 of 1915.

⁵ E. C., XII, Tp. 138, p. 68.

The popularity of Achyuta Rāya, in spite of the adverse evidence given by Nuniz, is proved by epigraphs which contain similar grants for the merit of the monarch. Tavanidhi Tippana Gauḍa rebuilt in A. D. 1529 the Aṅkuravaḷḷi village in the Chandragutti-vēṇṭhe which Harihara Mahārāya had granted for the god Śrīkaṇṭha. This village which had gone to ruin, was rechristened Amṛitapura and given as a gift to the same god "in order that a secure empire might be to the Mahārājādhirāja (with other titles) Achyuta Rāya"¹ The agents of Tiruveṅgaḍa Aṇṇayan, according to an inscription dated only in the cyclic year Vikrita, Tai, 13 (=A. D. 1530, January 9th, Sunday), gave certain house-sites and money as a gift to private individuals (named) in order that merit might accrue to Achyuta Dēva Rāya, for the formation of a *maḍa-vilāgam* and service in the temple of Agastyēśvara at Aviriūr.² Mālapa Nāyaṇdu presented a bell to the temple of Mallikārjuna at Śrīśailam, Kurnool district, and a lace cloth to the goddess Brahmarāmbā, in Śaka 1452 (A. D. 1530-1), for the merit of Achyuta Dēva Rāya and Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya.³ The *Gaṇḍa-ragoḷḷi Daḷavāyi* Soṇṇappa Nāyaka's son Nāgappa Nāyaka granted in A. D. 1531 a *ṣura dharma-śāsana* for the god Chennakēśava of Kāḍanūr transferring the village of Kāḍanūr in the Hulukaḍi-nāḍ, which he had received as an emolument for his Nāyakship, for the service of the god, in order that *dharma* might be to the monarch.⁴ Bhōgaya Dēva Mahārāja, according to an inscription dated Śaka 1453 expired, Khara, (A. D. 1531), granted the *jōḍi* amounting to fifty *ṣoṇ* to the Tālapuriśvara shrine in the Śiva temple at Tiruppanaṅgaḍu, North Arcot district, with the permission of Tirumalaiya Dēva Mahārāya, for the merit of Achyuta Dēva Rāya.⁵ For the same purpose the door-keeper of the monarch (*avara kaṭṭigaya*) Kāmanna Nāyaka granted the Śripatihallī for the offer-

¹ E. C., VIII, Sb. 39, p. 7.

² 6 of 1919; Swamikannu, *Ind. Eph.*, V, p. 262.

³ 23 of 1915.

⁴ E. C., IX, DB. 50, p. 69.

⁵ 253 of 1906.

ings, anointing, worship, illuminations, and all other ceremonies of the god Gaṅgādhara "dwelling in the southern Kāśi."¹ Rāmaabhaṭṭar gave 2000 *paṇam* as a gift in Śaka 1453 (A. D. 1533-4) for the merit of Aḥyuta Rāya Mahārāya and his queen Varadā-dēvi-amman, for offerings made to the god at Kālahasti on the occasion of the halt made by the god at the pavilion in the (Orandūr) garden on the day of *Paṅguṇi-Uttiram*.²

Another record of the same date (Śaka 1455, Vijaya) informs us that Tittārapillai gave the village of Periya-Puliyāyi, surnamed Narasimhapuram, to certain Brahmans, for the merit of the king on the occasion of the consecration of Lakshmī-Narasimha-mūrti.³ Kūlūr Rāma Rāya also expressed his patriotic sentiment in a similar manner by granting the Balūranahalli for the god Chennakēśava of Muḷuvāgil, in A. D. 1533.⁴ A gift of land and taxes accruing from Kumbaṅguḍi and Vēṭṭaṅguḍi for the consecration and daily worship of the image of Naṭarāja was made by Anantālvār, the Agent of king, for the merit of the ruler, in Śaka 1456 (A. D. 1534-5).⁵ In order that *dharma* may be to Achyuta Dēva Rāya, Penuḡṇḍe Aḍyada Vāraṇāsi Sūrappa's son Mādarasa, official under the treasurer Timmappayya, granted the village of Sargūr in the Niṭṭūr-bhaṭavṛitti-sthala in the Chennapaṭṭaṇa kingdom, in A. D. 1534, for the god Maḷalēśvara of Kōḍamballi in the Chennapaṭṭaṇa-sīme.⁶ An inscription dated in the Śaka year 1458 informs us that an individual hailing from the Toṇḍaimaṇḍala gave land as a gift for the offerings of the temple of Raṅganātha Perumāḷ at Tirumērkōṭṭai, Tanjore district, for the merit of the monarch.⁷

¹ E. C., IX, Nl. 83, p. 48.

² 181 of 1922.

³ 238 of 1910.

⁴ E. C., X., Bp. 39, p. 147.

⁵ 330 of 1923.

⁶ E. C., IX, Cp. 53, p. 143.

⁷ 272 of 1917.

Paḷḷikoṇḍa Mudaliyār, son of Narasaṇa Mudaliyār, according to a record dated in the cyclic year Durmukhi (A. D. 1536 ?) had the same motive when he made a gift of land to the same temple of Mēkku-Nāyaṇār at Tirumērkōṭṭai.¹ Achyuta Rāya Mallapaṇṇa in A. D. 1537 made over the village of Nandicheruvu in the Buraḍakuṇṭe-sīme to the god Virēśvara of Lepākshī in the Penugoṇḍa-sīme, in order that merit might be to Achyuta Mahārāya.² Rāmabhaṭṭar-ayyaṇ gave further proof of his service to the State by granting in Śaka 1461 (A. D. 1539-40) as a gift 6,360 *pon* for offerings to the god at Kāḷahasti, Chittoor district, for the merit of the ruler.³ In A. D. 1539 *Bhaṇḍāram* Aparasaya's son Timmarasayya and Koṇḍappayya made a grant of Māragānikuṇṭa, with its hamlets, in the Guyyalūr-sīme attached to Penugoṇḍa, for the offerings of the god Māragānikuṇṭa Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha, in order that merit might be to the monarch.⁴ According to a record the date of which is effaced, Rāṇōji Nāyaka made a gift of the village of Kalahallī, also for the merit of the king.⁵

There are some epigraphs which mention grants for the merit of the officers of the monarch. Tippha Nāyaka's sons Mudureya, Kotte Chemmana and Timmaya, holding the *pārūpatya* of the Buruḍakuṇṭe-sīme, for the merit of their lord Narasiṁha Nāyaka's son Narasapa Nāyaka, built in A. D. 1532 a stone *maṇṭapa* within the temple of Chennakēśavarāya of the . . . pēṭe, in the Ānemaḍagu village, and dedicated it to that god.⁶ Allappa Nāyaka in A. D. 1533 granted all the lands included in Koppa, otherwise called Timmāpura, in the village of Huruḷi of the Ghaṭṭe-sṭhala belonging to the *durga* of

¹ 261 of 1917.

² E.C., X, Bg. 5, p. 231. Bp. 4 dated in the same year tells us that the donor had received the same village as a gift from four persons (named). *Ibid* page.

³ 160 of 1924.

⁴ E. C., X, Bp. 37, p. 237.

⁵ 262 of 1918. This record was found on a slab set up near the Kallēśvarasvāmin temple at Masuvana, Kallahallī.

⁶ E. C., X, Sd. 104, p. 195.

Gutti, for the offerings and perpetual lamp of the god Hanumanta of Huraḷi, in order that much merit may accrue to Hiriya Tirumala Rājayya, the Agent for the affairs of Achyuta Rāya Mahārāya.¹ Kēśava Rāvuta made a grant of lands (specified) for the offerings to the god Virabhadra of Guṇḍēri, in A. D. 1539, "in order that the Agent for his (the Emperor's) affairs, Achyuta Rāya Malliyaṇṇa-ayya might have long life and good fortune". Since it is not improbable that charity may have been forced from the subjects by high officials, the significant phrase "by order of Chandappa Nāyaka" occurring in the inscription may be understood to mean in this case that the donor may not have made the grant out of his free will.²

The same patriotic motives which marked the charitable endowments of the people of the times of Kṛishna Dēva Rāya and Achyuta Rāya continued to manifest themselves under the next sovereign Sadāśiva Rāya. An effaced inscription dated A. D. 1540 informs us that the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara...mariya...mahā-arasu*, in order that merit might be to Sadāśiva Mahārāya, granted the customs on goods by road both ways at Hiriya Mālūr, for the service of the god Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha.³ Veṅkaṭādri Nāyaka, according to an inscription dated only in the cyclic year Śōbhakṛit, Tai, 2 (but assignable to the Śaka year 1463 expired=December, Thursday 29th A.D. 1541), gave the village of Periya-Āśur to the temple of Alagiyaśinga Perumāl at Enṇāyiram, South Arcot district, for the merit of the Emperor.⁴ Mudagaṭṭa Paṇḍitayya, the Agent of Salaha-Rāja Chennaya Dēva Mahā-arasu, in A. D. 1547, granted the village of Rāmāpura of the Bāṇavādi-sthala, for the illuminations and offerings of the god Virabhadra of Bāṇavādi. The object of the donor was the same.⁵ Sūrappa Nāyaka made a

¹ E. C., VIII, Sb. 379, p. 67.

² E. C., XI, Hk. 20, p. 118.

³ E. C., XII, Mi. 66, p. 110.

⁴ 337 of 1917.

⁵ E. C., IX, Ma. 74, p. 60.

gift (evidently of land to the Veṅkaṭaramaṇasvāmi temple at Gingee), in Śaka 1472 (A. D. 1550-1) for the merit of Sadāśiva Rāya.¹ Era Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka granted the village of Baluvaḷi otherwise called Kṛishṇasamudra, for the offerings of the god Chenniga Rāya of Bāgūr, in about A. D. 1552, in order that merit might accrue to Sadāśiva Rāya.² Sugaṭūr Tammappa Gauḍa in A. D. 1566 granted the village Dāsarahaḷli, otherwise called Dēvapura, also for the same purpose.³ The great Āvaṭi-nāḍ *prabhu* Soṇapa Gauḍa-ayya granted the village of Muḍigere in Hosaūr-nāḍ, in A. D. 1565, for the festivals and illuminations of the god Chennakēśava of Muḍigere, "in order that unfading merit might be to Sadāśiva Rāya Mahārāya, to Tirumala Rājayya and to their sons, and that the world of unfading merit might be obtained by his own mother and father". The grant was made in the days of woe that followed the great battle of Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi. It states that it was made "by his (the Emperor's) command, and by order of Tirumala Rāya."⁴ Since it is doubtful whether Sadāśiva Rāya would have commanded one of his great nobles to issue a grant, when questions of the greatest importance were facing him, and since it is impossible to believe that both the monarch and Tirumala Rājayya would have simultaneously ordered a chief to make a grant, we are to assume that the great Āvaṭi-nāḍ *prabhu* was merely giving vent to the conventional mode of expressing his gratitude to the ruler and the powerful Tirumala Rājayya, when he said that it was at their instance that he assigned the village of Muḍigere for the local temple.

The most prominent figure in the reign of Sadāśiva Rāya is, of course, that of Rāma Rāya. We have already cited evidence to prove that the people characterized the times as *dharma-da-pāruṣatya* of Aḷiya Rāma Rāya. In about A. D. 1540, Viraṇṇa Oḍeyar granted Maha . . . pura village for the

¹ 240 of 1904. The details of the gift are not enumerated here.

² E. C., XI, Hk. 114, p. 132.

³ E. C., IX, Ht. 3, p. 88.

⁴ E. C., X, Gd. 52, p. 223.

god Sōmēśvara, in order that merit might accrue to Rāma Rāya.¹ Gumma-daṇṇa-ayya in A. D. 1547 made a grant from the lands attached to his office of *amara-nāyaka*, for the perpetual lamp of the god Amṛitēśvara, in order that merit might accrue to Tirupati Rāma Rāja-ayya,² who could have been no other than the famous Regent. According to a record dated Śaka 1472 (A. D. 1550-1) Viśvanātha Nāyaka, Agent for the affairs of Rāma Rāya, made a gift of a *dēvadāna* hold (*paṭṭayam*) of land in Deśi, Śevval, and other places, in lieu of an annual income of paddy, to the temple of Ādityavanmīchchuvaramuḍaiya-Nāyiṇār, at Śevval *alias* Virakēraṇallūr, for the merit of the Regent.³ Mūrti Nāyaka, Agent of Rāmappa Nāyaka and of Kadaikūṭṭu Śevagapperumāl, according to an epigraph dated only in the cyclic year Sādāharaṇa, Āvaṇi, Kollam 726 (A. D. 1550, August), gave land as a gift for conducting offerings and worship during the festivals in the months of Śittarai and Āvaṇi in the temple of Ādityavanmīchchuvaramuḍaiya-Nāyiṇār at Śevval in Muḷli-nāḍ, on behalf of the king.⁴ An inscription dated Śaka 1482 (A. D. 1560-1) informs us that Viśvanātha Nāyaka, son of Nāgama Nāyaka, made a gift of taxes on looms to Tālapuriśvara temple at Panamalai, South Arcot district, for the merit of Aḷiya Rāma Rājaya, son of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Śrīraṅga Rājayya Dēva.⁵

Some popular officials of this period deserve notice. The Pēṭe Rāma Nāyaka's son Varada Nāyaka granted, by means of a *dharma-śasana* in A. D. 1542, the village of Mukkaṇi of the Tēkal fort for the god Allāṇātha of Māsiti, in order that *dharma* might be to Tirumala Rāya Oḍeyar. The ruler who is mentioned here is evidently Veṅkaṭapati Dēva Rāya who

¹ E. C., X, Mb. 231, p. 126.

² E. C., VI, Tk. 41, p. 109.

³ 599 of 1916.

⁴ 598 of 1916; Swamikannu, *Ind. Eph.*, V, p. 303.

⁵ 622 of 1915. Viśvanātha was the Agent of Rāma Rāya. 385 of 1916, *op. cit.* On his death, read Satyanatha, *Nayaks*, p. 66.

ruled for a brief period of one year.¹ Rāchūr Narasimhaya granted the village of Allāḷasundra in the Śivanasamudra-sime, for the offerings of the god Allālanātha of Jakkūr, in A. D. 1544, in order that merit might accrue to his master, the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, the Marāṭa Viṭṭhlēśvara Dēva Mahā-arasu.² Loḍava Nāyaka, son of Bole Nāyaka, and Keñchapa Nāyaka, son of Lakhapa Nāyaka, in A. D. 1560, made a grant of a village (not specified in the record) in the Bēlūr-sime, for the service of the god Tirumala of Kahu, in order that merit might accrue to Virūpa Rāja Oḍeyar.³

In about A. D. 1552 Narasappaya, Agent for the affairs of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Timma Rājayya, granted the Channiganapura village in Amachavāḍi-sthaḷa, for the decorations and services of the god Aṇilēśvara, in order that merit might accrue to Kṛishṇappayya.⁴ It cannot be determined whether this Kṛishṇappayya is to be identified with his namesake mentioned in the following inscriptions. The *Mahānūyakāchārya* Koṇḍana Nāyaka's son Tirumala Nāyaka granted land under the Kāmasamudra tank in A. D. 1558 for the god Virabhadra, in order that merit might accrue to Baiyapa Nāyaka's son Kṛishṇapa Nāyaka.⁵ An inscription dated Śaka 1483 (A. D. 1561-2) records the gift of the tax *talaiyūrikkam* in Kūgaiyur-pēṭṭai, South Arcot district, for special worship on Fridays in the shrines of Periyammai in the temple of Ponparappi-Nayinār and Oppilāda Ammai in the temple of Pañchākshara-Nāyanār at Kūgaiyūr by an Agent of Śūrappa Nāyakkar Ayyaṇ, for the merit of *adigāram* Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka.⁶ Kāmarasa Oḍeyar, Agent for the affairs of Kṛishṇappa Nāyakayya, granted to the priests (*sthānikarige*) of Sidē-dēva of Naṇḍi a *bhāshū-patra*, in

¹ E. C., X, Mr. 62, p. 169; Rice, *Mysore & Coorg*, p. 118.

² E. C., IX, Bn. 30, p. 9.

³ E. C., IV, Nj. 31, p. 120.

⁴ *Ibid*, Ch. 123, p. 17.

⁵ E. C., XI, Cl. 47, p. 103.

⁶ 106 of 1918.

about A. D. 1565, granting to the god fifteen *gadyūṇa*, which the *gaṇāchāris* had given for Sidē-dēva, in order that merit might accrue to Kṛishnappa Nāyakayya. The epigraph further adds that "with these fifteen *gadyūṇa* an offering will be made once a day, pronouncing the name of Kṛishnappa Nāyakayya."¹

The dearth of inscriptions dealing with '*dharma* that might accrue to the king' in the ages following the reign of Rāma Rāya indicates in some measure the growing degeneracy that was dawning on the minds of the people of the Vijayanagara Empire. But perhaps future research may throw some light on this phase of the character of the people.

CHAPTER VII

HABITATION, DRESS AND FOOD

SECTION I Houses

FROM the accounts of foreign travellers we can gather some information about the food, dress and houses of the people and princes of Vijayanagara. Paes relates the following about the general situation of the royal palace: "This palace of the king is surrounded by a very strong wall like some of the others, and encloses a greater space (*teraa moor cerca*) than all the castle of Lisbon."² The same chronicler gives a detailed description of the royal palace. "The palace is on this fashion: it has a gate opening on to the open space of which I have spoken, and over this gate is a tower of some height,

¹ E. C., VI. Tk. 33, p. 109. For later notices of public service, see Taylor, O. H. MSS., II, pp. 33, 169, 213-14. For some epigraphs which cannot be dated for want of sufficient details, see 257 of 1922 which mentions the gift of the village Mapaiyaṇ-taṅgal by Vayara Nāyaṇār, the headman of Vēja-śarukali for worship to the god Vaśikaram-Uḍaiya-Tambirāṇār of Vayalaikkāvūr, for the merit of Nellama-bommi Nāyaka of Vēlūr. This falls in the reign of Sadāśiva Rāya. 489 of 1906 dated only in the cyclic year Ananda, mentions the gift of two gardens to the temple of Chammarāya at Nāgadhari by Kṛishnappa Timmarāju Nāgarāju Venkaṭa Rāju Koṇḍarāju of Āravīṭi for the merit of Raṅgapati Rāju.

² Sewell, *For Emp.*, p. 254.

made like the others with its verandahs; outside these gates begins the wall which I said encircled the palace. At the gate are many doorkeepers with leather scourges in their hands, and sticks, and they let no one enter but the captains and chief people, and those about whom they receive orders from the Chief of the Guard. Passing this gate you have an open space, and then you have another gate like the first, also with its doorkeepers and guards; and as soon as you enter inside this you have a large open space, and on one side and the other are low verandahs where are seated the captains and chief people in order to witness the feasts, and on the left side of the north of this open space is a great one-storeyed building (*terrea*); all the rest are like it. This building stands on pillars shaped like elephants and with other figures, and all open in front, and they go up to it by staircases of stone; around it, underneath, is a terrace (*corredor*) paved with very good flagstones, where stand some of the people looking at the feast."¹

The same Portuguese chronicler tells us why they were allowed to see the interior of the palace. "The king (Kṛishna Dēva Rāya), then, being in his new city, as I have said, Christovão de Figueiredo begged him of his kindness that he would permit him to be shown the palace of the city of Bisnaga, forasmuch as there had come with him many Portuguese who had never been in Bisnaga, and they would rejoice to see it, in order to have somewhat to tell of on their return to their own lands, whenever God should take them there. The king at once commanded that they should be shown certain of his residences, for that of his wives no one ever sees. As soon as we had returned to the city of Bisnaga, the governor of that place, who is called Gamdarajo, and is brother of Salvatinica,² showed us the palace.

"You must know that on entering that gate of which I have spoken, by which the ladies serving the king's wives make

¹ Sewell, *For Emp.*, p. 263.

² The "Guandaja" of Nuniz, Sewell, *ibid.*, pp. 284, n. (1) 361. I believe this name stands for Sāḷuva Gōvinda Rāja, who has already figured in these pages. B. A. S.

their exit when they come to the feast, opposite to it there is another of the same kind. Here they bade us stand still, and they counted us how many we were, and as they counted they admitted us one by one to a small courtyard with a smoothly plastered floor, and with very white walls around it. At the end of this courtyard, opposite this gate by which we entered, is another close to it on the left hand, and another which was closed; the door opposite belongs to the king's residence. At the entrance of this door outside are two images painted like life and drawn in their manner, which are these; the one on the right hand is of the father of this king, and the one on the left is of this king. The father was dark and a gentleman of fine form, stouter than the son is; they stand with all their apparel and such raiment as they wear or used to wear when alive. Afterwards, wishing to pass in at this door, they again counted us, and after they had finished counting us we entered a little house which contained what I shall now relate.

"As soon as you are inside, on the left hand, are two chambers one above the other, which are in this manner: the lower one is below the level of the ground, with two little steps which are covered with copper gilded, and from there to the top is all lined with gold (I do not say 'gilded' but 'lined' inside), and outside it is dome-shaped. It has a four-sided porch made of cane-work over which is a work of rubies and diamonds and all other kinds of precious stones, and pearls, and above the porch are two pendants of gold; all the precious stone-work is in heart-shapes, and, interweaved between one and another, is a twist of thick seed-pearl work; on the dome are pendants of the same. In this chamber was a bed which had feet similar to the porch, the cross-bars covered with gold, and there was on it a mattress of black satin; it had all round it a railing of pearls a span wide; on it were two cushions and no other covering. Of the chamber above it I shall not say if it held anything because I did not see it, but only the one below on the right side. In this house there is a room with pillars of carved stone; this room is all of ivory, as well the chamber as the walls, from top to bottom, and the pillars of

the cross-timbers at the top had roses and flowers of lotuses all of ivory, and all well executed, so that there could not be better,—it is so rich and beautiful that you would hardly find anywhere another such. On this same side is designed in painting all the ways of life of the men who have been here even down to the Portuguese, from which the king's wives can understand the manner in which each one lives in his own country, even to the blind and the beggars. In this house are two thrones covered with gold, and a cot of silver with its curtains.”¹

Then they passed on to a courtyard which will be described in the following pages of this treatise. “Then at the entrance of this building in the middle nave, there is, standing on four pillars, a canopy covered with many figures of dancing-women, besides other small figures which are placed in the stone-work. All this is also gilded, and has some red colour on the under-sides of the leaves which stand out from the sculpture”.²

“Descending from this building, we passed on the left side of the courtyard, and we entered a corridor which runs the whole length of it, in which we saw some things. On entering the corridor was a cot suspended in the air by silver chains; the cot had feet made of bars of gold, so well made that they could not be better, and the cross-bars of the cot were covered with gold. In front of this cot was a chamber where was another cot suspended in the air by chains of gold; this cot had feet of gold with much setting of precious stones, and the cross-bars were covered with gold. Above this chamber was another, smaller, and with nothing in it save only that it was gilt and painted. Passing this chamber, along the same corridor in front was a chamber which this king commanded to be made; on the outside were figures of women with bows and arrows like amazons. They had begun to paint this chamber, and they told us that it had to be finer than the others, and that it was to be all plated with gold, as well the ground below

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 284-6.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 286-7.

as all the rest. Passing this corridor and mounting up into another which is higher, we saw at one end three caldrons of gold, so large that in each one they could cook half a cow, and with them were others, very large ones, of silver, and also little pots of gold and some large ones. Thence we went up by a little staircase, and entered by a little door into a building which is in this manner".¹ This was the royal dancing hall which will be described at length in the chapter on games and amusements. The concluding lines of Paes are significant: "They did not show us more than this (dancing hall). The residence of the women no one may see except the eunuchs, of whom I have already told you. From here we returned by the way we had entered to the second gate, and there they again counted us."²

Pietro della Valle in A. D. 1623, gives us a picture of the provincial palace at Ikkēri. "In this manner we rode to the Palace, which stands in a Fort, or Citadel, of good largeness, incompass'd with a great Ditch and certain ill built bastions. At the entrance we found two very strong, but narrow, Bulwarks. Within the Citadel are many Houses, and I believe there are shops also in several streets; for we pass'd through two Gates, at both of which stood Guards, and all the distance between them was an inhabited street. We went through these two Gates on Horse-back, which, I believe, was a privilege, for few did so besides our selves, namely such onely as entred where the King was; the rest either remaining on Horse-back at the first Gate, or alighting at the Entrance of the second. A third Gate also we enter'd, but on Foot, and came into a kind of Court, about which were sitting in Porches many prime Courtiers and other persons of quality. Then we came to a fourth Gate, guarded with Souldiers, into which onely we *Franchi*, or Christians, and some few others of the Country, were suffer'd to enter; and we presently found the King (Veñkaṭappa Nāyaka), who was seated in a kind of Porch on

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.* pp. 287-8.

² *Ibid.*, p. 289.

the opposite side of a small Court, upon a Pavement somewhat rais'd from the Earth, cover'd with a Canopy like a square Tent, but made of boards, and gilded. The Floor was cover'd with a piece of Tapistry something old, and the King sat, after the manner of the East, upon a little Quilt on the out-side of the Tent, leaning upon one of the pillars which up-held it on the right hand, having at his back two great Cushions of fine white Silk. Before him lay his Sword, adorn'd with Silver, and a little on one side, almost in the middle of the Tent, was a small, eight-corner'd, Stand, painted and gilded, either to write upon, or else to hold some thing or other of his. On the right hand and behind the King, stood divers Courtiers, one of whom continually wav'd a piece of fine white linnen, as if to drive away the flies from the King. Besides the King there was but one person sitting, and he the principal Favourite of the Court, call'd *Putapaaia*, and he sat at a good distance from him, on the right hand, near the wall."¹

As regards the houses of the nobles there are but meagre notices in the foreign accounts. In the course of his description of the manner in which the king of Vijayanagara started on his campaigns, Barbosa makes, as we saw in an earlier connection "a ridiculous statement" to the following effect: "When the time is fulfilled he issues a proclamation (ordering that the whole city shall be at once set on fire, saving the palaces, fortresses and temples, and those of certain lords which are not thatched...)"² But we may reject this last assertion on the strength of his own evidence and that of Paes. Barbosa in another passage says: "In the city as well there are palaces after the same fashion (i.e., "with many enclosed courts and great houses very well built", and with "wide open spaces, with water tanks in great numbers, in which there is reared abundance of fish"), wherein dwell the great Lords and

¹ Pietro della Valle, *Travels*, II, pp. 250-2.

² *Barbosa*, Dames, I, p. 225; Stanley, p. 97. Dames explains why this is "a ridiculous statement", *ibid.*, n. (1)., The nobles had elaborate houses in Gingee. Heras, *I. A.*, LIV, p. 43. See *supra* Volume I, p. 144.

Governours thereof.”¹ Paes writes about the “houses of captains and other rich and honourable men,” with many “figures and decorations pleasing to look at.”²

The houses of the ordinary people seem to have been of course modest in their appearance. The few details we have about them in the inscriptions are supplemented by the remarks of foreign travellers. Hindu tradition has always associated a house with a garden around it.³ In southern India there is good reason to believe that people lived in early times in houses built of bricks and burnt tiles.⁴ From an inscription dated A. D. 1372 we can make out that houses in Karṇāṭaka,—and we may as well presume, also in the Tamil land,—were built according to standard rules. The record narrates, as we have already seen, the activities of the Pañchāḷas, and speaks of the “Five foundations, . . . domes, pinnacles, crests and the sixteen signs of the original house, the signs of the sacrificial hall, the sign of the pit for consecrated fire, the sign of slopes, etc., according to standard rules, for these and all other signs.”⁵

That the people were not unacquainted with house-sites is evident from two records dated Śaka 1343 (A. D. 1421-2) and Śaka 1348, Parābhava (A. D. 1426-7) respectively. The former which belongs to the reign of Vīra Bhūpati Oḍḍayar, informs us that a gift of a house-site was made to a private individual.⁶ The latter contains the information that in the reign of Kumāra Dēva Rāya (II), eight house-sites in Jayaṅgaṇḍa-chōḷamaṇḍalam, being declared lost to the *stlānallār* of Māḍaṇ-pākkam, and that fresh sites were given to them in the street of the Kaikkōḷar of the same town.⁷

We can only assume that the size of the houses in Vijayanagara must have remained much the same as it was in

¹ *Barbosa*, Dames, I, p. 202 ; Stanley, p. 85.

² *Sewell*, *For. Emp.*, p. 254.

³ Bāṇa, *Harshacharita*, p. 67. For some notices of houses in the Buddhist times, see Acharya, *Dicty. of Hind. Arch.*, p. 11.

⁴ *S. I. I.*, II, P. III, p. 360.

⁵ *E. C.*, IV, Gu. 34, p. 42, op. cit.

⁶ 653 of 1902.

⁷ 319 of 1911.

the thirteenth century. In about A. D. 1297, the Brahmans (of Bogguvaḷḷi in Tarikere tāluka ?) made a settlement as to the size of the houses in the first and second rows, and of the gardens. It ran thus: *mahājanaṅgaḷu māḍida grāma samaya manē-prathama-nivēśanakke hannondu kayi dvitīya-nivēśanakke hatu kayi tōṇṭa-vṛittige kamba eṇṭu kalani-vṛittige henneraḍu-kayya agala nālvattu kayya agala ī-mariyādeyalu māḍida dhruva*¹.

A record dated A. D. 1328 contains some additional details as regards the size of the houses. We are told in this inscription that there were some houses which measured six cubits in width and twenty cubits in length, others which were twelve cubits wide and twenty cubits long, and others still twelve cubits wide and thirty cubits long.²

A copper-plate grant dated A. D. 1336, of doubtful authenticity, ascribed to the times of Bukka Rāya, gives us some idea of the cost of building a house. On the reverse of this grant we are told that Rāmaṇa Gauḍa, who along with five others had received certain villages from the king as a gift, borrowed 300 *nāṇanka varāha* from Rāma Reḍḍi for the construction of houses in the newly acquired plot.³ From a record dated A. D. 1393 we learn that houses had upper storeys (*māḷige*)⁴. They may have had their houses whitewashed in the manner Sāḷuva Gōparasa-ayyaṇ did the spires he had caused to be built for the temple of the god Raghunāyaka of Yajña-vāṭika in Koṇḍaviḍu in Śaka 1442 (A. D. 1520-1)⁵.

The remarks of foreign travellers on the habitation of the people are more numerous than those given in the inscriptions. We have had an occasion of citing the testimony of 'Abdur Razzāq who speaks highly of the houses of Bidrūr, which were

¹ E. C., VI., Tk. 89, p. 123, text, p. 476.

² E. C., IV, Yl. 39, p. 31, op. cit.

³ S. R. Aiyangar, *Cat. of C. P., in the Mad. Mus.*, No. 1, p. 42. The Śaka year given is 1001! The plate evidently cannot be relied upon for historical purposes.

⁴ E. C., X, Kl. 150, p. 53.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.* VI, p. 232. For house-building ceremony, see *Grihya Sūtras* (Śāṅkhāyana), Part I, 3 Adhyaya, Kaṇḍa 2, p. 92 seq.

like palaces.’¹ According to Barbosa, “The other houses of the people are thatched, ‘but none the less are very well built and arranged according to occupations, in long streets with many open spaces.’”² Paes as usual has some interesting observations to make on this subject. While describing the first range of fortifications, he says “. . . and inside very beautiful rows of buildings made after their manner with flat roofs.”³ Then, again, while dealing with Nāgalāpura: “In this city the king made a temple with many images. It is a thing very well made, and it has some wells very well made after their fashion; its houses are not built with stories like ours, but are of only one floor, with flat roofs and towers, different from ours, for theirs go from storey to storey. They have pillars, and are all open, with verandahs inside and out, where they can easily put people if they desire, so that they seem like houses belonging to a king. These palaces have an enclosing wall which surrounds them all, and inside are many rows of houses.”⁴ Further, we have the following by the same chronicler: “. . . and (we) entered some beautiful houses made in the way I have already told you—for their houses are single-storeyed houses with flat roofs on top, although on top there may be other houses; the plan is good, and they are like terraces.”⁵ Finally, while describing the population of the capital, he says: “Of the city of Bisnaga they say that there are more than a hundred thousand dwelling-houses in it, all one-storeyed and flat-roofed, to each of which there is a low surrounding wall. . . .”⁶

Caesar Frederick in A.D. 1567 remarked thus: “The houses stand walled with the earth, and plaine, all saving the three Palaces of the three tyrant Brethren, and the Pagodes which are Idoll houses: these are made with Lime and fine Marble.”⁷

¹ Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, p. 104 *Supra*, Volume I., pp. 74—5.

² *Barbosa*, Dames, I, p. 202; Stanley, p. 85; Sewell, *For. Emp.* p. 129.

³ Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 244.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 286.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 290.

⁷ Caesar Frederick, *Purchas, Pilgrims*, X, p. 97.

Linschoten in A. D. 1583, while describing the "Canariins and Corumbiins", says : "They dwell in little straw Houses, the doores whereof are so low, that men must creepe in and out, their household stuffe is a Mat upon the ground to sleepe upon, and a Pit or hole in the ground to beat their Rice in, with a Pot or two to seeth it in, and so they live and gaine so much, as it is a wonder."¹

Pietro della Valle noticed in A. D. 1623 a universal custom which escaped the attention of the previous travellers. "When we arriv'd at this Town (which he calls *Tumbrē*) we found the pavements of the Cottages were varnish'd over with Cow-dung mix'd with water; a custom of the Gentiles in the places where they are wont to eat, as I have formerly observ'd. I took it for a superstitious Rite of Religion; but I since better understand that it is us'd only for elegancy and ornament, because not using, or not knowing how to make, such strong and lasting pavements like ours, theirs, being made sleightly of Earth and so easily spoyl'd, therefore when they are minded to have them plain, smooth and firm, they smear the same over with Cow-dung temper'd with water, in case it be not liquid (for if it be there needs no water), and plaining it either with their hands, or some other instrument, and so make it smooth, bright, strong and of a fine green colour, the Cows whose dung they use never eating anything but Grass; and it hath one convenience, that this polishing is presently made, is soon dry and endures walking, or anything else, to be done upon it; and the Houses wherein we lodg'd we found were preparing thus at our coming, and presently dry enough for our use. Indeed this is a pretty Curiosity, and I intend to cause tryal to be made of it in *Italy*, and the rather because they say for certain that the Houses whose pavements are thus stercorated, are good against the Plague, which is no despicable advantage. Onely it hath this evil, that its handsomeness and politeness lasteth not, but requires frequent renovation, and he that would have it handsome must renew it every eight, or ten days; yet, being a thing easie to be done and of so little

¹ Linschoten, *Purchas, Pilgrims X.*, p. 262.

charge, it matters not for a little trouble which every poor person knows how to dispatch. The *Portugals* use it in their Houses at Goa and other places of *India*; and in brief, 'tis certain that it is no superstitious custom, but onely for neatness and ornament; and therefore 'tis no wonder that the *Gentiles* use it often and perhaps every day, in places where they eat, which above all the rest are to be very neat".¹

The above rather lengthy digression into the use of cow-dung is not altogether valueless, since it is a feature of the Hindu houses which deserves special mention because of its universality. Pietro della Valle has some more remarks to make on the houses inside the palace at Ikkēri. "Some say there are others within, belonging to the Citadel, or Fort, where the Palace is; for *Ikkeri* is of good largeness, but the Houses stand thinly and are ill built, especially without the third inclosure; and most of the situation is taken by great and long streets, some of them shadow'd with high and very goodly trees growing in Lakes of Water . . ."²

SECTION 2. *Dress and Ornaments*

Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya remarks thus about dress and ornaments: "Take a gem that is flawless and wear it always. On all the days of the week a king should wear the dress and ornaments made of gems befitting his own greatness and the occasions."³ 'Abdur Razzāq describes the dress of the monarch when he sat in the audience-hall ready to receive foreign ambassadors. "The king (Dēva Rāya II) was seated in great state in the forty-pillared hall, and a great crowd of Brahmans and others stood on the right and left of him. He was clothed in a robe of *zaitūn* (olive coloured?)⁴ satin, and he had round his neck a collar composed of pure pearls of

¹ Pietro della Valle, *Travels* II, pp. 230-1.

² *Ibid.*, p. 245. For some assumptions as regards houses in Vijayanagara, see Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, p. 111; for remarks on rural habitation in southern India, see Hayavadana Rao, *Q. J. M. S.* XIV, p. 318 *seq.*

³ *Amuktamālyakā*, v, 283, *J. I. H.*, IV, P. III, p. 76.

⁴ Elliot, *Hist of India*, IV, p. 113, n. (2).

regal excellence, the value of which a jeweller would find it difficult to calculate.”¹ Evidently the maxim of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya had already found favour with his predecessors.

Foreign travellers were interested also in the garments worn by the monarch. Varthema says : “ The king wears a cap of gold brocade two spans long, and when he goes to war he wears a quilted dress of cotton, and over it he puts another garment full of golden piastres, and having all around it jewels of various kinds.”² Paes gives many details about the personality of the great ruler Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya,³ and also about the dress he wore when he received foreign ambassadors. “ The king was clothed in certain white cloths embroidered with many roses in gold, and with a *pateca* of diamonds on his neck of very great value, and on his head he had a cap of brocade in fashion like a Galician helmet, covered with a piece of fine stuff all of fine silk, and he was barefooted . . .”⁴

There was one new feature, therefore, in the dress of the monarch which did not exist in the days of Deva Raya II, and this was the high cap worn “ like a Galician helmet ”. Paes in his description of the twenty women-porters already cited elsewhere, tells us that they also wore high caps called ‘*collaes*’ (*kullāyi*), “ and on these caps they wear flowers made of large pearls ”.⁵ Nuniz confirms him in this detail of the high caps worn by the kings. “ The King never puts on any garment more than once, and when he takes it off he at once delivers it to certain officers who have charge of this duty, and they render an account ; and these garments are never given to any one. This is considered to show great state. His cloths are silk cloths (*pachois*) of very fine material and worked with gold, which are worth each one ten *pardaos* ; and they wear at times *bajuris* of the same sort, which are like shirts with a skirt ; and

¹ Elliot, *Hist. of Ind.*, IV. p. 113 ; Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 92.

² Varthema, Jones, p. 129 ; Temple, p. 53 ; Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 118.

³ Sewell, *ibid.*, pp. 246-7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 251-2. Cf. the description of Harshavardhana given by Bāṇa, *Harshacharita*, p. 61.

⁵ Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 273 and n. (1).

on the head they wear caps of brocade which they call *culaes*, and one of these is worth some twenty cruzados. When he lifts it from his head he never again puts it on."¹ Duarte Barbosa and Caesar Frederick, as we shall presently narrate, also speak of these high caps which, according to them, were worn by the common people. From the statues of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya the Great and of the Nāyakas of Madura found in the temples of the south, it is evident that these high caps were the rule of the day from Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya's times.²

The origin of these caps is given by Barros. While describing an action under the command of Don Menezes, Barros relates that that leader ordered twenty men of his troops to jump into the water and to swim, while he himself at the head of a piece of artillery charged like a furious lion. Don Menezes then called the Moors to retire, whereupon they retired, and charging upon those who were standing with their artillery, he captured it. At this time, "he discerned a great troop of people that was coming towards where he stood, among whom he saw a hat of high peak which covered the head of a horseman and thereby he knew him to be a noble person. This kind of costume comes to India from the China country and as only noblemen can wear it,—as it is a sign of nobility we may call it *quirá sol*, the form and use of which it resembles—usually it is six to eight palms in diameter; its stalk (or peak) is little more than fifteen. There are men so skilful in holding it that although the master goes at a gallop on his horse, the sun does not touch him in any part of the body and these they call in India *buiyes*;³ and to see in the court of the prince the lord who accompanied him covered with those hats with high peaks gives them great majesty, because they are handsome to the sight and of much dignity".⁴

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 383.

² For an account of the statues in the Pudumantapam, read Heras, *Q. J. M. S.* XV, p. 211; *Aravida*, p. 303; Gangolly, *South Indian Bronzes* Pl. LXXXIV, p. 60; Venkaṭēśvara-Viśvanātha, *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 124.

³ The *Bōyees*.

⁴ Barros, *Este genero de sombrero es traje venido a la India de la Region Chino*, *Libro Nonodela*, p. 98 (1628 ed.).

There are a few notices of the dress of the nobles of some parts of the Empire. Varthema in the characteristic manner of foreigners ignorant of the climatic conditions and habits of the people, writes thus about the ruler of Honnāvūru : " Travel-ling thence for two days, we went to another place called Onor, the king of which is a pagan, and is subject to the King of Narsinga. This King is a good fellow, and has seven or eight ships, which are always cruising about. He is a great friend of the king of Portugal. As to his dress, he goes quite naked, with the exception of a cloth about his middle."¹ Barbosa speaks of the "rich litters borne by their servants, with many led horses and mounted men", in connection with the nobles summoned to the royal presence on a charge of misdemeanour.²

Nicholas Pimenta observed the following about the Nāyaka of Gingee in A. D. 1599 : " We found him lying on a silken Carpet leaning on two Cushions, in a long silken Garment, a great Chaine hanging from his necke, distinguished with many Pearles and Gemmes, all over his brest, his long haire tyed with a knot on the crowne, adorned with Pearles ; some Princes and Brachmanes attended him."³

Pietro della Valle thus describes the appearance of Sadāśiva Nāyaka, the nephew of Veṅkaṭapa Nāyaka. "I saw passing along the street a Nephew of *Venkatapā Naika*, his Sister's son, a handsome youth and fair for that Country ; he was one of those who aspire to the succession of this State, and was now returning from the fields without the Town, whither he uses to go every morning. He is called *Sedāsiva Naika*, and was attended with a great number of Souldiers, both Horse and Foot, marching before him and behind, with many Cavaliers and Cap-tains of quality, himself riding alone with great gravity. He had before him Drums, Cornets and every sort of their barbarous

¹ *Varthema*, Jones, pp. 121-2; Temple, pp. 49-50.

² *Barboṣa*, Dames; L, p. 209; Stanley, p. 89; Sewell, *For. Emp.* p. 130.

³ Pimenta, *Purchas, Pilgrims*, X., p. 208. Cf. Bāṇa, *Harshacharita*, p. 121.

instruments. Moreover both in the Front and in the rear of the Cavalcade were (I know not whether for magnificence, or for guard) several Elephants carrying their guides upon their backs, and amongst them was also his *Palanchino* ".¹

The same traveller describes the dress of the great personages who accompanied the Bednur ambassador. "*Vitulā Sinay* and some other personages, who came with them to accompany the Ambassador, were all cloth'd with white garments of very fine Silk, and other rich Silken surcoats upon the same, to honour the solemnity; and upon these they had such colour'd clothes as in *Persia* they call *Scial* (Shāl, Shawl), and use for girdles, but the Indians wear them across the shoulders, cover'd with a piece of very fine white Silk, so that the colour underneath appears; or else white Silk alone.

"As soon as we came out of doors *Musē Bai* presented to the Ambassador one of the colour'd Skarfs inclos'd in white Silk to wear about his Neck; and the Ambassador gave him a piece of, I know not what, Cloth, and in the meantime a public Dancing-Woman, whom they had hir'd, danc'd in the presence of us all."²

The statues of the Nāyakas at Tanjore referred to above, disclose the upper garments worn by the nobles extending from the waist to the ankles, a rich belt, beautiful garlands obviously of golden flowers interlaced with precious stones, and the poniard worn sometimes on the right and sometimes on the left side.³

We now have to ascertain the dress of the common people. 'Abdur Razzāq tells us the following: "All the inhabitants of the country, whether high or low, even down to the artificers of the bazar, wear jewels and gilt ornaments in their ears and around their necks, arms, wrists and fingers."⁴

¹ Pietro della Valle, *Travels*, II., pp. 262-3.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 248-9.

³ Heras, *Q. J. M. S.*, XV., pp. 209-10. Cf. The dress of the chieftans given by Bāṇa, *Harshacharita*, pp. 202-3.

⁴ Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV., p. 109; *Major India*, p. 26.

In a general description of the dress of the people, applicable, on the whole, to the inhabitants of the south as well as the north, Nicolo dei Conti says: "They have no beards, but very long hair. Some tie their hair at the back of their head with a silken cord, and let it flow over their shoulders, and in this way go to war. They have barbers like ourselves. The men resemble Europeans in stature and the duration of their lives. They sleep upon silken mattresses, on beds ornamented with gold. The style of dress is different in different regions. Wool is very little used. There is great abundance of flax and silk, and of these they make their garments. Almost all, both men and women, wear a linen cloth bound round the body, so as to cover the front of the person, and descending as low as the knees, and over this a garment of linen or silk, which, with the men, descends to just below the knees, and with the women to the ankles. They cannot wear more clothing on account of the great heat, and for the same reason they only wear sandals, with purple and golden ties, as we see in ancient statues. In some places the women have shoes made of thin leather, ornamented with gold and silk. By way of ornament they wear rings of gold on their arms and on their hands; also around their necks and legs, of the weight of three pounds, and studded with gems . . . The manner of adorning the head is various, but for the most part the head is covered with a cloth embroidered with gold, the hair being bound up with a silken cord. In some places they twist up the hair upon the top of their head, like a pyramid, sticking a golden bodkin in the centre, from which golden threads, with pieces of cloth of various colours interwoven with gold, hang suspended over the hair. Some wear false hair, of a black colour, for that is the colour that is held in highest estimation. Some cover the head with the leaves of trees painted, but none paint their faces, with the exception of those who dwell near Cathay."¹

Such of the features as are applicable to the inhabitants of the south, given in the above passage, may be compared with

¹ *Major India*, pp. 22-3.

those given by the eye-witnesses in the Vijayanagara Empire, who speak of the various parts of the country. Varthema in A. D. 1502 summarily describes the people of Maṅgaḷūr : "The inhabitants are pagans and Moors. Their mode of living, their customs, and their dress, are like those above described."¹ He is here referring to his own observations made in connection with the people of Honnāvūru, which we have seen. While describing the citizens of the capital, he says : "They live like pagans. Their dress is this : the men of condition wear a short shirt, and on their head a cloth of gold and silk in the Moorish fashion, but nothing on their feet. The common people go quite naked with the exception of a piece of cloth about their middle."² According to the same traveller, "Their (i.e., of the people of Paleachet or Pulicat) laws, manner of living, dress, and customs, are the same as at Calicut, and they are a warlike people, ..." ³.

Barbosa says the following about the dress of the people: "The natives of this land are Heathen like himself (i.e., the king); they are tawny men, nearly white. Their hair is long, straight and black. The men are of good height with 'physnomies' like our own: the women go very trimly clad; the men wear certain clothes as a girdle below, wound very tightly in many folds, and short white shirts of cotton or silk or coarse brocade, which are gathered between the thighs but open in front: on their heads they carry small turbans, and some wear silk or brocade caps, they wear their rough shoes on their feet (without stockings). They wear also other large garments thrown over their shoulders like capes, and are accompanied by pages walking behind them with their swords in their hands. The substances with which they are always anointed are these: white sanderswood, aloes, camphor, musk, and saffron, all ground fine and kneaded with rose water. With these they anoint themselves

¹ *Varthema*, Jones, p. 122; Temple, p. 50.

² *Ibid.*, Jones, p. 129; Temple, p. 53.

³ *Ibid.*, Jones, p. 195; Temple, p. 74. In regard to Calicut, see *ibid* Jones, p. 143; Temple p. 58.

after bathing, and so they are always very highly scented. They wear many rings set with precious stones and many earrings set with fine pearls in their ears. As well as the page armed with a sword, whom, as I have said, they take with them, they take also another who holds an umbrella (lit. a shade-hat with a handle) to shade them and to keep off the rain, and of these some are made of finely worked silk with many golden tassels, and many precious stones and seed-pearls. They are so made as to open and shut, and many cost three to four hundred *cruzados*.¹

Paes remarks thus: "... the majority of the people, or almost all, go about the country barefooted. The shoes have pointed ends, in the ancient manner, and there are other shoes that have nothing but soles, but on the top are some straps which help to keep them on the feet. They are made like those which of old the Romans were wont to wear, as you will find on figures in some papers or antiquities which come from Italy."²

That shoes were common in the south is also proved by the reference to the tax levied on shoe-makers, found in inscriptions. We are told in a record dated A. D. 1375 that shoe-makers were taxed.³

Caesar Frederick relates the following about the articles used in Vijayanagara. "The Merchandize that went every yeere from Goa to Bezeneger were Arabian Horses, Velvets, Damaskes,

¹ *Barbosa, Dames, I.*, pp. 205-7. Dames gives a valuable note on these umbrellas, p. 206, n (1). See also Stanley, pp. 87-8.

² Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 252. We may observe here Mr. Moreland's comments (*India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 276) on the same subject. He says that "the tradition of nakedness in the south extends to the feet", and tries to prove his case by quoting a part of the statement of Paes given above, thus—"John of Montecorvino reported that shoe-makers were as little required as tailors. Nikitin said, as we have seen, that the people of the Deccan went barefooted. Paes says the same thing of 'the majority of the people, or almost all', in Vijayanagar." But it would have been better if the other statements relating to shoes, given by Paes, had also been cited, since the testimony of Paes, specially when taken in conjunction with that of Nicolo and Barbosa, proves that shoes were common in the south. B.A.S.

³ *E. C., X.*, Ct. 94, p. 262.

and Sattens, Armesine of Portugall, and pieces of China, Saffron and Scarlets: and from Bezeneger they had in Turkie for their commodities, Jewels, and Pagodies which be Ducates of gold: The apparel that they use in Bezeneger is Velvet, Satten, Damaske, Scarlet, or white Bumbast cloth, according to the estate of the person, with long Hats on their heads, called Colae, made of Velvet, Satten, Damaske, or Scarlet, girding themselves in stead of girdles with some fine white Bumbast cloth: they have breeches after the order of the Turkes: they weare on their feet plaine high things called of them Aspergh, and at their eares they have hanging great plentie of Gold."¹ Linschoten, while describing the Canariins and Corumbiins, says: "They weare onely a tuske of haire on the top of their Heads, which they suffer to grow long: the rest of their haire is cut short....."²

SECTION 3. Food

As is well known to students of Hindu polity, Manu and other lawgivers have laid down specific rules in connection with lawful and forbidden food.³ We shall not enter into the question whether the princes and peoples of Vijayanagara made any endeavour to conform their customs in this respect to the classical regulations. But we shall merely describe the various kinds of food in Vijayanagara, mainly, as in other instances, with the aid of foreign travellers and Hindu writers. It may not be out of place to remark here that the observations we made in connection with the country in general may be recalled, especially in view of the fact that the nature of the food

¹ Caesar Frederick, Purchas, *Pilgrims*, X., p. 99.

² Linschoten, Purchas, *Pilgrims*, X., p. 263. Cf. The above remarks on the dress of the people with those given by Watters, *Ywan Chwang*, I., pp. 148-9, 340. Heras has a few remarks to make on the subject. *I.A.*, LIV., p. 43. See also Satyanatha, *Nayaks*, p. 327. For some observations on the modern dress of the Töttigans and other people, see Nelson *Mad. Country*, P. II., pp. 18-20, 83; Francis, *Bellary Gaz.*, pp. 58-9; Hemingway, *Tanjore Gaz.* I., pp. 63-4.

³ *Manu*, V, p. 169 seq.; *Gautama*, XVII; p. 265 seq.; *Vishnu*, LXVIII, p. 217 seq.; *Vaishikha*, XIV, p. 69 seq. For rules regarding eating, *Baudhāyana*, II., 3, 6, p. 241 seq.

which was common in Vijayanagara was the result of the physical environments, habits and customs of the people.

In the stately reception which was at first accorded to the Persian ambassador, as already remarked in connection with the foreign relations of Vijayanagara, provision was made for a daily supply of two sheep, four couple of fowls, five maunds of rice, one maund of butter, one maund of sugar and two *varāha* in gold.¹ According to Paes, whose notices of the nature of the country also have been cited,—“These dominions are very well cultivated and very fertile, and are provided with quantities of cattle, such as cows, buffaloes, and sheep; also of birds, both those belonging to the hills and those reared at home, and this in greater abundance than in our tracts. The land has plenty of rice and Indian corn, grains, beans, and other kind of crops which are not sown in our parts; also an infinity of cotton. Of the grains there is a great quantity, because, besides being used as food for men, it is also used for horses, since there is no other kind of barley; and this country has also much wheat and that good.”²

One particular feature of the houses, which we may be permitted to mention again, is that relating to the gardens and plantations. Paes in the above passage tells us that “behind cities and towns and villages they have plantations of mangoes and jack-fruit trees, and tamarinds and other very large trees, which form resting places where merchants halt with their merchandise.”³ This is, however, partially true, since, as already explained, a plantation, or a *tōṭa*, as it is more popularly known is an indispensable adjunct to a Hindu house.⁴ Paes himself admits this while describing Nāgalāpura: “... and the

¹ Elliot, *History of India*, IV, p. 113, op. cit.

² Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 237. As regards trees, the following may be added to the remarks we have made in Volume I. Chapter II. An inscription dated A. D. 1415 describes a great number of trees in the Karpātaka. E. C., VIII, P. II., Sb. 329, pp. 154-5. Pietro della Valle describes the trees at Ikkēri. *Travels*, II., pp. 224, 234.

³ Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 237.

⁴ E. C., IV., Ng. 106, p. 141, where a *tōṭa* is mentioned.

said city stands in a plain, and round it the inhabitants make their gardens as the ground suits, each one being separate."¹

Another special feature of the daily life of the people, which we may also be allowed to repeat, is that in connection with the weekly fairs called *sante*. Paes relates the following: "On every Friday you have a fair there, with many pigs and fowls and dried fish from the sea, and other things the produce of the country, of which I do not know the name; and in like manner a fair is held every day in different parts of the city."² Nuniz has some additional remarks to make on the condition of markets: "Everything has to be sold alive so that each one may know what he buys—this at least so far as concerns game—and there are fish from the rivers in large quantities. The markets are always overflowing with abundance of fruits, grapes, oranges, limes, pomegranates, jack-fruit, and mangoes, and all very cheap."³ The importance attached to the establishment of a weekly fair, which is evident from the manner in which assignments of land and taxes were made by the people for the officials who were in charge of it, as given in more than one epigraph cited in this treatise, may also be remembered in this connection.

In addition to fruits and vegetables the people were fond of oil. According to Paes, "The oil which it (the country) produces comes from seeds sown and afterwards reaped, and they obtain it by means of machines which they make."⁴ We are unable to determine the kind of oil which is mentioned here; and it cannot be said that this was the only kind of oil that was in popular use in Vijayanagara. The same traveller speaks of the gingelly oil in connection with the daily habits of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya. "This king is accustomed every day to drink a *quartilho* (three-quarter pint) of oil of *gingelly* before

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 246. Sōmanātha describes gardens. *Vydsayogicharitam*, p. 29.

² Sewell, *Ibid.*, p. 256.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 375; see *ibid.*, pp. 243, 257, 258, 259 for the observations of Paes already cited. *Supra*, Volume I, Chapter II.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

daylight, and anoints himself all over with the said oil" before he begins his military exercise.¹

Among vegetable products other than those mentioned above, which were in constant demand, mention must be made of the betel leaf. 'Abdur Razzāq noted the universal custom of eating this leaf. "This betel is a leaf which resembles that of an orange, but it is longer. It is held in great esteem in Hindustān, in the many parts of Arabia, and the Kingdom of Hormūs, and indeed it deserves its reputation. It is eaten in this way : they bruise a piece of areca nut, which they call *supāri*, and place it in the mouth ; and moistening a leaf of betel or *pān* together with a grain of quick-lime, they rub one on the other ; roll them up together, and place them in the mouth. Thus they place as many as four leaves together in their mouths, and chew them. Sometimes they mix camphor with it, and from time to time discharge their spittle which becomes red from the use of the betel.

" This masticatory lightens up the countenance and excites an intoxication like that caused by wine. It relieves hunger, stimulates the organs of digestion, disinfects the breath, and strengthens the teeth. It is impossible to describe, and delicacy forbids me to expatiate on its invigorating and aphrodisiac virtues." The shrewd Persian ambassador, however, displays the inherent bias of a foreigner in the next passage by saying that " It is probably owing to the stimulating properties of this leaf, and to the aid of this plant, that the king of that country is enabled to entertain so large a seraglio " composed of 700 princesses and concubines.²

Paes also observed the use of betel leaf among the people. While describing the privileges of the dancing-women, he says : " These women (are allowed) even to enter the presence of the wives of the king, and they stay with them and eat betel with them, a thing which no other person may do, no matter what his rank may be.³ This betel is a herb which has a

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 249.

² Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, p. 114; Major, *India*, p. 32.

³ *Supra*, Chapter VI, Section 3.

leaf like the leaf of the pepper, or the ivy of the country ; they always eat this leaf, and carry it in their mouths with another fruit called areca. This is something like a medlar, but it is very hard, and it is very good for the breath and has many other virtues ; it is the best provision for those who do not eat as we do. Some of them eat flesh ; they eat all kinds except beef and pork, and yet, nevertheless, they cease not to eat this betel all day."¹

Nuniz confirms the evidence of inscriptions which, as we have already related in connection with the officials of the Government, speak of an official who carried the betel-pouch (*haḍapa*), in his description of the high dignitaries around the king. "The page who served the King with betel had fifteen thousand foot and two hundred horse, but he had no elephants."² Next to millet which, according to Nuniz, as already seen, was "most consumed in the land", came "betel (*betre*), which is a thing that in the greater part of the country they always eat and carry in the mouth".³

Pietro della Valle observes thus about its prevalence at Ikkēri: "At the end of this visit *Vitulā Sinay* caus'd a little Silver basket to be brought full of the leaves of *Belle*, (an herb which the *Indians* are always eating, and to the sight not unlike the leaves of Cedars) and, giving it to the Ambassador, he told him that he should present it to the Captain, the Custom being so in *India* for the person visited to give *Belle*-leaves to the visitant, where-with the visit ends."⁴ The same traveller in an earlier connection wrote the following, while describing one of the banian trees: "Round about it are fastened Flowers and abundance of a plant, whose leaves resemble a Heart, call'd here *Pan*, but in other places of

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 242.

² *Ibid.*, p. 327, n. (3). See also p. 230 where Barradas speaks of the rulers of Madura having descended from the "page of the betel." See also Pietro della Valle, *Travels*, II, 255 for the function of the *haḍapa*.

³ Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 366.

⁴ Pietro della Valle, *ibid.*, II., p. 226, see also *ibid.*, n. (4).

India, *Bette*. These leaves the Indians use to champ or chew all day long, either for health's sake or entertainment and delight (as some other Nations for the same reasons, or rather through evil custome, continually take Tobacco). And therewith they mix a little ashes of sea-shells and some small pieces of an Indian nut sufficiently common, which here they call *Foufel*, and in other places *Areca* ; a very dry fruit, seeming within like perfect wood ; and being of an astringent nature they hold it good to strengthen the Teeth. Which mixture, besides its comforting the stomach, hath also a certain biting taste, wherewith they are delighted ; and as they chew it, it strangely dyes their lips and mouths red, which also they account gallant ; but I do not, because it appears not to be natural. They swallow down only the juice after long mastication and spit out the rest. In visits, 'tis the first thing offer'd to the visitants ; nor is there any society or pastime without it.' (Here Pietro refers us to some authors who have written on this plant).¹

In the above passage Pietro della Valle in very clear terms points to the use of another plant in India, and this is the pepper plant. Barbosa writes thus : " Likewise much pepper is used here and everywhere throughout the kingdom, which they bring hither from Malabar on asses and pack-cattle."²

To the remarks of Paes about the cheapness of mutton,³ already cited in another connection, we may add his observations on the many but "very unwholesome" fish in the *Tuṅga-bhadra*,⁴ and those of Nuniz to the following effect : " These Kings of Bisnaga eat all sorts of things, but not the flesh of oxen or cows, which they never kill in all the country of the

¹ Pietro della Valle, *Travels* I, pp. 36-7. The origin of this word is perhaps to be traced to the *Koṅkaṇi phoppal*, unless there is another derivation which is non-Indian. Grey has failed to trace its origin. *Ibid.*, p. 36, n. (2). B. A. S.

² *Barbosa*, *Dames*, I, p. 203 ; Stanley, p. 86.

³ *Sewell*, *For. Emp.*, p. 258, op. cit.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 259.

heathen, because they worship them. They eat mutton, pork, venison, partridges, hares, doves, quail, and all kinds of birds; even sparrows and rats, and cats and lizards, all of which are sold in the market of the city of Bisnaga."¹ Allowance must be made for these exaggerated notices of Nuniz, especially if they are understood to refer to the monarchs of Vijayanagara, in the light of the saner views expressed by the other foreign travellers. Barbosa, for example, gives us a more rational account of the food of the king and the nobles. "These men eat flesh and fish and other meats, saving beef only, which is forbidden by their perverse idolatry."²

Some conjecture has been made as regards the place from where people ate their meals.³ We may however rely on the evidence of epigraphs on this question. In the generality of cases, according to the ancient traditions, leaves were used while eating food, although the people were not ignorant of plates. An inscription Śaka 1446 (A. D. 1524-5) informs us that in the times of Tirumala Dēva Mahārāja, Sūraparāja, Agent of Vākiṭi Āḍeppa Nāyingāru, freed the *Tammala* servants of the temple of Sōmēśvara at Gōraṅṭla from supplying leaves (used in eating food) to that temple free of cost, on condition

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 375.

² *Barbosa*, I, Dames, p. 217, and n. (1); Stanley, p. 93. To assert the following, relying only on the evidence of Nuniz, without corroborating it with that given by other contemporary witnesses and inscriptions, is a very undesirable method of judging the past. "Great laxity seems to have prevailed in matters of diet; and although Nuniz writes that the Brahmans, whom he describes as the cream of Vijayanagar population, never killed or ate any live thing, the people used all kinds of meat". Iswari Prasad, *Med. Ind.*, p. 438. The Brahmans were "the cream of the Vijayanagar population" only to a certain extent: there were others and equally venerable classes, the Jainas and the Liṅgāyats. It is wrong to say that only the Brahmans "never killed or ate any live thing". Barbosa thus writes about the Liṅgāyats: "They also eat no flesh nor fish". Dames, I, p. 218; Stanley p. 94. Although foreigners have ignored the existence of the Jainas, yet it is obvious that they too were as careful and considerate as the Brahmans and the Liṅgāyats in their diet. For Nuniz's notices of the royal kitchen, see Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 371 op. cit.

³ Gribble, *Hist. of the Deccan*, I, pp. 71-2; Chabiani, *Economic Conditions*, pp. 84-5.

that they repaired the temple, built the *Śikhara*, and constructed a compound wall of mud.¹ So late as A. D. 1680 or thereabouts certain Gauḍas built a village called Bayaṭānagere at the place where the leaves on which they ate their food fell.²

Before we deal with the description of the Hindu dishes by writers, we may note briefly the remarks of foreigners on some etiquette while eating. 'Abdur Razzāq relates the following while describing the attempt that was made on the life of Dēva Rāya II. "The brother of the king had constructed a new house, and invited the king and the nobles of state to an entertainment. The custom of the infidels is, not to eat in the presence of one another."³ The observations of Nuniz on this subject are more pertinent. He describes the plot got up by the nephew of a king whom he calls "Pinarao". "And he, making all ready, as soon as they were in his house, being at table, they were all slain by daggers thrust by men kept in readiness for that deed. This was done without any one suspecting it, because the custom there is to place on the table all that there is to eat and drink, no man being present to serve those who are seated, nor being kept outside, but only those who are going to eat; and because of their thus being alone at table, nothing of what passed could be known to the people they had brought with them."⁴ Whether it was a universal custom not to have any one to serve those who were seated is a debatable point. It may have been due in this particular instance to the precautions which the guilty prince took to carry his plot to a successful issue.

For a detailed account of the dishes common among the people we have to read the descriptions of the Hindu poets. Terakaṇāmbi Bommarasa (circa 1485) says:

¹ 91 of 1912; Rangachari, *Top List.*, I, Ap. 48, p. 8.

² E. C., VII., Ci 83, p. 195. For the use of drinking cups, see Sarkar *Pos. Back.* I, p. 84.

³ Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, p. 115. The Persian Ambassador evidently means by "the presence of one another" strangers, especially of the low castes. B. A. S.

⁴ Sewell, *For Emp.*, p. 303.

ಬಟ್ಟವೆಡಿಯೋ ಮಂಜಿನೊಬ್ಬಳಿ |
 ಬಟ್ಟತಾದುದೊ ಅಮ್ಮತರಸವಳ |
 ವಟ್ಟವೃತ್ತದ ಪಿಂಡವಾದುದೊ ಚಂದ್ರಿಕೆಯೆ ಬಂದು ||
 ಫಟ್ಟಗೊಂಡಿತೊ ಎನಲು ನೋಲ್ಪಿರ |
 ದಿಟ್ಟಗೊಲವನು ಮನಕೆಹರುಷವ |
 ಪುಟ್ಟವುದ್ದಿನ ಕಡಬುಸವಿದರು ನೃಪರು ಮನನಲಿಯೆ ||
 ತಿಲದ ಮಾಷಾಡ್ಯಖಿಲ ಚೂರ್ಣಂ |
 ಗಳನು ತೆಂಗಿನಕಾಯ ತುರಿಯನು |
 ಲಲನೆಯರು ಕರಿಬೇವಿನೆಲೆ ಯೇಲಕ್ಕಿಗಳ ಬಿರಸಿ ||
 ಹಿಡಿದು ಜಂಬೀರೋದಕವ ಹದ |
 ಗೊಳಿಸಿ ಲವದಿಂ ಕಪ್ಪುರದಿ ಪರಿ |
 ಮಳಿಪ ಬದಣಿಕಾಯ ಬಜ್ಜಿಯ ತಂದು ಬಡಿಸಿದರು ||
 ಸುಡಿದು ಹುಳಿ ಮೇಲೋಗರವ ಚ |
 ಪುರಿದು ಮುಪ್ಪಿನಕಾಯ ಕೈಯಲಿ |
 ಮುಡಿದು ಹಪ್ಪಳಗಳನು ಮೆಲುತೊಲವಿಂದ ಪಚ್ಚಡಿಯ ||
 ನೆಡಿಸವಿಯುತಾ ತಾಳಿದಂಗಳ |
 ಶೆಡಿನಡಿದು ಸಾಧಿಸುತಲಾ ನೆಲ |
 ಡೆಡಿಯರೂಟವ ಮಾಡುತಿರ್ದರು ಬಿಹೈದಣಿವಂತೆ ||¹

The superficiality of some of the remarks of Nuniz is apparent from the above description in which women are said to serve the dishes during a Hindu dinner.

The poet Maṅgarasa (III) in about A. D. 1508 gives us details of the recipes of four kinds of dishes in his work *sūpa-śāstra*. Thus about *gharivīlaṅḡyī*:

ಹುರಿದ ತೆಂಗಾಯಿ ನಸುಬಿಂದ ಬೀಳಿಯ ಹೆಸರು |

ಹುರಿದು ಬೀಯಿಸದ ಸೊಜ್ಜಿಗಿಯವನು ಕೂಡಿ ಸ |

¹ *Kavicharite*, II, pp. 130-1. Cf. The different kinds of dishes mentioned in the Ambāsamudra inscription of Varaguṇa-Pāṇḍya (9th century). *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 22; the description given by poet Śāntinātha (circa 1068), *Kavicharite*, II, p. 9. See also *Kavicharite*, I, p. 327 for different kinds of *bhakṣa* as narrated in the *Pārvatīnātha-purāṇa*. The dishes of southern India may be compared with those of the north. Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 178.

ಕೃರೆಯಿಕ್ಕೆ ಕರ್ಪೂರವನು ತಳಿದು ಪಿಂಡಮಂ ಮಾಡಿಯೇ ಸಣ್ಣನಾಗಿ ||
ಅರೆದಕ್ಕಿಯೊಳಗದ್ದಿ ಹೊಡ್ಚ ಹೊಸತುಪ್ಪದೊಳು |
ಹಿರಿದು ಹಸನಾಗಿ ಬೇಯಿಸಿ ತೆಗೆದು ತುಪ್ಪವಿಡೆ |
ಘರಿವಳಂಗಾಯೆಂದು ಪೆಸರ್ವಡೆದು ನಾಲಗೆಯಕೊನೆಗೆ ಪೀಯೂಷವಾಯ್ತು ||

Then about *hūlagūrige* :

ಉತ್ತಮದ ಸೊಜ್ಜೆಗೆಯ ನೆನಹಿ ನೀರಂ ಹಿಂಡಿ |
ಮತ್ತದಕೆ ಬಟ್ಟವಾಲ್ತೀಳಿದುಪ್ಪಮಂ ತಳಿದು |
ಮೆತ್ತನಪ್ಪಂತು ಮಿದಿದಿರಸಯದಲಿರ್ಧ ಹಾಲೊಳಗುಕ್ಕುರಿಸಿದಕ್ಕಿಯ ||
ಒತ್ತಿಹಾಲಿಂದೆಲಿ¹ದು ಸವೆದ ಕಣಿಕದೊಳು ಬೆರ |
ಸುತ್ತ ಸಕ್ಕರೆಯ ಪಾಕದೊಳಿಕ್ಕಿ ಪರಿಮಳವ |
ನೊತ್ತರಿಸಿ ತುಪ್ಪದೊಳು ಬೇಯಿಸಿದ ಹಾಲಗಾರಿಗೆ ಪಿರಿದು ಸವಿದೊಲಿದೇ ||

As regards *savuḍu-rotṭi* we have the following :

ನವನೀತಮಂ ಕೆನೆಯುಮಂ ಬೆರಸಿ ಕಣಿಕಮಂ |
ಸವೆವಂತೆ ಕುಟ್ಟಿ ಬಟ್ಟಲಮಾಡಿ ಹವ್ವಳದ |
ಸಮನಾಗಿಯೊತ್ತಿ ಯಮ್ಮೈಗೆ ಬಿಣ್ಣೆಯತೊಡೆದು ನಾಲ್ಕೈದು ಕಲ್ಲಡುಕಿ ಕಲ್ಲ ||
ಅವಲಿರಡಮ್ಮಿಗೆ ಪಿಟ್ಟಿಯ ಬಟ್ಟಲಂ ಕವಿಸಿ |
ಹವಣಲಿ¹ದು ಹಂಚಿನೊಳು ಸುಟ್ಟು ಪಿಟ್ಟಿಯನು ತೆಗೆ |
ದವಕೆ ತುಪ್ಪವ ನಿಕ್ಕಲವು ಸವುಡು ರೊಟ್ಟಿವೆಸರಂ ಪಡೆದು ರಂಜಿಸುವುವು ||

Thus the constituents of *himāmbū-phānaka* :

ಉದಕದೊಳಗರ್ಧ ಸಕ್ಕರೆಯಿಕ್ಕಿ ಕರಗಿಸುವ |
ಹದನಲಿ¹ದು ದಾಳಿಂಬ ಮಾದಲದ ಹುಳಿಯಿಕ್ಕಿ |
ಸದಕಿದೆ (?) ಅಕ್ಕಿ ಹಸಿಯಲ್ಲಮಂ ಹಾಕಿ ಬೆಂಡೆಯ ಬೀರಿನಿಂದ ತಿರುಹಿ ||
ಕಡಡಿ ಪನನೀರ ಸೇವಂತಿಗೆಯ ಹೂವಿಕ್ಕಿ |
ಯದನು ಸೇವಂತಿಯಂ ಪೊರೆದ ಮಡಕೆಯೊಳಿರಿಸಿ |
ಡದುರರಂತದಕೆ ಸಲಿಸೊಗಯಿಪ ಹಿಮಾಂಬುಪಾನಕಮೆಂದು ಹೆಸರುಂವುದು ||¹

The same poet gives us an exquisite description of a Hindu dinner (*bhōjana*) thus :

ದೊನ್ನೆಯಂ ಹರಹಿ ಬಾಲಿಲೆಹಾಳಿಯಂ ಹಾಕಿ |
ಬಿನ್ನಣದೆ ಮಾಡಿದಾಚೌಕ ದೆಡೆಗಳ ಮುಂದೆ |
ಜನ್ನಿವಾರವ ಮೇಲಕ್ಕಿತ್ತಿ ಕಿಡಿಸುತ್ತಮಂ ತೆಗೆದು ಸಡಿಲಿಸಿ ಭೋತ್ರಮಂ ||

¹ *Kavicharite*, II, pp. 184-5.

ಚೆನ್ನಾಗಿ ಯಾವೋತನಮನೆತ್ತಿ ಕುಳ್ಳಿದುರ್ |
 ಭಿನ್ನರುಚಿಮಾಡಿ ಹರಿಸದೆ ಗಡ್ಡಮಾಸೆಗಳು |
 ಮಂ ನೀವಿಕೊಳ್ಳುತ್ತೆ ಭೋಜನವನಿಂತು ಮಾಡುತ್ತಿದರ್ಲಾ ಪಾರ್ವರು ||
 ಓಗರವತಾ ತೊಗೆಯನಿಕ್ಕು ಹಸನಾಯ್ತು ಮೇ |
 ಲೋಗರವ ಬಡಿಸು ದೊನ್ನೆಗಳು ಹಿಡಿವಂತೆಯುಂ |
 ಟಾಗಿ ಹೆರೆದುಪ್ಪವೆಲಿಯಾ ಪಳಿದ್ಯಮನಟ್ಟು ಕಲಸುವೋಗರವ ತೋರಾ ||
 ಬೇಗದಿಂದೆಡೆ ಮಾಡಿದಿದ್ದ ಲಿಗೆ ದೋಸೆಗಳ |
 ಮೇಗೆ ಸಕ್ಕರೆ ಬಟ್ಟವಾಲ ಹೊಯ್ಯೆನುತ ಮಾ |
 ರೋಗಣೆಯನಾ ಪೊಟ್ಟಿಯೊಡೆವ ಮರ್ಯಾದೆಯೊಳಗುಂಡು ತೇಗುತಿರ್ಲರು ||
 ಪಾಯಸದ ಪರಿಗಳಂ ನೋಡಿ ಪಂಡಿತರೆ ಸವಿ |
 ಯಾಯತೇಯಾಯ್ತು ಪಾಧ್ಯಾಯರೇ ಕರಜಿಗೆಯ |
 ಕಾಯ ದೋಸೆಗಳ ಹಸನಂ ಪುರೋಹಿತರೆ ಚೆನ್ನಾಗಿ ಸವಿಸಿದು ನೋಡಿ ||
 ಈ ಯೆಣ್ಣೆಯೂರಿಗೆ ಮೃದುತರಕೆ ಸರಿಯುಂಟಿ |
 ಜೋಯಿಸರೆ ಕೇಳಿ ಸಕ್ಕರೆ ಬುರುಡೆಗಳ ನಮ್ಮ |
 ಬಾಯ ಬಲಿನಂ ಬಿಡಿಸುತಿವೆ ದೀಕ್ಷಿ ತರೆ ಎಂದು ಕೊಂಡಾಡುತ್ತಿದರ್ಲಾಗ ||¹

That we may have some idea of the domestic conditions in a Hindu home in the seventeenth century, the following from poet Anṇāji (circa 1600) about an *ṁṁṁ* may be noted :

ಕಡ್ಡೋಗರಗಳು ಕಲಸೋಗರವು ಪಾಯಸವು |
 ನಿಟ್ಟಿಸಲು ಗೋಮೇಧಿಕದ ಸಾರವೆಂದೆನಿಸಿ |
 ಬಟ್ಟಬಟ್ಟಲೊಳು ತುಂಬಿಸೆವ ಸದ್ಯೋಫೃತವು ಹೆರೆದುಪ್ಪವಕ್ಕಿದುಪ್ಪ ||
 ಮುಟ್ಟಿ ದೊಟ್ಟಿದುವಂತೆ ಕಾಸಿದರ್ ಚಿನಿಪಾಲು |
 ತೊಟ್ಟಿನೊಳೆ ಪಸುರಡಗದಿದರ್ ಉಪ್ಪಿನಕಾಯ |
 ಕಟ್ಟಳೆಯ ಲವಣಾಮ್ಲದಿಂದಾದ ಶಾಕಮುಂತಾದ ಊಟವ ತಂದರು ||²

¹ *Kavicharite*, II p. 188. Only those who are acquainted with the life and customs of the Kāṇṇāṭaka and other south Indian people can appreciate the accuracy with which Maṅgarasa has described a meal, from the moment the people sit with the *donne* and leaves before them to the final scenes of appreciation. It is impossible to convey adequately the touch of humour in the above passages. B. A. S.

² *Ibid.*, II, pp. 336-7. For dishes as described by Lakshmiṣa, read *Jaimini Bhārata*, Sandhi, vv. 22-3, p. 117. (Sanderson).

But for those who could not afford to command the delicacies of home, there was the *mithāyi-aṅgadi* (sweetmeat shop) about which too the same poet writes thus :

ಕರಜಿಗೆಯ ಕಾಯಿಯ ತಿರಸವುದ್ದಿ ನೋಡೆಯು ಹಿಮ |

ಕರನಂತೆ ರಾಜಿಸುವ ಇಡ್ಡೆ ಲಿಗೆ ಯೆಳ್ಳಂಡೆ |

ತರಣಿ ಮಂಡಲದಂತೆಯೆಸೆವ ಒಬ್ಬ ಟ್ಪು ಗಾರಗಿಯ ಚಕ್ಕುಲಿ ಸೇವಗೆ ||

ಹೊರೆಯಪೇಣಿಯು ಮನೋಹರದುಂಡೆಯರಗುಸ |

ಕೈರೆ ಬುರುಡೆ ಹಾಲುಂಡಲಿಗೆಯು ಸ್ವಾದಿಸಲಮ್ಮತ |

ಸರಳಿನಿ ನಿರ್ಮಿಸಿದ ಲತೆಯಂತೆ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಅಂಗಡಿಗಳೆನೆ ದಿದುವು¹

CHAPTER VIII

CORPORATE LIFE IN SOCIAL MATTERS

SECTION 1. *Joint-activity in pre-Vijayanagara Days*

The Vijayanagara Empire, some institutions of which we have outlined in the previous pages, did not owe its origin to any supernatural agency that suddenly enabled the sons of Saṅgama to establish their sovereignty over the southern peninsula. We admit that they received considerable support from the religious leaders of the times. But the contribution of the common people was greater for the cause of the country. The Gaudas of different *sīmas* were as much responsible for the growth of the Empire as the *gurus* of Śrīṅgeri. The part played by the latter has been unduly magnified, while the share of the former has not been estimated. Five brothers aided by one or two intellectual prodigies would never have been able to achieve that measure of success but for the support which they received from the people. When one realizes how stroke upon stroke of the Muhammadans shattered the hopes of the Hindus in the latter half of the thirteenth and in the beginning of the fourteenth centuries, one cannot help feeling that religious merit alone, however profound and great it might have been, would have hardly been able to create a solid wall of opposition out of what was nothing but a universal chaos. Some-

¹ *Kavicharite*, II. pp. 336-7.

thing equally great and profound was needed to achieve that noble end, and that was found in the remarkable spirit of co-operation which all classes of people brought to bear upon matters of social importance.

But both the rulers and the people of Vijayanagara were only heirs to a rich heritage. Co-operation for a common cause characterized the actions of the people in the Tamil land as well as in the Karṇāṭaka in early times. Bearing in mind the evidence relating to corporate activities in purely political matters, already cited in this treatise, we may now turn our attention to that pertaining to social issues as recorded in inscriptions. Here we may also include certain quasi-social features in connection with political, economic, legal and religious spheres of life without which our account may be deemed inadequate.

According to a record dated about A. D. 725 it is clear that the people of the Karṇāṭaka, like those of the Tamil land, were aware of the advantages of corporate existence. The epigraph which gives us this information, is of the times of the Yuvarāja Vikramāditya, who has been identified with the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya II. The inscription records the mutual obligations and rights of the royal authorities, represented by the Heir-Apparent Vikramāditya, and of the *mahājanas* (Brahman householders) and burgesses of Lakshmēshwar. The preamble runs as follows: "Hail! the social constitution (*āchāra-vyavasthi[sthe]*), which the Heir-Apparent Vikramāditya has granted to the Mahājanas and the burgesses and the eighteen *prakritis* of Porigere (is as follows)." The charter then proceeds to specify the position of the royal officers and their relation to the municipality in the following terms: "The king's officers are to protect those of the houses that are untenanted, the king's gift, the king's proclamation, authoritative testimony of good men (?), constitutional usage (*maryāde*), copper-plate edicts, continued enjoyment of (*estate*) enjoyed (*bhukla-anubhōgam*)... the lives of the five *dharmas*." Then comes the section defining the duties of the townspeople beginning with the *mahājanas*

or Brahman burgesses. "This is the municipal constitution (*idu mahājanakke nagara maryāde*). (Here come details of the rates payable by householders and fines from those accused of theft and minor delinquencies). (All these) shall be paid to the guild there in the month of Kārttika. A *gutta*¹ shall be paid for (?) to the *ruva* in the month of Māgha." The epigraph which is unfortunately illegible in many parts, next proceeds to refer to the government of the *pāṇḍis* and *śeṭṭis* in the town, the guild of braziers (*kañchanagāra-sēṇi*) and oilmen and other details which are effaced. The ending of this epigraph which contains a supplementary endowment bears directly on the subject in question, since it deals with the joint-activities of the Brahman and the common people. "Also the field endowment to (?) the *ara* of the fortunate Kupparma the three-hundred households and the Gāmuṇḍa of the province, together with the *goḍigar* (?) have granted."²

From the beginning of the eleventh century A. D. we have more numerous records describing the varied corporate activities of the people. An effaced inscription in Tamil dated about A. D. 1019 informs us that the *mahājanas* of Maḷavūr *alias* Irājēndrasimha-chaturvēdimaṅgaḷam granted certain privileges, resembling those given above, in connection with some houses of the village, to Kō...(sarattu-Āḍi-māsa...vyavasthai-*paṇṇina paḍi iv-ūrūl gṛihamgaḷ-ullavai kshētraman nashṭa... ājñā...lum gṛihamga...trattōḍu upathiy-āga ājñā-krayam-idak-kadvōm-allav-āgavum gṛihamgaḷ a...*)³ The *mahājanas* of the same *agrahāra* in about A.D. 1160 having received specified sums of money, granted certain lands (specified) as a *kuḍaṅgai*, as a permanent endowment, to Satyanāda-svāmigaḷ's son Nilkaṇṭha-dēvar. They also bound themselves to exempt lands from certain specified taxes.⁴ In the reign of Hoysala king

¹ *Guttam rūvaṅge Māgha-māsaduḷ koḍuvudu*. Barnett, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 191, ll. 22-3. See *ibid.*, p. 190, n. (4). *Supra* Volume I, Ch. IV.

² *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 190, 191, ll. 46-55.

³ *E. C.*, IX, Ch. 96, p. 154, text, p. 101.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Ch. 81, p. 148.

Narasimha Dēva in A. D. 1173 Mallapa, son of the accountant Bamma, erected a temple of Galagēsvara in Dōrasamudra. And the generous Bārīka-Chinna commended it to Narasimha Dēva, and the townspeople and the *sēnabōva* Malliyaṇṇa favoured it. The *heggade* Yareyaṇṇa gave certain specified lands to the temple. And Bārīka-Chinnaya and *sēnabōva* Malliyaṇṇa being present, granted for it one family of oil-mongers and one family of garland makers. And all the townspeople of Chittavaṭṭi and the Brahmans of Hannasēṇi made a grant of a handful of rice, with one areca-nut and two betel leaves per shop. The oilmonger chiefs (many named) of the thousand families, together with the fifty families of the tread oil-mills, granted a *solige* of oil per mill.¹

When the Kalachuriya king Vikramāṅka was "ruling with gentleness" the Banavase-nāḍ in A.D. 1177 and "the thousand of the wealthy Kuppāṭūr, followers of Manu's code were at peace", on "the wretched Gavudaśāmi" coming "like an Asura" to destroy the sacrifices of that town, with his followers who attacked, seized, and imprisoned the Brahmans, raided and besieged the villages, "loosing the waists (of the women)" and seizing the prisoners, the brave Kēteya Nāyaka, son of Idukeya Nāyaka, "with a great fury like that of Māri" slew the enemy, recovered the women and livestock but died in the glorious attempt. "All the Brahmans, approving, granted for him a *netta(ru)-goḍage* and a house (specified) as a permanent endowment".²

In about A. D. 1180 a fight took place regarding the boundary of Kōravaṅgala and Dudda in the reign of the Hoysala king Vīra Ballāḷa II. Baramōja and Masaṇōja, sons of Biṭṭiyoja, fell in the fight. "All the Brahmans of the immemorial agrahāra of Śāntigrāma and the farmers raised the stone to their memory."³ Leṅkaṇa Nāyaka of Karimale in A. D. 1223, as related elsewhere, captured the

¹ E. C., V, P. I, B1. 75, p. 75.

² E. C., VIII, Sb. 251, p. 39.

³ E. C., V, P. I, Hn. 70, p. 22.

cows of Maḷaval and departed. Māva-bōva of Maḷavaḷli opposed him, recovered the cows but died in the attempt. "The *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Nigalūr Bommi-Dēvarasa, with the farmers and subjects of Maḷavaḷli, approving of Chikka-bōva's elder brother Māva-bōva's service, granted land (specified) for him as a *nettaru goḍage*."¹ All the *mahājanas* of Kūḍalūr *alias* Rāja-rāja-chatur-vēdimaṅgalam in Kiḷalai-nāḍu of Muḍi-gonḍa-Śōḷa-vaḷanāḍu, bestowed, according to an illegible inscription dated A. D. 1232, upon...the office of *gāmuṇḍa* and granted to him according to former custom certain specified lands. The epigraph does not tell us the reason of their benevolence.² In A. D. 1239 Jakkayya, son of Bomma Gauḍa, fell in a fight about the boundary of Bāgaḍe and Kittanakere. His father and his elder brother set up a *viragal* in his name. "And all the Brahmans of Vijaya-Narasimhapura, which is Bāgaḍe, being pleased", granted certain specified land as an *umbali* to his descendants.³ All the Brahmans of Nallūr, in about A. D. 1247, measured the land (in their village?) and made the following order—"For twenty-four years no one of the twelve groups of five may reduce the fixed rate."⁴

Evidently the Brahmans could also unite for purposes of settling land revenue questions. Nāyaga Nāyaka, son of Hiriya Bomma, in A. D. 1277, fell in a cow raid in Nelkudure. Pleased with his bravery, all the *ūr-oḍeyas* of Nelkudure, Jaya Dēva Daṇṇāyaka and all the subjects granted specified land as a *nettaru-goḍage*.⁵ In A. D. 1297 Dātiya Sōmaiya Daṇṇāyaka's son Śinga(ya) Daṇṇāyaka together with the inhabitants of Periya-nāḍu in Ponmaṇiga-nāḍu, and the (?) officers at the door of Śingaya Daṇṇāyaka, remitted certain specified taxes in the villages which were the property of the god Dāmōdara.⁶

¹ E. C., VII, Sk. 268, p. 144.

² E. C., IX, Cp. 112, pp. 156-7.

³ E. C., V, P. I., Ak. 184, p. 185.

⁴ E. C., VI, Kd. 133, p. 25.

⁵ E. C., VII, Ci. 54, p. 188.

⁶ E. C., IX, An. 84, p. 119.

The carpenters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths and all the Vira-Pañchālas of the four *nāḍs*, belonging to the Jagipu Maṭha of the Hiriya Kāla Maṭha of Dōrasamudra, granted a number of taxes to some one whose name is effaced in the inscription.¹ All the Brahmans of the immemorial *agrahāra* of Nēmatti and a number of Gauḍas (named), "uniting, in order to provide for the *gauḍike* of Chaṭṭanahallī in their *nāḍ*", purchased land (specified) and granted it, in about A. D. 1314, to Chenneya Nāyaka's grandson Śaṅkappa as an *umbali*.²

But there are also instances of Brahmans having received grants of land at the hands of Gauḍas. In A. D. 1314 Vira Ballāḷa III gave a royal order (*rāyasa*) to the *Sēnabōva* Kāvaṇṇa, Kāla Gauḍa, Nāya Gauḍa, and other Gauḍas and subjects, the nature of which is not specified in the epigraph. These donees, however, on receiving it, granted land in Heggere irrigated from the Būdihāḷa tank to "all the Brahmans of the all-worshipful senior great crown-*agrahāra* (*piriya-paṭṭada-mahāgrahāraṁ*) Udbhava-sarbbajñā-vijaya-Ballāḷapura, which is Arasiyakere", as a permanent endowment.³ An effaced inscription dated A. D. 1326 relates that during the administration of Permmāḍi and others (named), all the Brahmans of the great *āśrama* of Mudigoṇḍachōḷa-maṇḍala, the immemorial *agrahāra* Malavūr, which is the Rājendra-simha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, gave to the great senior merchants, the Nānā-Dēśi-nakharaṅgaḷu and all the other people of certain other classes (whose names are given), a *niyama-sūsana* relating to shops.⁴ All the Brahmans of the great *agrahāra* Ballāḷapura, which is Kittanakere, with the consent of the royal officer Kāmeya Daṇṇāyaka, son of the great minister Ponnanna, in about A.D. 1336, granted Madahalu, a hamlet of Kittanakere, as a rent-free estate together with the *gauḍa's* office of Hiruvūr, a house, dues from the fair, and certain specified land in the latter place, to Kala Gauḍa, son

¹ E. C., IX, DB. 52, p. 69.

² E. C., VII, HL 76, p. 173.

³ E. C., XII, Ck 26, p. 79.

⁴ E. C., IX, Cp 98, p. 155.

of Maleya Rāma Śeṭṭi, for having repaired Kittanakere-sthala which had fallen into ruins. Nāchappa and Dēvappa, sons of the great master of the robes, Nācheya Heggade, joined the Brahmins on this occasion.¹

Turning to the corporate activities of the people in what may be called legal matters, we have also many instances of the same spirit of joint-action which they showed in socio-political affairs. Buying and selling land, fixing the village boundaries and questions of a similar nature occur in the inscriptions of both the Karṇāṭaka and Tamil land. It must have been already evident to the reader that the ancient village assemblies of the south exercised considerable influence in the Tamil country. These remarks only supplement those made in connection with local administration under Vijayanagara. An inscription dated in the fourth regnal year of the king Parakēsarivarman *alias* Śrī-Rājendra-Śōla Dēva relates that the great assembly of Ukkal *alias* Vikramābharaṇa-chaturvēdi-maṅgaḷam, ordered the writing of a sale-deed (*vilay-āvaṇam*), of land in its own subdivision of Kāliyūr-kōṭṭam, for the maintenance of two boats (*ōḍam*) which had been assigned to the tank in their village by an individual (named) of the locality. The sale-deed relates the following, among other details: "We have sold, and executed a deed of sale for three thousand kuḷi, (measured) by a rod of sixteen spans (*śāṇ*) (with details) of land which was the common property of the assembly".² In the record dated in the second regnal year of the king Rājakēsarivarman, we are told that the great men of the big assembly which included the great *bhaṭṭas* of Nālūr, a *brahmadēya* of Śērrūr-Kūrṛam, sold the market-fees (*aṅgadik-kūḷi*) of the bazaar street in their village to the god Mahādēva of Mūlasthāna at their village of Tirumayāṇam. These great men including the *bhaṭṭas* sold and executed the sale-deed (*vilai-śrūvaṇai*) with certain specified conditions relating to the

¹ E. C., V, P. I, Ak. 67, p. 136.

² S. I. I., III, P. I, pp. 16-7.

māhēśvaras and the members of the assembly.¹ In the Vēlūrpāliyam plates of Vijaya Nandivarman (III), we are told that along with a long list of exemptions (*parihāra*) and a written declaration (*vyavasthā*) Tirukkāṭṭupallī was made over to the temple assembly (*paraḍai* Skt. *parishad*) of the village by a certain Yajña Bhaṭṭa, in the sixth year of the reign of the king.² An inscription dated in the third year of the reign of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* Śrīrājendra Śōladēva, Sōmanātha, the supreme lord of Nipunilapura, and other great lords purchased from the citizens of Vāṇapuram in Karaivali, in Jayaṅḡḍa-Chōḷa-maṇḍalam, the cultivating land called Gaṅgādēvimaṇali. The epigraph further states that the citizens of Vāṇapuram sold and gave by a deed of sale, with all exemptions, the land enclosed within the boundaries (specified), having received from Sōmanātha the whole of the purchase-money and the tax-money due for the one thousand *kuḷi* "at the very place of the sale."³ An inscription dated in the ninth year of the reign of the king Parakēsarivarman *alias* Rājendra-Chōḷa Dēva, relates that certain 'shepherds (named) made provision to supply ghee for a lamp in the Arinjīśvara temple, and agreed to stand security for one of them in case he died, absconded, got into prison, fetters or chains.⁴

Legal disputes in the Kaṇṇāṭaka, as the examples we have already given prove, seem to have been sometimes settled by the sword. The people, however, compensated their provincial

¹ S. I. I., III, P. III, pp. 222-3. See also *ibid*, p. 262 for a sale-deed by the villagers (*ūrōm*) of Tiruviḍavandai in Paḍuvūr-nāḍu, a subdivision of Amūru-kōṭṭam. See also S. I. I., III, P. I, p. 11, for certain specified restrictions imposed on the members of the village and commissions of the temple of Śāitṭaṅ, by the great assembly of Śivachūḷāmaṇi-maṇḍalam *alias* Vikramābharaja-chaturvēdimaṇḍalam.

² S. I. I., II, P. V., p. 507. The request (*vijñapti*) was made by the Chōḷa Mahārāja Kumārāṅkuśa, while the executor (*ājñapti* or *āṇatti*) was the minister Namba of the Agradatta family.

³ *Ibid*, III, P. I, pp. 108-9.

⁴ *Ibid*, III, P. I, p. 29. It is impossible to do any justice to the numerous instances of corporate activities among the people of the Tamil land. The examples we have given here hardly convey the spirit of co-operation which runs through the actions of the ancient Tamilians. B. A. S.

animosity by joint-endeavours at providing for the families of those who fought and died in their cause. Thus in about A. D. 1174 Honna Gauḍa, son of Bhīma, died in the war about the boundary of Honnāvūru and Niraguṇḍa. On which all the people of Masaṇa, in the government of the senior betel-carrier, the Heggade Māchiyaṇṇa, uniting (made a grant for his family).¹

The custom of selling and buying land, and of settling questions connected with it, by corporate bodies was also common in the Karnāṭaka. In A. D. 1179 the Brahmans of Siṇdaghaṭṭa, also called Saṅgamēśvara, sold to Mādaṇṇa and Bommaṇṇa, sons of Gandani Dēvarāṇṇa, for forty-four *gadyāṇa* certain specified land belonging to the god Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa of Siṇdaghaṭṭa. The following is related in an inscription dated about A. D. 1215: Biṭṭi-guru, son of Devarāśi-guru, the temple priest (*sthānāchārya*) of the immemorial *agrahūra* Vijaya-Narasimhapura, which is Kaḷikaṭṭi, together with Jagata Jīya and others (named) agreeing among themselves in the presence of the great senior merchant Ponnachcha Śeṭṭi and others (named), gave to all the Brahmans of the same *agrahūra*, a *vōle* (or written deed) as follows: "A dispute having arisen as to some gain in the land of the god Kamaṭ-ēśvara,—the people of the place, Ponnachcha Śeṭṭi, the Jīyas, Gavuḍas and Chavu-gāveyas having assembled, inspected the place, saw that from the beginning it was no part of the god's endowment, and said to those priests,—‘ It is not right for you to dispute about this ’. On which the priests agreeing said: ‘ We will make no dispute. From this day forth the land of all the temples which we have been enjoying is ours; the land which the Brahmans have been enjoying since the *agrahūra* was established is theirs. When the land was distributed to us and to the Brahmans there was no watchman for Haḷḷi Hiriyūr ’." Such was the *vōle* given to the Brahmans by the priests (*sthānikaru*).²

¹ E. C., V, P. I, Hn. 68, p. 20.

² *Ibid.*, Ak. 49, pp. 127-8.

Among themselves also the Brahmans could act for a common purpose. In A. D. 1229 all the Brahmans of *Taḷirūr agraḥāra* agreeing together made a *sameya-śūsana* as follows : "Shares (*ṽṛittigaḷanu*) which have not paid the fixed rent (*siddhāya*) and are ruined, from the day they have been left *ōhaḷa*,¹ will pay interest at the rate of three *hāga* a month for a *hon*. The *ōhaḷa* share may be redeemed up to three months on payment of the rent and interest (*ōhaḷav iṭṭa ṽṛittiyan uraṁ ṽṛiddhikavāgi tiṅgaḷu mūrakke honna tettū biḍisikōmbaru*). If not redeemed, the *ōhaḷa* share may be exchanged, mortgaged, sold or given away (*biḍisada-paksha ā-vōhaḷada ṽṛitti sanda mūru-ādhi-kṛaya-dānākke saluvudu*). No debtor can claim the former rent from the date of the share being left *ōhaḷa* as a debt. Such is the rule made for the village. Whoso transgresses this (will incur the anger) of the emperor, and be..."²

The above settlement is almost of the same nature as the following which was made by all the Brahmans of the *Mallikāṛjuna agraḥāra*, which is *Diṇḍigūr*, in A. D. 1231. "Considering that the former division was not equal," these Brahmans of *Diṇḍigūr* had the wet and dry fields of the villages measured by agents, and agreeing among themselves on the principle that all were equal and should share alike, made the following permanent settlement of the desired shares (*dhṛivav āgi ichchā-ṽṛittiyāgi*). Here follow the number of shares allotted to each village (named); altogether 158 shares. All those who have permanently agreed to this settlement, "if anything should befall from the act of God or from the inroad of wild tribes, cannot excuse themselves saying it is not equal. By whatever village any sale or gift takes place, this settlement is not to be transgressed."³

It was perhaps to avert common legal disputes that all the Brahmans of *Agunda* on the occasion of the construction of

¹ "No meaning can be found for this word, which is not in any dictionary". *E. C.*, V, P. I., p. 171, n. (3).

² *Ibid.*, Ak. 128, p. 171, P. II, p. 519.

³ *Ibid.*, Cn. 170, p. 200.

the Kāliya-gaṭṭa of Saṇḍa by the minister Sōmaiya Nāyaka, enacted a rule to the following effect : " Whatever trouble arises about these, those Brahmans and the farmers and chiefs of Neluvalige will dispose of it." The persons referred to here were those in whose presence the Brahmans of Agunda gave Sōmaiya Nāyaka a grant of various specified lands. They were the Brahmans of the immemorial *agrahāra* Tumbegana Hasaūr, Eḍevolalu, Sālūr, Bannivūr, Biriguñji and Kotturhalḷi, all the Brahmans of the ninety-six villages, all the chiefs of Neluvalināḍ, Bayiche Gauḍa of Puṇyadahalḷi, and the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Tammarasa, the ruler of Hosagunḍa.¹ Of a similar nature is the regulation that was made by all the Brahmans of the Hariharapura *agrahāra*, also called Kellaṅgere, in A. D. 1297, to the effect that they would dispose of any dispute arising as to the lands of the village Sūleyakere, which they had sold, with all rights except *koḍage*, to Heggade Jayitaṇṇa's son Ayyaṇṇa.²

The Brahmans of the same immemorial *agrahāra* Hariharapura gave further expression to their sense of solidarity when in A. D. 1318 they gave a stone *śāsana* to the treasurer Kāvaṇṇa's son Rāmaṇṇa embodying the following clauses in their agreement. " The land in our village which Hariyaṇṇa and others (named), being unable to manage or to pay the original fixed rent and the extra taxes, transferred to us with a *vōle*,—that land, we having received from Rāmaṇṇa eight *gadyāṇa* for *kaṭṭuge*, *kāṇike*, Rāmaṇṇa will pay to the Brahmans for the land one *gadyāṇa* a year in the month of Pushya and will manage the land (specified); the Brahmans themselves will defray any tax imposed by the palace. That we should pay such taxes imposed by our village seems not to be the custom. This land Rāmaṇṇa may mortgage, sell or give away. Any dispute relating thereto will be settled by the Brahmans. To

¹ E. C., VII, Sk. 312, p. 153.

² E. C., V, P. I. Ak. 120, p. 166. See Ak. 121 where in A. D. 1299, we are told that the Brahmans of the same *agrahāra* sold the same village, but this time together with Bammihalḷi, to the same Ayyaṇṇa, confirming the deed of sale by a *patra-śāsana* and a *śilā-śāsana*. *Ibid.*, p. 166.

this land there is no reason to connect the northern field : that the Brahmans themselves will themselves enjoy. The land is granted to Rāmaṇṇa and his posterity."¹

The Brahmans of other *agrahūras* too could likewise unite for common objects. All the Brahmans of the *agrahūra* Vijayagōpālapura, or Igaṇasaṅthe, in about A. D. 1324, "agreeing among themselves, made the following division of Niragunda villages belonging to their land endowment, so as to form a permanent contract (*Nirgunda haḷligalaṇu dhruva vundigeyāgi hañchikoṇḍa-krama*): Details of *tattu* or parts, with the villages and shares belonging to each, altogether 100 shares. All the former rights connected with each village and the families living in it belong to the shareholders of that *tattu* in which it is included. At this time of partition the families among those in Nirugunda who have come there on contract (*i-hasugeya kālādalli Nirugundadallida vokuḷugalolage vundigeyinda banda vokuḷugaḷu*) belong to the shareholders of that *tattu* in which they are. The three families of Bēḍas in Ajjagaḍanahaḷli belong to the *tattu* in which it is included. Of the various families, whether they stay or whether they go, the loss or gain whatever it is, belongs to the shareholders of their respective *tattus*. Should any dispute arise regard....within the four boundaries of the villages included in these four *tattus* the Brahmans will decide and settle it,"²

The Vaishṇava Brahmans of the fourteen *vṛittis* in the middle of the village Baṇḍūr, in A. D. 1325, gave a written agreement (*patra-śāsana*) to the Brahmans of the six-sides of all-honoured great *agrahūra* Prasanna-Sōmanāthapura, making certain exchange of lands.³ These *āchāryas*, Vaishṇavas and Nambiyars of Baṇḍūr, we may incidentally note, had received a written grant (*patra-śāsana*) from the Hoysala king Vīra Narasiṃha Dēva in A. D. 1281.⁴

¹ E. C., V, P. I, Ak. 113, p. 161.

² E. C., XII, Tp. 41, pp. 49-50, text, p. 141.

³ E. C., III, TN. 99, p. 88.

⁴ *Ibid.*, TN. 100, p. 86.

In about A. D. 1333 during the administration of the *Mahā-prabhu* Toya Siṅgeya Daṇṇāyaka, all the Brahmans of the *agrahāra* Hiriya-Narasimhapura, also called Karuviḍi, agreeing among themselves, resolved to divide the estate equally among the families, setting up a stone in (the temple) of Hoysalēśvara. Collecting into one all the garden, wet and dry land, and all other parts of Halliyūr and Hiri-yūr, they divided them into 125 shares. (The details and regulations of their distribution are stated.) The epigraph runs thus: "Whoso enjoying land under this *śāsana* transgresses the regulations is excommunicated from the thirty-two thousand and is a traitor to the *agrahāra*." "Whoso transgresses the regulations of the *śāsana* will come under the order of Vīra Ballāḷa Dēvarasa and of Toya Siṅgeya Daṇṇāyaka".¹

Social transactions related to agriculture also give us an idea of the corporate life of the people in pre-Vijayanagara times. In about A. D. 1030 during the reign of Rājendra Chōḷa Dēva, the members of the assembly of Kūḍalūr *alias* Rājarāja-chaturvēdimāṅalam, granted certain specified lands for the offerings of the god Jayaṅgoṇḍa-Śōḷa-Viṇṇagar Ālvār. "They gave a *śāsanam* to the effect that they would themselves have the lands ploughed, carry to the temple, and measure out with the *marakkal* named Jayaṅgoṇḍa-Śōḷa a certain quantity (specified) of paddy every year." The members of the assembly also authorized the *pūjāris* of the god (?) to receive (?) *śuṭṭukadam* and a share of the produce of the lands.²

The one great concern of the people was the construction of tanks for agricultural purposes. The activities of all classes of people form a significant chapter in the agrarian history of the times, incidentally adding particular interest to the subject from the point of view of their corporate life. The *mahājanas* of Maḷavūr *alias* Rājendra-simha-chaturvēdimāṅalam and

¹ E. C., XII, Tp. 83, p. 59.

² E. C., IX, Cp. 133, p. 161.

Kumāra Cheṭṭiyār, in about A. D. 1060, granted certain lands (specified) to Malli Gauḍa of Appi-ūr, son of Mādi Gauḍa, below the tank which he had constructed in the village.¹ The thousand (Brahmans) of the Kuppaṭūr *agrahāra*, uniting, in A. D. 1071, gave to the Koṇḍeya-tāla-prahāri, Gaṇḍara Dēva Śeṭṭi, who had constructed a new tank, and formed new rice-fields cutting down forests, one *matta* of rice-land under the tank, according to the Kachchavi pole.² The *mahā-prabhus* and *nāl-gauḍas* of Halukūr, who had gained celebrity for their charity, constructed tanks, built temples, and gave shelter to refugees. The inscription dated A. D. 1177 which gives us this information, tells us that in the presence of all the subjects and farmers of Halukūr, the *Mahā-prabhu* Narasiṅga Gauḍa, along with three other Gauḍas (named), gave a religious significance to their deeds, by granting specified land to Chikkakavi-jīya of the Lākūlāgama-samaya of the Kālamukha sect, washing his feet at the time of the moon's eclipse.³

Nāgarāśi-panḍita, who was also an ascetic of the Kālamukha order, received a specified gift of land in about A. D. 1189 from all the *jagat-kottali* of the Seven-and-a-half-Lakh (country), Māra Bōva, Biṭṭi Bōva, and all the *jagatis* of Kalikaṭṭe, Duggabbe's son Kētaṇṇa, Kalleya, and the sixty chief men, in the presence of Sōmeya Nāyaka and all the subjects and farmers of Kalikaṭṭe. These *jagati-kottalis*, whose identification it is not possible to determine, are also described in the same epigraph as having made Kalikaṭṭe as beautiful as Amarāvātipura, "constructed tanks built Śiva temples which all the world praised", and filled the town of Kalikaṭṭe with fruitful areca trees and fields bearing the *gandhasāli* rice.⁴

In about A. D. 1190 certain persons (named) made grants of land to provide for maintaining the waste weir of the old tank, evidently in Arasiyakere, when Tippa was manag-

¹ E. C., IX, Cp. 154, p. 165.

² E. C., VIII, Sb. 317, p. 55.

³ E. C., V, P. I, Ak. 62, p. 135.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Ak. 48, p. 127.

ing the customs of the same place.¹ When Kūsadallayya of Notta built a tank to the west of the breached tank of Hirevālahalli in Nirugunda-nāḍ, in A. D. 1196, Mallayya Nāyaka of Bāgavāla together with a number of others (named), gave him eight *salage* of rice-land under the tank as *kere-godaḡe*.² In about A. D. 1211 the Brahmans of Nāraṇagaṭṭa channel, "having agreed that besides the water of the small tank for the rice-land of the Viṣṇu temple, no water can be allowed from the Nāraṇagaṭṭa channel," granted for the local god for bringing water according to the shares a fixed rate of one *gadyāṇa* a year.³

According to a record dated about A. D. 1221 Chaṭṭayya Perumāḷa Dēva was about to expend 100 *hon*, "on account of unforeseen calamity", on the first paddy land south-east of the fields of the immemorial *agrahāra* Erekeṛe, when "all the Brahmans belonging to it said that if he would build steps to the Dāsi-ṣeṭṭi tank, which was a very much superior place, it would be as if he had re-established their *agrahāra*. Accordingly, accepting this as a great favour, he allotted those 100 *hon* to the work of that tank. And all the Brahmans, being filled with joy, gave to the tank the name of Perumāḷa-samudra, and made to Chaṭṭayya Perumāḷa Dēva a free gift of 160 poles of garden land under the tank, accepting from him the prescribed worship of their feet".⁴

The public works of the same general, who is called Perumāḷe Dēva Daṇṇāyaka in A. D. 1270, are also mentioned in connection with the activities of the Brahmans of many *agrahāras*. This record informs us that "of the land which (with the usual titles) Vīra Narasiṁha Dēvarasa had granted to the great minister Perumāḷe Dēva Daṇṇāyaka, all the Brahmans of Śrīraṅgam and of the all-honoured *agrahāra* Udbhava-Viśvanāthapura, which was Bāḷugu, and of four other neighbouring villages (named), made an agreement as follows with

¹ E. C., V., P. I., Ak. 85, p. 145.

² *Ibid.*, Ak. 178, p. 184.

³ *Ibid.*, Ak. 132, p. 172.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Bl. 154, p. 96.

all the Brahmans of the all-honoured *agrahāra* Udbhava-Narasimhapura, which was Beḷḷūr :—In our Śrīraṅgapura, leaving the land to which water comes from the Allāḷasamudra tank, we have cultivated the rest. And Perumāḷe Dēva Daṇṇāyaka having spent much money and caused that Allāḷasamudra to be rebuilt so as to endure, we have taken from the land under that tank certain land (specified), west from the old breach which Perumāḷe Dēva Daṇṇāyaka has repaired, measuring forty-eight *kamba* according to the pole of thirty-two paces, for which we will pay to the Brahmans of Beḷḷūr a sum total of twelve *gadyāṇa* a year". The concluding lines of the same epigraph clearly indicate that the joint-activity of the people, as is proved by some of the inscriptions we have cited above, had royal sanction behind it, at least in the times of the Hoysala rulers. The epigraph in question ends thus : "Whoso transgresses this settlement falls under the order of the Pratāpa Chakravarti Hoysala Vīra Narasimha Dēvarasa."¹

The close relationship in which the State stood to the corporate activities of the people in this direction is also seen in another inscription of about A. D. 1270 which informs us that the *Mahāsāmanta*...Nārāṇamayya and the farmers and subjects of Gaṇḍāsi fixed as the water-rate for the lands watered from the old tank, for a *khaṇḍuga* of rice-land a *khaṇḍuga* of *bittuvaṭṭa*. And for the work of the tank they granted land (specified) under the tank.²

Provision was also made by the people for the maintenance of the cart-drivers attached to tanks. In about A. D. 1294 Dēvappa's son, the famous Chandappa, presented to the Brahmans of Hariharapura *alias* Kellaṅgere, a cart for the tank (of the *agrahāra*). Those Brahmans made a grant of specified land for the livelihood of the cart-driver. It was further resolved that "in the old town and in the villages... will be given for the grain for the bullocks and buffaloes."³

¹ E. C., IV, Ng. 48, pp. 125-6.

² E. C., V, P. I, Cn. 222, p. 221.

³ *Ibid.*, Ak. 116, p. 162.

For having repaired village tanks, the people conferred on charitable persons land as a *koḍaṅgai*. The great minister Tamma Śiṅgaya Daṇṇāyaka, according to a record dated A. D. 1314, together with the inhabitants of Pulliyur-nāḍu, granted to Dāmōdara Sōmaiya certain specified lands as a *kuḍaṅgai* for having built the Kaṟkīrai tank in Pulliyur-nāḍu, which had been breached and gone to ruins.¹

How the Brahmans appreciated the work done by eminent men for public purposes is narrated in a record dated A. D. 1314. Māchaya Daṇṇāyaka having bought from the Brahmans certain lands bordering on the tank of the stream to the north of Dēvarahaḷḷi, a hamlet of the *agrahāra* Chennakēśvarapura *alias* Goravūr, in the name of his mother Māyakkā having expended three or four thousand 'honnu and constructed a tank, the 144 Brahmans of Goravūr, agreeing among themselves, made over the lands under it, excepting temple benefactions, for the benefit of Māchaya Daṇṇāyaka's children's children.²

The common people were in no sense inferior to the Brahmans in recognizing the services of influential persons. Another record also dated A. D. 1314 informs us that Akaimā ...mother of the same Māchaya Daṇṇāyaka, bought certain land from the Brahmans of Bēḍarahalḷi, a hamlet of the *agrahāra* Haleya-Goravūr, and having spent 3500 *gadyāṇa* built the tank called Māchasamudra after her son. The 144 shareholders of Goravūr, with the consent of all the people and farmers of Hirivūr, settled that certain specified lands were to be granted as permanent endowment to Māchaya Daṇṇāyaka's children's children.³

In about A. D. 1324 all the Brahmans of the *agrahāra* Ballāḷapura which is Hiriya-Gaṇḍasi, "being seated in the place of council, agreeing among themselves, gave to Māyisāhani's son Machiya Nāyaka, a stone *śāsana*" for having

¹ E. C., IX, Ht. 139, p. 106.

² E. C., V, P. I, Hn. 182, p. 42.

³ *Ibid.*, Hn. 164, pp. 40-1.

constructed a virgin tank in the village of Jōgehaḷli to the west of the town.¹

The inhabitants of Pulliyūr-nāḍu, in about A. D. 1330, showed that they could be as generous as the Brahmans. Together with Dāṭi Śiṅgeya Daṇṇāyaka, Naṁbi Sōma Śeṭṭi, Pulimāra Gauḍa, Ānaiyār, the accountant of the *nāḍu*, and others (named), the people of Pulliyūr-nāḍu granted to Naṁbi Dēvi Śeṭṭi the pool situated between Attivallai and Śūlivallai adjoining Śattiparam, which, after clearing out the silt, he had made into a tank, as a *kuḍaṅgai*.²

For purposes of awarding honours too the people worked in harmony with the officers of the government. In A.D. 1343 the *Mahā-sāmantādhipati* Chikka Kaḷaya Nāyaka together with all the farmers of Kāḍagōḍi-sthaḷa on the south side of the great Saṇṇe-nāḍ, granted to the *sēnabōva* of the Saṇṇe kingdom, Perumbāchāri's (son) Sātuvela Allāḷa all the wet and dry land with the four boundaries of Haṭṭandūr in their own *sthaḷa*, as a *sarvamānya koḍage*.³

Instances of the corporate activities of the people for religious purposes are found in the records of the Tamil kings. We shall give only a few of these, since it is well known that joint-action was a special feature of the village assemblies of the ancient Tamil people. The following relates to the times of Rājakēśarivarman, who may have been perhaps Āditya I. The great merchants (*nagarattār*) of Kumāramārtāṇḍapuram assigned, and gave with the consent of the guild, their income of every alternate year from the collection (*vārāvaigal*) from certain specified flower gardens for the repairs (*pudukkuppuram*) and *gōpuram* of the local temple. If they failed as a guild or as a single individual, one among them who was in charge of the temple, was authorized to levy a fine of gold himself and realize it from the defaulter openly or at any place he liked.⁴ Another record dated in the twelfth regnal year of Ko-Rāja-

¹ E. C., V., P. I., Ak. 158, pp. 180-1.

² E. C., IX, Ht. 56, p. 94.

³ E. C., IX, Bn. 41, p. 10.

⁴ S. I. I., III, P. III, p. 224.

Kēsarivarman (Rājarāja Dēva) informs us that the *sabhai* (assembly) of the same village pledged themselves to furnish a yearly supply of paddy to the temple treasurers (*Śiva-panḍāri-gaḷ*) from the interest of a sum of money, which they had received from a large stone-temple, named Rājasimhēśvara at Kañchipuram, or to pay a fine of a quarter *poṇ* daily.¹

In A. D. 1007 during the times of Rājarāja Dēva, the members of the assembly of Periya-Maḷavūr "having assembled without a vacancy in the assembly, in the temple of the god Jayaṅgaṇḍa-Sōḷa-Viṇṇagar-ālvār at Nigarili-Sōḷapuram", granted specified land for the daily offerings of the god. It is interesting to observe that these members of the assembly of Periya-Maḷavūr *alias* Rājēndrasimha-chaturvēdimaṅgaḷam, gave the *śāsana* for the above god "binding ourselves to plough and cultivate the lands ourselves, and to bring to the temple and measure out fully, with the *marakkāl* named Jayaṅgaṇḍa-Sōḷan, a certain quantity (specified) of clean paddy."² The citizens of Nigarili-Sōḷapuram also gave a grant of land to the same temple in the same year.³

In A. D. 1014 five prominent men (named) of the assembly of Vaṇṇḍūr *alias* Chōḷamādēvi-chaturvēdimaṅgaḷam, in Kīlalaī-nāḍu of Gaṅgaṇḍi, gave a signed agreement to the *pūjāris* of the same god mentioned above, pertaining to minute regulations they had made in connection with the grant of paddy that was given as a gift for the offerings of the god.⁴

Bāvaṇa and Rāvaṇa, two brothers, sculptors by profession, and "possessed of unblemished virtues", in A. D. 1139 in order "to clear an aspersion on their own race of the sculptors," set up the image of the god Kusuvēśvara, and calling together Mēchi Śēṭṭi, Kīrtti Śēṭṭi, with all the chief people of the town (name ?) and the five *maṭhas*, along with them presented that

¹ S. I. I., I., p. 140. See also S. I. I. III, P. I, p. 18.

² E. C., IX, Ch. 128, p. 159. See also Cp. 132, p. 161.

³ *Ibid.*, Cp. 131, p. 160.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Cp. 129, *ibid.* For a similar gift of a tax *dēvadāna* by seven members of another (?) assembly of the same *puram*, see Ch. 139 dated about A. D. 1015. *Ibid.*, pp. 162-3.

temple of the god Kuvēśvara to Gautama Dēva as attached to the god Kēdarēśvara. Whereupon Gautama Dēva (on the date specified), in the presence of all the townspeople and the five *mathas*, made for the decorations and offerings of the god a specified grant of land. "And Mēchi Śēṭṭi, Kīrtti Śēṭṭi and the other chief townsmen, on account of their having been spectators of such a pure work of merit, for the repairs of the temple remitted for ever the land-rent of the house which Bāvaṇa had occupied. And the fifty families of oilmen granted for the perpetual lamp one *sonṭige* of oil from their mills. And Khēvale Gāvuṇḍa and all the headmen of the tailors, for the god's Chaitra purification festival, granted one *paṇa* a year from each family; and in case of a marriage, one *paṇa* from the bride-groom's party, and one *paṇa* from the bride's party, and the money for *kusumbe* (red safflower)".¹ No greater proof than the above is needed to maintain that the people of the Karṇāṭaka were bound together by a remarkable spirit of co-operation, especially in religious matters. This assertion of ours is further proved by an inscription dated A. D. 1143 which informs us that Viṣṇuvardhana Dēva's senior door-keeper (*hiriya-haḍiyara*) Rēvimayya, with the knowledge of all the citizens of Viṣṇusamudra in Āsandi-nāḍ, granted specified land for the god Nakharēśvara. Also Dāsaiyya, son of Bū Śēṭṭi, made a specified grant for the same. And all the citizens assigned certain tolls (specified) for the same. And the oilmongers made a specified grant for the perpetual lamp of the god.²

The Brahmans of Hariharapura or Kellaṅgere, in A. D. 1161, "washing the feet of Śivaśakti-paṇḍita", the priest of the temple of the god Dharmēśvara, granted (specified) lands for the perpetual lamp, decorations and repairs of the temple. "And the *Heggaḍes* of the customs remitted the customs payable to them, also for the same purpose, together with one oil mill for the god Dharmēśvara and another for the god Kēśava. And

¹ E. C., VII, Sk. 112, p. 83.

² E. C., VI, Kd. 99, p. 18.

to Nāchaya, the worshipper of the god Dharmēśvara, they granted the customs dues on looms and the plaited hair tax.¹

Grants of land were often made in the presence of the people. Thus in A. D. 1174 the Heggade of Arasiyakere, Rēchana, Kētamalla, and Muttana Māra, in the presence of the subjects and farmers, gave land as a gift for the decorations of the god Aṛeya Śaṅkara. The townsmen (or merchants) granted a pot of rice to Mādhava-jīya, of the Kālamukhas, evidently a priest of the same temple (at Hagariṭṭige).²

The corporate activities of the Jains were too varied and prominent to be left out of account in the history of the Kārṇāṭaka. Their public charities in A. D. 1220 are minutely described in a record of that date. Arasiyakere owed its greatness to the liberality of these *bhavyas*, who, in addition to their other works, contributed a *kōṭi* (of money), with a temple and an enclosure wall, for the shining Sahasrakūṭa Jīna image set up by the great Rēcharasa. They also made provision for the livelihood of the *pūjāris* and servants of the Sahasrakūṭa Chaityālaya, the food to be given to all those of the four castes who may come, and the repairs of the Jīna temple, the Chaityālaya, purchasing land from the 1000 families of the locality. They also received *fuṛids* (specified) from the people (named) and a shop from the *Pattaṇasvāmi* Kalla...³

As regards the joint-activity of the Brahmans we have a record dated about A. D. 1227 which informs us that all the Brahmans of Narasimhapura which is Muduvaḍi, in order to provide for the perpetual lamp of the family god Amṛitēśvara, agreeing among themselves, created a fund as the capital.⁴

¹ E. C., V, P. I, Ak. 117, p. 163. See Ak. 111, p. 160, for a similar instance. For an endowment made over by a Heggade, declared to be under the protection of all the subjects of the nine *nāḍs*, see *ibid.*, Bl. 25, p. 53.

² *Ibid.*, Ak. 69, p. 137. See also Ak. 127 of A. D. 1185, pp. 169-70; Ak. 61 of A. D. 1185, p. 133; Ak. 193 of 1194, pp. 186-7; E. C., VI, Tk. 45, p. 112; E. C., VIII, Sb. 140 dated in A. D. 1198, p. 20; E. C., IV, Hg. 14, p. 67.

³ E. C., V, P. I, Ak. 77, p. 141. Cf. The charity of some of "the faithful" (named) for the cause of the *agrahāra* Talirūr, also in the same year A. D. 1220. Ak. 133, p. 172. In Ak. 92 of A. D. 1223 we have a further proof of the bounty of the citizens of Arasiyakere, p. 148.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Ak. 152, p. 180.

In A. D. 1228 the kings Īśvara Dēva, Māda Dēva and Malli Dēva of the Sinda-kula and various *sāvantas* (named), Chikka Bēgūr and Bāsūr, made grants of offerings (specified) for the god Rāmanātha of Mora-Guruva. And the *nāl-prabhūs* (named) followed their example by granting specified offerings at the various seasonal festivals. The five hundred *svāmis* and a number of others (named) including *sāvantas*, the 300 Billas of the Ninety-six Thousand, and boatmen, the *bōvas*, and the *ālegolegas* made a grant of the fallen areca-nuts in Baļle, Kuṛuva and Bēgūr, and the boatmen's taxes in those places, evidently for the offerings of the same god.¹

In what manner the State acceded to the demands of the people is related in an inscription dated A. D. 1290. "On a petition being made by the inhabitants of Ilaippākka-nāḍu, the officer Śellappiļai, the temple manager of Nalandigaļ Nārāyaṇa-Tādar and some others (named), to the effect that the provision made for the expenses of festivals of the god Śokkap-perumāl of Tombalūr is inadequate, the king (Hoysala Vīra Rāmanātha Dēva) remitted " 10 *poṇ* out of the amount that was being paid by (the village of) Tombalūr."²

For patriotic as well as religious purposes the inhabitants of Periya-nāḍu in Māsandi-nāḍu, including Pilla Gauḍa, the officer of the nāḍu which was called after the ruler, Vīra Ballāḷa Dēva-nāḍu, and the royal officers (named), A.D. 1304, granted the wet and dry lands (specified) in the villages of Nerikundi and Erumūrkkāḍappalli in order to provide for the offerings of the god Śingaveṅgai-Uḍaiyār.³ With the same object the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Śakkaya Nāyaka's son Vaiśan-dagaļi Dēva together with the inhabitants of the *nāḍu*

¹ E. C., VII, H1, 8, p. 159. For another example, see E. C., VI, Tk. 83 of about A. D. 1230, pp. 120-1; Kd. 100 of A. D. 1240, p. 18; Tk. 3 of A. D. 1260, p. 103; E. C., VIII, Sb. 247 of A. D. 1288, p. 38.

² E. C., IX, Bn. 11, p. 6. For the provision made by all the Brahmans of an *agrarāḍra*, the name of which is effaced in the inscription, see E. C., IV, Y1. 57 of about A. D. 1292, p. 32. The Pāñcāḷas of a certain place also gave expression to their solidarity in about A. D. 1300 E. C., IX, Bn. 12, P. 6.

³ E. C., IX, Bn. 53, pp. 11, n. (3), 12.

(Muttakūr ?) in A. D. 1315 granted the village of Aṟaiyūraṇpaḷḷi in the Muttakkūr division, for the offerings of the god Śeṇḍai-Nāyaṇār.¹

In A. D. 1320 Mādhava, son of...va Rāya, having secured land valued at sixty *honnu* which he obtained from the road to the town of Kūḍali, together with other favours from the minister Bombeya Daṇṇāyaka, presented that piece of land, with (the consent of ?) sixty farmers, one hundred and twenty temple priests, and others, for the decorations of the god Rāma of Kūḍali.²

The inhabitants of Tēkal-nāḍu, in A. D. 1328, granted lands (specified) below the big tank of Śirraṭṭimaṅgaḷam for the offerings of the god Varadar of Tēkaḷ. They also gave a deed of gift to Śokkaperumāl permitting him to have it engraved on stone and copper. The concluding lines of their grant run thus : " We also pledge ourselves to pay any unjust dues that this village may become liable to by reason of this *nāḍu* passing into other hands and to restore it intact for the above purpose."³

That the traditions of solidarity of the early rulers and their people lived till the year of the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire is proved by a record dated A. D. 1346 which deals with the activities of citizens and officials. The inhabitants of Ambaḍakki-nāḍu, including Pāppīsiyar and six others (named), and the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Mañjaya Nāyaka's son Aṅkaya Nāyaka granted all the wet and dry lands belonging to Ānur of their *nāḍu*, to provide for the offerings in the temple of Irājendra-Sōḷa-Tekkiśvaraṇ-Uḍaiya-Nāyaṇār at Śengai. The grant contains the signature of the *nāḍu*-Seṭṭiśvara-dēvar, that of the *nāḍ* accountant Nilappan, and of a few more persons.⁴

For purely charitable purposes endowments of the people in pre-Vijayanagara times are numerous, both in the *Karnāṭaka*

¹ E. C. IX., Ht. 159, p. 109. See also Ht. 100 of about A. D. 1330, p. 100.

² E. C., VII, Sh. 69, p. 27.

³ E. C., X, Mr. 11, p. 158.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Sd. 67, pp. 187-188.

and Tamil lands. In the south public charities, as in the reign of Parāntaka II, were placed under the *māhēsvaras* and great men of assembly.¹ Sometimes, as in Uṭkal, the village assemblies pledged themselves to feed Brahmans daily from the interest which amounted to 100 *kāḍi* of paddy every year.²

The same liberal ideas which prevailed in the Tamil country also induced the people of the Karṇāṭaka to give concrete expression to their feelings of generosity. In A. D. 1103 the thousand Brahmans of the *agrahāra* Nelavatti gave specified garden land to Mādhava Salaṅgi Kēśavayya's son Biṭṭemayya, "worshipping his feet", for the *khaṇḍika dharma*.³ Certain farmers (named) in about A. D. 1136 made a grant of land (specified) for (the god) Mahādēva of Manaḷi (in Yeḍatore).⁴

Endowments were also made for the temples of the Jainas. In about A. D. 1173 all the chiefs and farmers of Iḍai-nāḍ, which was Periya-nāḍ, made a grant for the *basti* in Kolgaṇa, to the *Mahāmaṇḍalāchārya* Pādirāja Dēva Uḍaiyar's disciple Śiṅgaṇa Dēva.⁵

In about A. D. 1180 the *mahājanas* of Kūḍalūr granted certain specified land as a *kuḍaṅgai* to (?) Śōmaṇṇa Gāvundan.⁶

The great minister Perumāḷe Dēva Daṇṇāyaka bought certain specified land at Esagūr from certain Gauḍas (named) of Beṇṇedoṇe, in Bemattanūr-vṛitti, in A.D. 1286, in the presence of the various local authorities and interested persons (named), and made grants (detailed) from it to *Adhikāri* Viṭṭhappa, Balla Gauḍa, Sēnabōva Bāchayya, Heggade Bommayya, and two others (named). And the remainder of all the land at Esagūr he granted to a number of gods (named).

¹ S. I. I., III, P. III, pp. 256-7, 260.

² *Ibid.*, P. I, p. 13. See also S. I. I., I, p. 69, E. C., III, Nj. 161, p. 111.

³ E. C., VII, Hl. 66, p. 172. *Khaṇḍika-dharma*—"Grant for the recitation of some portion of the Veda". *Ibid.*, n. (2).

⁴ E. C., IV, Yd. 14, p. 53.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Ch. 181, p. 22.

⁶ E. C., IX, Cp. 157, p. 165.

And all the farmers of Beimmattūr made a grant. And the citizens, *nāḍ-prabhu*, *nāḍ-ṣettis* (many named), the *rāja-guru* and *dharma-gurus*, the temple priest of Hiḍimbēśvara, *Śēnabōva* Bāchaṇṇa, Heggade Kāmabōva, and all the subjects uniting in a work of merit, Perumāle Dēva Daṇṇāyaka caused the *śāsana* to be written and given, freeing on the part of the *nāḍ* itself all the land of that Esagūr from taxes and dues (specified).¹

The inhabitants of Iḷaippākka-nāḍ together with the officer of the *nāḍ* and one another person, in A. D. 1288, made an endowment for some purpose not stated in the epigraph.² An effaced inscription of a similar nature, dated A. D. 1303, informs us that the Brahmans (named) of Kyaslūr in Sāntalige-nāḍ of the Āraga-vēṇṭhe, gave to Liṅgappa's son Chalappa some village.³

According to a record dated A. D. 1305 Chakravarti Daṇṇāyaka, son of Perumāle Dēva Dāṇṇāyaka, granted certain specified lands in Śivapura situated in Gaṅga-Nārāyaṇa-Chaturvēdi-maṅgaḷam, to some persons (named). The same inscription tells us that he had received a village (?) as a *sarva-mānya* from the inhabitants of the Iḷaippākka-nāḍu.⁴

In A. D. 1315 the great minister Dēvappa Daṇṇāyaka and others (named) together with all the subjects and farmers of Huleyanahaḷḷi made a grant of lands, the description of which is effaced, to the Suravēṇi Sēnabōva Rājaṇṇa as a *koḍage*.⁵ A similar gift of a *koḍage* at Maṇṇeyūr but by order of the great minister Vīra Sōmaya Daṇṇāyaka's son Śi(ṅgeya) Daṇṇāyaka in A. D. 1318, was made by all the farmers (many named) (of ?)

¹ E. C. XI, Cd. 32, pp. 9-10. See also E. C., IV., Ng. 41, dated A. D. 1284 for some more charities by the same general, p. 124.

² E. C., IX, Dv. 24, p. 76.

³ E. C., VIII, Tl. 139, p. 191.

⁴ E. C., IX, Bn. 23, pp. 7-8.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Ma. 58, p. 58. E. C., IV., Ch. 137 of A. D. 1317 speaks of the activities of the Brahmans of Nagara called the *agrakāra Kāśava-pura* P. 18.

to Būchi Dēva's son Biṭṭapa (Viṭṭapa).¹ In A. D. 1320 the farmers and residents of Hulivāna made a grant to Mānisa Śeṭṭi and for the temple of Kaliyūr.² The *Mahāsāmanlādhipati* Pemmi...Varada-bhūppāli Nāyakkar and the inhabitants of the Tēkaḷ-nāḍu, according to a Tamil record dated A. D. 1323, granted specified wet and dry lands of the village of Śeṭṭipalli, situated in the Viṭṭimaṅgala-parṇu, and of the lands below the big tank of Viṭṭimaṅgala to certain donees (named).³

In A.D. 1332 the *Mahāsāmanlādhipati* Vaiyichcha Gauḍa, Niraga Dēva and Koṅga Irāme Nāyaka, officers under Śingeya Daṇṇāyaka together with the inhabitants of Pulliyur-nāḍu, including certain prominent Śeṭṭis (named), granted to KaṇṇarKāvatta Dēva's son Śiyanam certain specified lands as a *kudaṅgai*.⁴ The inhabitants of Turaivaḷi-nāḍu and Vira Ballāḷa Dēva's son, (Śinge)ya Daṇṇāyaka granted, in A. D. 1337, certain specified lands in the same *nāḍu* to certain persons (named) at a specified rate of so many shares.⁵ Another Tamil record mentions that in A. D. 1340 Teṅgal Vallappa Daṇṇāyakkar and the inhabitants of Kaivāra-nāḍu granted specified land in the village of Nelavāyppalli and shares in Kaivāra-nāḍu to Periya-Gōmāḷi and Kariya Gōmāḷi Dāśu, having set up boundary stones marked with the discus (of Viṣṇu).⁶ In the next year the inhabitants of Amabaḍakki-nāḍu including Pāppiśiyar, the superintendent of the *nāḍu*, and three others (named), as related in another Tamil inscription of A. D. 1341, granted the village of Attigapalli in the same *nāḍu*, to Tēvapperumāl-tādar and Pe...dan as a gift.⁷ A Tamil record dated A. D. 1342 tells us that

¹ E. C., IX., Cp. 10, p. 138.

² E. C., III, Md. 74, p. 46.

³ E. C., X, Kl. 10, p. 2. See E. C., IX., Ht. 140 (a) dated A. D. 1331 for the joint-grant by the ministers, the superintendents of the *nāḍu* and others (named) of certain lands. P. 106.

⁴ E. C., IX., Ht. 104, p. 101, n. (1), For a similar gift see *ibid.*, Cp. 7, dated A. D. 1334, p. 137.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Bn. 60, p. 13.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Ht., 49, p. 93.

⁷ E. C., X., Sd. 26, p. 182.

Dēvappār (descent stated) and the inhabitants of Pulliyūr-nāḍu including Tuṟavar-nāyan, Tambiravi Śeṭṭiyār, granted to Sīyanan, son of Tuṟvar Śāvukka Dēvar, the superintendent of Pulliyūr-nāḍu, certain specified lands as a *kuḍaṅgai*.¹ All the subjects and farmers of Elahaṅka-nāḍ and the *Mahāśāvantādhipati* (with other titles) Chikka Bayiraya Nāyaka's son Honnamarāya Nāyaka granted, in the same year, specified land at Jakkūr to the Nāḍ-Sēnabōva Allāḷa, as a *sarva-mānya koḍage*.² In the same year A. D. 1432 the inhabitants of the *nāḍu* (Periya-nāḍu of Pulliyūr), including Tuṟvar Nāḍa Śeṭṭi's son Māri Śeṭṭi, and a few more named, granted land, the details of which are effaced, to all the *mahājanas* of Ivaṭṭam *alias* Varadarāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.³ The *Mahāśāvantādhipati* Chikka Kallaya Nāyaka together with all the farmers of the Kāḍagōḍi-sthala in the Toravala-vitti (vṛitti ?) of the southern part of Saṇi-nāḍ in the same year, granted the rice fields and dry fields of Haṭṭandūr (specified), as a *sarvamānya koḍage* to the *nāḍ-sēnabōva* Perumbāchari Sātusāva Allāḷa.⁴

SECTION 2. *Social Activities under Vijayanagara*

The detailed description of the public charities in the pre-Vijayanagara ages, especially in the Karṇāṭaka, given above are essential if we are to estimate adequately the traditions which were handed down to the rulers of Vijayanagara, and the corporate activities of the various bodies in mediaeval times. There is something more than mere religious fervour in the numerous examples we have just cited: the sense of solidarity, especially as given in the inscriptions recording the joint-action of the people, not only among themselves, but with the officers of Government, was seen more in the Karṇāṭaka than in the Tamil land, in the latter half of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries. This explains the rejuvenation of Hindu life in the Hoysala Empire, and the failure of the people

¹ E. C., IX, Ht. 90, p. 98.

² *Ibid.*, Bn. 21, p. 7.

³ *Ibid.*, Ht. 135, p. 105.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Ht. 147, p. 108.

of the Pāṇḍya kingdom to achieve the same end. It is a significant fact that even in the very last days of the Hoysala rulers, the popular sentiment to work in harmony with the State, which was characteristic of the early Tamil people, should have manifested itself more in the epigraphs relating to farmers and cultivators rather than in those pertaining to Brahmans. The richest heritage which the Hoysalas gave to the new generation was this remarkable spirit of working for the common good without which the resuscitation of the Hindu Dharma would have been an impossible task.

We shall now learn about the corporate activities of the people of Vijayanagara in matters related partly to the political, partly to the legal but mostly to the religious and social spheres of life. Here, again, it may be worth while to remember the evidence we have already cited about the endeavours of the people to knit themselves in issues which were purely political.¹ According to a record dated A. D. 1379 the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Sōṇṇaiyar Nāyakkar's son Ankaya Nāyakkar the superintendent of Nonḍaṅguḷi-nāḍu, Āchcha Gauḍa, and Nārāyaṇan and Veṅgaḍam Uḍaiyan, the *pūjāris* of the temple of Śelva-Nārāyaṇa-pperumaḷ at Nonḍaṅguḷi agreed to exempt from taxes, for the first two years, the lands brought under wet cultivation below the tank...in Nonḍaṅguḷi, built by Pammi Seṭṭiyar's son Periya-perumāl Seṭṭiyar, one of the Vaiśya-vāṇiya-Nagarattār ...; and that, thenceforward, the remaining wet lands after taking away the *kuḍaṅgai*, shall become the property of the god.²

Patriotic and religious motives prompted the people sometimes to make joint endowments to temples. Lakkarasa of Sādali, together with the *nāḍ-prabhus* (named) of Kōḷāla in Nikarili-Chōḷa-maṇḍala, in A. D. 1384, made a grant of the lands belonging to Chikka-Hayūr in Kōḷāla-nāḍ, for the offerings and decorations of the god of the Mūlsthāna, which is Kailāsa, in order that increase of life, health, and wealth, and

¹ *Supra*, Volume I, Chapter VI, Administration—(continued).

² E. C., IX. Ht. 50, p. 93.

universal empire might be to the champion over the Kantikāra Rāya, Nāgaṇṇa Oḍeyar's son Dēpaṇṇa Oḍeyar.¹ In the same year and with the same object, but this time referring to Nāgaṇṇa Oḍeyar himself and to his son, the *nāḍ-mahāprabhu*s of Kōlāla, called in this record the southern Dvārāvati-paṭṭaṇa, together with the same *Adhikāri* Lakkarasappa, Mukanna-Jiya, Sōvaṇṇa-Jiya, Yiri Śeṭṭi, and all the farmers and subjects being agreed, made a grant of all the lands (specified) belonging to the Haleya-Kottanūr village in Kōlāla-nāḍ.² In about A. D. 1489, the Kālesāle people gave the Tālekere village to Kambāla Siddere Voḍeyar, in order that *dharma* might be to the ruler Narasinga Rāya Mahārāja.³ Kontamarasa and Dēvarasa with the Gauḍas and subjects, made petition to some one, whose name is effaced in the record, and (the result seems to have been that?) Rāvi Śeṭṭi made a grant of Aredāsahalli to an unspecified person, in A. D. 1535, in order that merit ought to be to the Emperor Achyuta Rāya's son-in-law Raghupati Rāja Mahā-arasu.⁴ Another incomplete record dated A. D. 1553 informs us that the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Ayaṇa Viraliṅga Dēva,... the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*... the Gauḍas of the village belonging to... and others, granted a *śāsana* to Gōsikere Liṅga Viraya's son Ayaṇa Madakare Liṅga Virayya with the right of collecting certain specified dues in the villages belonging to the Guḍḍa-sīme.⁵

The change that was coming over the country is seen in the record dated A. D. 1556. This inscription tells us that by order of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Rāma Rāja Tirumala Rājayya Dēva Mahā-arasu, the *Mahānāyakāchārya* Niḍugal Timmaṇṇa Nāyaka, and subjects of the Niḍugal-sīme (a great number named), these and other Gauḍas and subjects, with the *Seṭṭi-paṭṭaṇa-swāmi*, having purchased the Tūmukunṭe

¹ E. C., X, Kl. 80, p. 22.

² *Ibid*, Kl. 67, p. 18.

³ E. C., IX., Nl. 47, p. 37.

⁴ E. C., XII., Tp. 29, p. 47.

⁵ E. C., XI., Hr. 34, p. 108.

village in the Niḍugal kingdom, placing Gutti Tirumala Rājayya's seal bearers (*mudrcamanūṣyaru*) in front of Keñchappa Nāyaka, granted the village for the services and festivals (specified) of the god, in order that merit might be to Gutti Tirumala Rājayya Dēva Mahā-arasu.¹

The following epigraph dated A.D. 1588 suggests that corporate bodies might not always have been forced to make endowments by the officials of the Government. Appāji Sēnabōva of Koppa (descent stated), having set up the god Gōpāla Kṛishṇa on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadra in Nāri in Koḍa-nāḍ, bought certain specified lands and presented them for the offerings of the god. The epigraph contains the following interesting information: "Witnesses, who will see to the carrying out of this work of merit:—All the nāḍ officers of Koppa-Koḍa-nāḍ Four Thousand; all the cultivators of the two Aṅgaḍi of Koppa; the Brahmans of Bommanāpura, Nāgalāpura, Nara-simhapura, Belguḷa new *agrahāra*, Maṅgalāpura and Sōmalāpura". The agreement was written with the approval of both parties by Saṅkappa Sēnabōva of Koḍa-nāḍ, with the signatures of the donor and of the witnesses affixed to it.²

The nature of the corporate life of the people is better illustrated in the numerous examples referring to what may be called the legal aspect of their social life. In this connection too we may recount the remarks we have already made in connection with the judicial administration of Vijayanagara. Whether dealing with arbitrators or Gauḍas, with the questions of buying land or selling it, with issues pertaining to mortgages or boundary disputes,—the epigraphs prove beyond doubt that behind the immense material wealth of the rulers, there lay deeper and more valuable resources of social solidarity which enabled them to protect and preserve Hindu Dharma for two and a half centuries of peace and warfare.

In A. D. 1388 all the (?) merchants (*bāṇigaru*) made a division of lands at Aruṇahallī to Kaṁpaṇa and others of the

¹ E. C., XII., Si. 31, p. 93.

² E. C., VI. Kp. 57, p. 89.

same place, and the agreement was written by the village accountant Chaudōja, with the approval of both parties.¹ The sale-deed of the Kaudavalli village and other lands by Achapa's son Viṭṭhapa, as mentioned in a record of A. D. 1404 already cited, was concluded after the price had been fixed by the arbitrators at 500 *hon*. This agreement was written by the Maduvaṅka-nāḍ Sēnabova Siṅgarasa with the approval of both parties.² In A. D. 1421 all the Brahmans (named) of Hiriya-Hoḷalūr in Sāntalige-nāḍ, sold certain specified land in Hangarabayal belonging to the same place, to the *Parama-haṁsa-parivrājākāchārya* Tīrthamuttūr Śankara Bhārati Śrīpada in Keḷabhāgi of Sāntalige, for forty-eight *hon*, the price fixed by arbitrators.³ Certain Heggadeś (named) of Mēguravali in Maduvalige-nāḍ, in A. D. 1417, sold to Dēvappayya (descent stated), lands under the tank built in Mumbeḷe for 42½ *hon*, the price fixed by arbitrators.⁴ A record dated A. D. 1424 informs us that Kōḍūr Tirika Heggade, in A. D. 1396, had sold the Kūṭahalli village to some one for eighty *hon*, the price fixed by arbitrators.⁵

When a sale-deed was effected, the presence of influential citizens was necessary. We cannot determine, however, whether this was done at the instance of the State. In A. D. 1368 a deed of sale (*kraya-patra*) was drawn up by a number of representatives of the Eighteen Kaṁpaṇas of the Gutti kingdom, pertaining to Muchchunḍi, Palāsapalli and Tevaṭṭa; and the price of the land sold was 200 *varāha*, five times the value of the annual rent. The epigraph relates why all the people (*samasta-gauḍa-prajegaḷu*) made the grant. It was because of *Mādarasa Oḍeyaru māḍuva dharma-nimittavāgi*.⁶

¹ E. C., III., MI. 20, p. 57.

² E. C., VIII., TI. 134, p. 190.

³ *Ibid.*, TI. 144, pp. 192-3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, TI. 148, pp. 192-3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, TI. 170, p. 198. The interpretation given here may be questioned.

⁶ E. C., VII., Sk. 282, p. 147, text, p. 335. This *Mādarasa Oḍeyar* is evidently the same *Mādhava* referred to in the preceding epigraph. Sk. 281, p. 146.

How a sale-deed was effected is told in a record dated Śaka 1296 (A. D. 1374-5), of the times of "the illustrious Ommaṇa-uḍaiyar, the son of the illustrious Kaṁbaṇa-uḍaiyar". "Whereas the great people of Śambukula-Perumāl-agaram, *alias* Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgaḷam, (situation in the Tamil land, described) gave to the illustrious Viṣṇu-Kaṁbali Nāyaka ...of Alasu-nāḍu, within Tuḷu-nāḍu, a document (*pramāṇa*) about the cost of land (described in detail)—We, the great people, (*hereby, declare, that we*) having thus agreed, gave a document about the costs of land to the illustrious Viṣṇu-Kaṁbaḷi-Nāyaka. At the pleasure of these great people. I, Aṅkārai Śrīdhara-Bhaṭṭa of Śambukula-Perumāl-agaram wrote this document about the cost of land; this is (*my*) signature".¹

We may give some examples of joint-sale by the citizens of Vijayanagara. The Heggades (named) of Nēṇaṅgi-nāḍ gave to Satyatīrtha Śrīpāda of the Muniyūr Maṭha and his disciple of Vaikunṭha Tīrtha a deed of sale of the Maṇṇaraya land in their *nāḍ* for sixty-two *honnu* in A.D. 1388.² The Heggades of the same *nāḍ* sold the Arangodigi land to Lakshmī Nārāyaṇa Dēva of the same *maṭha* for seventy *gadyāṇa* in A. D. 1393.³ Mādhava Bhaṭṭa (descent stated), Nāchchiyappa and others (named), the *sthānikas* of the temple of Śrī-Mūlasthānam Uḍaiyar at Tendatṭumaḍai-vilāgam, "having agreed among ourselves", sold their *kshētra* to Śīruchchōmaṇa (descent stated), a *sthānika* of the temple of Śomīśuram-uḍaiyār at Śūrūr, in A. D. 1394, "having received full payment", with all details of the tract of land which formed a part of their *dēvadāna* possession.⁴ The Brahmans of...paṭṭana, in Āraga, bought the Hālamuttūr village in the Sāntalige-nāḍ, through agents, at the price of the day, for 300 *varāha*, and divided the rent to be paid among themselves. The deed of sale on stone (*dāna-śilā-śāsana*) seems to have been drawn on behalf of the

¹ S. I. I., I, No. 72, pp. 102-4.

² E. C., VI., Kp. 28, p. 80.

³ *Ibid.*, Kp. 29.

⁴ E. C., X., Kl. 81, p. 22.

Anaṇṭa Bhaṭṭa (descent stated). The same epigraph relates that "the people of the Eighteen Kaṁpaṇa divided the rent among themselves, and agreed to pay whatever dues might arise."¹

The Heggade of Meṇasūr in Madavadi-nāḍ and a number of Heggades (named) together with all the people of Dānamūla granted a stone *śāsana* of a deed of sale (*kṛaya-dāna-dhārd-pūrvvakāvagī koṭṭa śilā-sāsanada kramav*) embodying the transfer of Dānamūla-Meṇasūr and other villages (eleven in all) to these people of the three cities of all the *nāḍs* of the Eighteen Kaṁpaṇas. The epigraph also contains the information that the people of Dānamūla and their *aḷiya-santāna* (or heirs in the female line) with one consent sold the land, having received from those of the three cities of the *nāḍs* of the Eighteen Kaṁpaṇa the price, 500 *varūha*, saying that those lands and measurements belonged no more to Dānamūla. The epigraph ends by saying that the whole was made over to Viṭṭhaṇṇa Oḍeyar, free of imports.² Another inscription of the same date tells us that the viceroy received as a gift from the cultivators of the three cities of the Eighteen Kaṁpaṇa a deed of sale of land valued at 150 *honnu* in the lot of Masiga-Gauḍa of Meṇasūr; and that Viṭṭhaṇṇa Oḍeyar, who had acquired it "with the consent of the women, men, son-in-law's descendants (or descendants in the female line), and all other claimants," formed an *agrahāra*, named Bommaṇāpura consisting of fifty-four shares (specified).³ The specific mention of the consent of the claimants and the rights of the cultivators is significant from the point of view of the care which the rulers bestowed on questions involving legal intricacies and constitutional usage.

During the vicereignty of the same well known governor, in A.D. 1404, all the *nāḍ* people of the Āraga Eighteen Kaṁpaṇa

¹ E. C., VI, Kp. 35, p. 82.

² *Ibid.*, Kp. 51, p. 86.

³ *Ibid.*, Kp. 53, p. 88.

and all the people of the three cities (not named), uniting and agreeing together, sold the Kaudavalli village, also called Virupāmbikāpura, for ninety-five *hon*, to Achappa's son Viṭṭhappa.¹

The name of Viṭṭhaṇṇa Oḍeyar again appears in a deed of sale dated A. D. 1404 but this time given by various Brahmans (named). The land sold is called the *āgāmī* land (?), which seems to have been purchased by the Brahmans. The concluding lines of the epigraph are to be noted—"...with the consent of the wives of the Brahmans, their sons, relations, and heirs, we have granted by deed of sale with a stone *śāsana*."²

The object of the sale-deed affected in about A. D. 1405, by the *nāḍ* people of the Eighteen Kaṁpaṇa and all those of the three cities and the owners of the villages, also in the name of the same viceroy, was the formation of an *agrahāra* called Mādhava-Virupāmbikāpura.³

In A. D. 1407, as already remarked, when Viṭṭhaṇṇa Oḍeyar still continued to govern over Āraga, Tipaṇṇa-ayya, with the consent of all the *nāḍ* people of the Āraga Eighteen Kaṁpaṇa and all the cultivators of the three cities, sold certain specified land rated at sixty *hon*, in Mayise village to Bommaṇṇa-ayya to form an *agrahāra*.⁴

Māyaṇṇa purchased after worship of the feet of the god (Gummaṭanātha) two *khaṇḍugas* of wet land of the *dāna-sāle* (alm-house) under the Gaṅgāsamudra tank of Belgoḷa in the presence of the jewel-merchants and *gauḍagaḷ* (two named) of Belgoḷa, and granted the same for the midday worship of Gummaṭanātha".⁵

¹ E. C., VIII., Tl. 133, p. 190.

² E. C., VI, Kp. 54, p. 88.

³ E. C., VIII., Tl. 105, p. 184. See also Tl. 126, pp. 187-8 of the same date mentioning the sale of the Kesare village for 160 *ga* and land in Idegare for fifteen *ga* by all the *gauḍas* and subjects (many named) of the two Mandu-nāḍ, to Malli-Bhaṭṭa, (descent stated).

⁴ *Ibid.*, Tl. 190, p. 203, op. cit.

⁵ E. C., II., No. 255, p. 115 (2nd ed.); No. 106, pp. 165-6. (1st ed.).

In A.D. 1417, when Linganna Oḍeyar was protecting the Āraga kingdom, a number of Heggāḍes (named) of Sātalige in Āraga, sold to Dēvarasa's son (Gōvaṇṇa) certain specified land for thirty-four *hon*, in order to provide for a marriage.¹ The sale of land in A. D. 1417, by certain Heggāḍes of Mēgura-vaḷi in Maduvalige-nāḍ has been narrated above.² Those of all the *nāḍ*s and three cities of the Āraga Eighteen Kampaṇa, agreeing together, gave to Baṅkarasa's son Viṭṭhaṇṇa, a stone *śāsana* of a sale of land in Beḷali and Kittāḍūr in A.D. 1415.³ According to a defaced inscription of about A. D. 1420, certain persons bought land (in Niḍuvala-nāḍ and Kōḍūra?) for thirty-five *hon*, and formed it into a *agrahāra*. And Boppa Heggāḍe gave the land to Lakkarasa Oḍeyar, freed from the rent of sixty *hon* (*ā Lakkarasa Oḍeyarige hiraṇyōdaka kraya dāna dhārā-pūrvakavāgi...koṭṭa...sōtra guṭṭiyega śāsana pramāṇa-paṭṭe*).⁴ In A. D. 1427, certain Heggāḍes (named) of Sāntalige in the Āraga-vēṇṭhe and all the people of the *nāḍ* gave to Hariyaka Nāyakitti of Hebbaraḍi, a deed of sale (*kraya dānā-patrada karamav*) for thirty *salege* of land in Aramvaḷi for eighty-five *varāha*. This generous lady on the same date, gave an *ōle* of the grant and presented the land to Amarēśvara Tirtha Śrīpāda, for a *chchatra* in connection with his *maṭha*.⁵

The Kuruḍimale temple priests (*sthānikaru*) granted to Siddapa's son Timanṇa a *dharmā śāsana* or a deed of sale, in A. D. 1442, in connection with construction of a virgin tank named Siddasamudra in the Kuruḍumale-sīme, the rice fields to be formed in the land under the embankment being in Tūdaghaṭṭa-sīme. The price at which the land was sold was fifty *honnu*.⁶ In A.D. 1515, the three Hebbārs of the Kaḷasa Thousand

¹ E. C., VIII, Tl. 142, p. 191.

² *Ibid.*, Tl. 141, p. 192, op. cit.

³ *Ibid.*, Tl. 217, p. 210.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Tl. 168, p. 197, P. II, p. 651. On *stotriya* and *sūtra*, *supra*, Volume I., Chapter IV, The Revenue Administration.

⁵ E. C., VI., Kp. 27, p. 80.

⁶ E., C, X. Ml. 259, pp. 131-2. For the sale-deed by a *sthānika* in A.D. 1535, see E. C., IV, Gu. 4, p. 36.

village, and outside that village, seventeen persons (named), and all the elders (*mūligār*) of Nūju, agreeing among themselves, sold the village of Nūju to Sūrappa Sēnabōva excepting certain specified dues to the god Vira-Nārāyaṇa and Kaḷaśanātha.¹

According to a stone record dated A. D. 1569, a grant was given to the god's treasury of Komāra Chenna Basavaṇṇa Oḍeyar of the Bālehalli throne, by Chenna Viranṇa Nāyaka and other Nāyakas (named) of Dānivāsa-sīme, and all the farmers and subjects of the Dānivāsa-sīme. The details of the grant were as follows: "Whereas simple bonds (*i.e.*, bonds without security—*aḍavu mā-sālada paṭragalu*), in the name of our predecessors Virūpāksha Oḍeyar, Chennarāya Oḍeyar and Arasappa Oḍeyar, and bonds in the name of the *nāḍ* people of our Dānivāsa (*namma Dānivāsada sīmeya nāḍavara hesara paṭragalu*) have been found in the possession of Basavappa of Koppa,—and whereas those bonds (*ā-paṭragalu*) belong to the throne (*siṃhāsanaṅke sēridu sammaṇdhakkāgi*); in order to discharge the debt of 12,000 *varāha* due thereon, with (?) interest at one per cent.—we have made over to the throne the three villages (named) belonging to our shares in the Dānivāsa-sīme (*namma Dānivāsada sīmeya baḷiya pāloḷagaṇa...siṃhāsanaṅke biṭṭu-koṭṭu*), and paid it off. In future neither the *svāmis* that may be on the throne, nor any one on the part of either Basavappayya or on the part of the throne can rise a claim for this or any other debt. The kings and *nāḍ* people who may be in the Dānivāsa lands will not interfere with these three villages." The deed, which was written by the Sēnabōva of the place, Aṇṇarasa, contains the signature of witnesses.²

A stone record dated about A. D. 1602 informs us that the Pāgoṇḍe blacksmith Vinnōja's (son) Kannōja, in the presence of the Pāgoṇḍe *gauḍa*, *sēnabōva*, *taḷavāra*,...potter and *āyagōra*, sold the *kāṇāchi* belonging to him in Pāgoṇḍe to the

¹ E. C., VI, Mg. 88, pp. 74-5.

² *Ibid.*, Kp. 5, p. 76, text p. 296.

blacksmith Kāmōja's son Kerīpa, having received from him three *ga*.¹

We may ascertain a few facts in connection with the method by which mortgages on land were released. In A. D. 1539 Chavuḍi Śeṭṭi of Gērasoppe released the mortgage on the land of Kambhayya, son of Agaṇi Bommayyaṇṇa (*Gērasoppeya Chavuḍi-saṭiru Agaṇi-Bommayyaṇṇa maga Kambhayyanu lanna kshētra aḍahāg irlāgi Chavuḍi-saṭiru adanu biḍisi koṭṭudakke*); and the latter commemorated it by promising to carry on certain specified charities in front of the god Tyāgada-Brahma.² Chavuḍi Śeṭṭi, we may incidentally note, made many other people equally happy in the same year by releasing them from the mortgage on their lands. These in return gave charity-deeds (*dharma-sādhana*) to him.³

An interesting case of settling the question of false claims put forward to a *gaudike* is given in a stone record dated A.D. 1612. During the reign of Veṅkaṭapati Dēva Mahārāya, the *Mahānāyaka* (with other epithets) Harati Immaḍi Raṅgapa Nāyaka-ayya's (son) Hungahati Nāyaka's family relatives and others (named) granted to the *nāḍ* Gauḍa a stone *śāsana* as follows: "Whereas according to the copper *śāsana* formerly given by Vīra Ballāḷa Rāya the *nāḍ gaudike* was being carried on,—and Mudi-Gauḍa...of the two tanks says that the *nāḍ-gaudike* is his, and having sent those on his side to Tumukur, and they and Mudi Gauḍa having had a false *vōle* written, came saying that they had gained the (case)—And whereas that the channel overseer's *vōle* was a false *vōle* having been proved by the men sent from our palace, they returned the *vōle*, saying that we will not submit to Mudi Gauḍa and that the *gaudike* did not belong to him,—Thereupon to Ānegonḍa Karinīgappa they deposed that as long as sun and moon endure there should be no joint *gaudike* or substitute, and in the

¹ E. C., XII, Pg. 2, p. 117.

² E. C., II, No. 224, p. 96, text, p. 95 (2nd ed.); No. 99, p. 016 (1st ed.).

³ *Ibid.*, Nos. 225-7, p. 96.

presence of the chief priest of the god Mēlikuṇṭe Bālakṛishṇa's temple, set up this stone *śāsana*."¹

The socio-economic activities of the people centre mostly round questions relating to the establishing of fairs and building tanks. We have already seen how in A. D. 1352 by order of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Kaṁpaṇa Oḍeyar, Rāchaya Dēva Mahārāja, Bālumanne Rājulu of his (? Kaṁpaṇa Oḍeyar's) city, with all the farmers and subjects of Kayivāra-nāḍu, (adorned with all titles) all of both (sects of) Nānā-Dēśis in Pekkunḍra and of the eighteen castes established a fair at Kayivāra. Periya Nāyaṇa, younger brother of Mārappa Śeṭṭi, was appointed *paṭṭaṇa-svāmi* of the fair, with a rent free estate as his emolument.²

The other side of this question is connected with the *koḍage* grants which we have detailed at some length while dealing with etiquette and honours in Vijayanagara. We may nevertheless add a few more instances of the corporate activities of the people in this direction. All the Brahmans of Hariharapura, which is Kellaṅgere, in A. D. 1367, unanimously agreed to make specified payments for the livelihood of the buffalo-man of the tank cart, for oil for wheel grease, crowbar, pickaxe and other necessities.³ A more interesting instance of the corporate work of the Brahmans is given in an inscription dated A. D. 1410. This epigraph tells us that Dēva Rāya II made a settled agreement (*vyavahāra-nirṇaya*) for the god Harihara and for the Brahmans living in the Harihara-kshētra. "On the Brahmans at their own expense building a dam to the river Haridrā within the boundaries of the god Harihara, and leading a channel through the god's land to Harihara; of all the lands irrigated by the so-led channel, as far as it may

¹ E. C., XII, Si. 84, p. 100. *Gauḍikes* were sold like any other commodity. In A. D. 1581 Siddaṇṇa Gauḍa of Sid(dh)āpura, son of Dēvapa Gauḍa of Kerre sold the *gauḍike* which belonged to him of Roṭṭehalli for 200 *varāha*, to Medakeri Nāyaka, grandson of the *Mahānāyākāchārya* Kāmegēti Segale Hanume Nāyaka. E. C., XI, Cd. 48, p. 13.

² E. C., X, Ct. 95, p. 262, op. cit.

³ E. C., V, P. I, Ak. 115, p. 162.

go, two parts (thirds) shall be for the god Harihara, and one part (third) to the Brahmans who at their own expense constructed the channel. That enjoyment (of the land) may be held in peace " permanently, and free of all imposts. The epigraphs also tell us that " in order that there may be known with certainty what Brahmans have a right to the shares under the agreement, their names, *sūtras* and *gōtras* are here written. It was also decided that " also that the water of the channel should be distributed in the same proportions, and the expense of the wells and tanks formed under the channel, or expense connected with the river, should be borne in the same way."¹

The Gauḍās and other people were more concerned in the agricultural welfare of the country than the Brahmans. In A. D. 1429 Ujeni Rāma Gauḍa's son Rayicharasa, Masana Gauḍa's son Muttu Gauḍa, and the elder Gauḍas and subjects of the Ujeni village, granted by a *śāsana* a *koḍage* to Ujeni Bai-charasa's son Chēmarasa. The inscription relates that Chēmarasa and the temple priests (*sthānikaru*) having provided the funds and entered into an agreement, constructed a tank to the east of the town.² In about A. D. 1521 all the Brahmans of the *agrahāra* Bhaṭṭa-ratnākara, which was Nāgamaṅgala, granted a *vōle* to Viṭṭhaṇṇa, son of Jannikūchiga of the same town. On Viṭṭhaṇṇa having constructed a tank (situation described) they gave him many paddy fields under the waste weir of the same Māyi-Dēvi tank, as *keṛe-goḍaṅge*.³ The *Mahānāyakāchārya* Harti...Vithaṇa Nāyaka, the farmers and Sēnabōva of Taluku and the farmers and *sēnabōvas* of the fourteen places in the Doḍēri-sīme, granted, in A.D. 1560, some unspecified land to the *Mahānāyakāchārya* Yallappa Nāyaka, evidently as a tank *mānya*.⁴ In about A. D. 1591 the Sirya-sthaḷa Gauḍa Dāsapa's son Sandikāmi Gauḍa and others (named) constructed a tank and a well, in addition to certain other works of charity, " in

¹ E. C., XI, Dg. 23, pp. 31-2. See Dg. 29 dated A. D. 1424 for an account of the great dam, pp. 38-9.

² E. C., XII, Kg. 18, p. 35.

³ E. C., IV, Ng. 82, p. 133.

⁴ E. C., XI, Cl. 3, p. 98.

order that the Gauḍas of Dāsanahaḷḷi of the Yaleyūr-sthaḷa may enjoy it under our charge from generation to generation", the *gaudike* of the place having been given to the donors. The charities refer to a new village built by them.¹

The harmony that existed between the different religious sections of the people is specially seen in the epigraphs relating to the activities of the Brahmans, the Sthānikas and the Jains. In A. D. 1368 certain Gauḍas (named) of Uyyanapaḷḷi together with all the Brahmans of Kēśavapura or Nagara and other Gauḍas (named) of various villages, granted from each family the petty taxes, the tank and lands of Mātruhaḷḷi, to provide for the service of the god Anilēśvara of Haradanahaḷḷi. The concluding lines of the epigraph tell us that "agreeing among themselves, and of their own accord, in the presence of the officer Siriyappa, they granted them, with presentation of a coin and water, to the god Anilēśvara".² According to an effaced inscription dated about A. D. 1372, all the Brahmans of a certain *agrahūra* agreeing among themselves made (an agreement) regarding a loan of 150 *gadyāṇa* to be given to their ryots from the treasury of the god Rāmanātha.³ In A. D. 1377 all the Brahmans of the two Kannūr *agrahūras* in Hārahaḷi-nāḍ and of Edihallḷi and Gāvaḷūr, and of the seventy villages, and all the Gauḍas and chiefs of the *nāḍ*, made a grant of rice land (specified) belonging to the Gautama village for the god Narasiṃha of the hill of the same locality. The same record informs us that Kaṇḍamani Rāmaya Nāyaka's son Taḷa Nāyaka and the Brahmans of Hārahaḷi-nāḍ, having made application to all the *nāḍ* chiefs, transferred it with pouring of water.⁴

The Pañchāḷas and the Śeṭṭis too could express their devotion to the local gods by giving jointly gifts of land. All the Pañchāḷas of the Yenṇe-nāḍ, in A. D. 1398, in order to

¹ E. C., XII, Si. 92, pp. 100-1.

² E. C., IV, Ch. 113, p. 15.

³ *Ibid.*, Gu. 33, pp. 41-2.

⁴ E. C., VII, Sk. 35, p. 46.

provide for the necessities of worship and decoration for the god Anilēśvara, presented an offering at the rate of one *haṇa* in the several villages.¹ The Rāya Śeṭṭis of the customs dues by both roads granted eleven *varāha* eighteen *haṇa* realized from the old *goḍage*, included in the customs dues paid by the oil mongers as oil mill tax, to provide for the perpetual lamp of the god Chennakēśava of Āneganakere. The epigraph, however, contains the information that it was granted by "order of Lakkanna Oḍeyar" in A. D. 1399.² In A. D. 1475 certain Gauḍas (named) brought land (specified for forty-five *gadyāṇa* from Kañchi Śambhu Dēva's son Gōvinda Dēva, for the god Kēśava of Kāsaraguppe in Eḍe-nāḍ in Chandragutti.³

The great minister Gaureya Daṇṇāyaka with all the Gauḍas, Śeṭṭis and others (not named), granted specified lands for the offerings of the god Varadarāja, to the Brahmans of Vāgaṭa, which is Bhāgīrathapura.⁴ Certain Śeṭṭis (named) together with "the existing Brahmans" (many named) of the *agrahāra* Viṣṇusamudra, also called Keṛeyasaṇthe, caused a *bhōga-maṇṭapa* to be erected in front of the temple of the god Janārdhana, and granted it to all the wet land under the Chāmanahalli pond, "except what had previously been granted,—and of the land under the water course from the eastern sluice, one half to the temple and one-fourth to the Brahmans."⁵

In A. D. 1522 Mācha Gauḍa and other Gauḍas with the principal Nānā-Dēśi Śeṭṭis of the ninety-six Thousand, granted certain specified lands for the Hoḷalakeṛe-*vṛitti*, together with a number of specified dues on articles at the fair. For the god Mahēśvara they also granted specified dues from the fair.⁶ According to an epigraph dated in Śaka 1445 (A. D. 1523-4) it was covenanted by the inhabitants of Valla-nāḍu that the Vēllāḷa tenants of the three villages Pālaikkudi, Kālaṅguḍi and

¹ E. C., IV, Ch. 119, p. 16.

² E. C., V, P. I. Cn. 175, p. 201.

³ E. C., VIII, Sb. 527, p. 87.

⁴ E. C., IX, Ht. 128, p. 104.

⁵ E. C., VI., Kd. 91, p. 16.

⁶ E. C., XI, Hk. 34, p. 120.

Kiḷinallūr should pay their obligations and services to the temple of Aruṅgaḷanāthār.¹

On a certain person, whose name is effaced in the inscription dated A. D. 1533, having built the temple of the god Chandramauḷēśvara on the bank of the tank formed in the Ārkavati river, and "having brought a Kāśi liṅga (or liṅga from Benares), set up the god Chandramauḷēśvara, with Naṇḍikēśvara and Vighnēśvara", and "on making petition to the Brahmans, many learned Brahmans of various *gōtras*, *sūtras*, and names, at the auspicious time of consecration," granted specified land for the offerings of the god, together with land for an enclosure to the temple, house for the priest, and a street with the land adjoining it.² Two years later "in the year Manmatha, they made certain additional grants, the ground for the god's precincts being insufficient." In A. D. 1536 in the year Durmukhi they granted the temple *koḍage* to Dāsi for cultivation.³

In A. D. 1534 the temple of the god Tirumala of Chakkere in the Kūḍalūr-sthaḷa, also called Rājarāja-chōḷa-chaturvēdi-maṅgaḷam in Keḷaḷe-nāḍ, "by order of the royal treasurer (*rāya-bhaṇḍārada*) Timmappayya, was given to the *Establisher of the path of the Vēdas, the Chakrakōlu Vijaya Chūḍāmani* Nallāru Timmarāya-chakravarti-ayya's beloved disciple, the son of Rāmayya and Rāmānujammā, Nārāyaṇayya. And all the Hebbāruva Brahmans of Kūḍalūr and Maḷalūr, with the consent of all the farmers and subjects of these villages, gave to the temple priest (*sthānika*) Nārāyaṇayya land (specified) for the service of the god Tirumala, together with certain taxes (named). It was further declared that the temple was free from paying *samaya-vartane* and *birūḍa*.⁴

The spontaneous outburst of charity by corporate bodies of the earlier times is not seen in a record dated A. D. 1544 which

¹ 271 of 1914.

² E. C., IX., N1, 31, p. 34.

³ *Ibid.* 31, p. 34. This inscription is given by Rice under No. 31.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Cp. 155, p. 165.

informs us that, during the reign of Sadāśiva Rāya, "Sāmanta Cheṇṇa and other Nāyakas (named), having received an order from their lord (whose name is not given in the epigraph) to maintain the *agrahāra*, temple...in order that he might obtain perpetual wealth, made a grant from their...Bāgūr".¹ It is hardly necessary to say that this is one of these instances of charity which does not speak highly of some of the nobles of Vijayanagara.

But voluntary contributions by the people did not altogether disappear in later Vijayanagara history. In about A. D. 1600 the Bennāyakanahalli Gauḍa and subjects agreeing, gave the worship of Vo...śelamma to Lakai-bōya. The inscription does not contain any further information.²

Before we proceed to mention the charitable endowments by the people, we may speak of one or two features of the social history of the times—the particular favour by which the rulers and the subjects looked on the Jainas, and the amicable relations between the Sthānikas and the Brahmans. Although these two features refer to the religious life of the people, yet it is not irrelevant that we should dwell on them from the point of view of the corporate activities of the people. Lest the instances we have cited above should be interpreted to mean that the Brahmans of Vijayanagara were extremely fortunate in securing the largest share of the bounty of the people, we may give an instance dealing with the public charities of all the merchants and citizens of a province. This epigraph, which does not exhaust all the records on the subject, is dated A. D. 1383. All the Sālu-mūle of Eḍa-nāḍ in Gutti and of twenty-one other centres we have already mentioned in connection with the guilds in Vijayanagara, "having agreed among themselves, gave to the Sankala basti of Haḷigeṛe a *śāsana*" confirming the *umbali* gift of seventy *varāha* for a palanquin and spears, given by the *Mahā-prauḍha* Mude Daṇṇāyaka.³ One has only

¹ E. C., IV, Ng. 2, p. 113.

² E. C., XII, Tp. 99, p. 61.

³ E. C., VIII, Sb. 428, p. 75, op. cit.

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Holi Festival.

[Vol. II, p. 396.]

to remember the former religious settlement between the Jainas and the Śrīvaishṇavas in A. D. 1368 at the hands of Bukka Oḍeyar, to realize that the people could not but have shown the same generosity and consideration to the Jainas, which their ruler had made public on the occasion of that great controversy.

The good feelings that existed between the Sthānikas or temple priests on the one hand and the Brahmans on the other, are clearly proved by the following two records. One of them is dated A. D. 1416. In that year "in the great minister Nāgaṇṇa Daṇṇāyaka's Muḷuvāgil kingdom, Annadāni Oḍeyar was maintaining the proper *dharma*". Kēsava Perumāḷe's sons Balepa, Maṇiya and Mārāpa, and his younger brother Āvāmbaḷa, the temple priests (*sthānikaru*), "by order of the original chief goddess of Muḷuvāgil, Muḷuvāyi Nāchi, Dēvi," agreeing among themselves, gave to Śivarātri-Viṭhannai Mallanṇa and other Brahmans a *śāsana* as follows : "The, Araḷi dam in the Pālāru river in the Katariyahallī-sīme belonging to our Muḷuvāyi Nāchi Dēvi having been breached from time immemorial and ruined down to the level of the ground, in order that you may expend much money and restore the dam so as to form a tank, and build there a village named Muḷuvāyi-Nāchipura, we grant to you the tract of land bounded as follows,—(here come the boundaires)—in which you may cut down the jungle and form fields. And the rice lands under and in the area of the tank which you construct, dividing them into four parts, one part will belong to the treasury of our Muḷuvāyi Nāchi Dēvi, and in consideration of your having expended much money of your own and constructed the tank, the remaining three parts we grant, with the land (before-mentioned), to your Brahmans as an *agrahāra*, free of all imposts, from our Muḷuvāyi Nāchi Dēvi. All the usual rights of the village named Muḷuvāyi Nāchipura which you build we also grant. If any damage arise to your tank, it belongs to your Brahmans to repair". The agreement on tablets (*patra-śāsana*) was inscribed in a stone *śāsana* (*śilā-śāsana*) in front of the goddess Muḷuvāyi Nāchi Dēvi, and was granted by the donors of their own freewill "with the consent of our wives

sons, relatives, dependants and claimants, and also with the consent of the king.”¹ This important epigraph enables us to assert that the Sthānikas or temple priests were owners of temple lands, that they contracted deeds in the name of the deity, and that an agreement of the nature given above was declared valid only when it had received the consent of all relatives, dependants and claimants concerned, and also of the State. The concord between the Sthānikas and the Brahmans, as indicated clearly in the Muḥuvāyi epigraph, is also proved by another inscription dated A. D. 1520. This relates that the Brahmans of Vōlu-Narasimhapura and the Sthānikaru gave to Dyāpa-Kedurappa specified land and a house, the object of the grant being not stated in the inscription.²

We have given instances to prove that in the last years of the Hoysalas the people clearly indicated that they could unite for a common purpose by giving endowments in company with the officials of the Government. This was specially noticeable in the year A. D. 1342. That the earliest traditions continued to influence the minds of the people under Vijayanagara is proved by an inscription dated A. D. 1347. This informs us that the inhabitants of Ambaḍakki-dāḍu including Pāppiṣiyar and others (named), and the *Mahāsāvantādhipati* Mañjeya Nāyaka's son Aṅkaya Nāyaka, granted to Kēttiṣiyar, son of Vayiriṣiyar, as a *kuḍaṅgai*, all the dry and wet lands belonging to Dāśayanpaḷḷi of their *nāḍu*. The concluding lines of the same epigraph prove that there was unanimity of opinion about the grant. “This is the signature of the *nāḍu* Śeṭṭiśvara-dēvar. This is the signature of Nāyakkar-Śrī Allālanātha. This is the signature of Āneyappan Ādimūlam. This is the signature of Nilappan, the accountant of the *nāḍu*.”³ Another record dated

¹ E. C., X, Mb. 7, p. 73.

² *Ibid.*, K1. 151, p. 53.

³ *Ibid.*, Sd. 71, p. 188. There are three inscriptions relating to Pāppiṣiyar, which have been cited in this treatise. (E. C., X, Sd. 67, pp. 187-8; Sd. 26, p. 182, Si. 71, 188.) This person together with the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Mañjeya Nāyaka's son Aṅkaya Nāyaka figures in records ranging from A. D. 1341 to A. D. 1347. According to our computation the Vijayanagara Empire was founded in A. D. 1346. And the instance of

A. D. 1348 deals with the grant of the Koḍigehallī to Bairi Śeṭṭi's son Kariya Nāyaka by the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Mayileya Nāyaka, the great Elahaṅka-nāḍ *prabhu* Bairi Dēva and others (named) together with all the farmers, as a permanent endowment.¹ In A. D. 1351 the Kaluvali-nāḍ *prabhu* Tālavāḍi Bammaṇṇa, Gangavāḍi Mādaṇṇa and many others (named), together with all the subjects and farmers, granted to the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* (with other titles) Mayileya Nāyaka's younger brother Chennaya Nāyaka, as a *koḍage*, Vayijūr in their own *nāḍu*.²

The *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Śipati Nāyaka's son Soṇṇeya Nāyaka, according to a Tamil record dated A. D. 1360, together with the inhabitants of Amḍadakki-nāḍu, including the superintendents of the *nāḍu*, Pāpaśīyar and Śokkiśīyar and three others (named), granted certain specified lands, as a *kuḍaṅgai*, to Śānāṇḍai. The epigraph contains the signature of the *nāḍu*, Śeṭṭēsuram-uḍaiyar, and that of Nāyakkar, Allālanātha, and of the accountant Nīlappar.³ In A. D. 1369 the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Soṇṇeya Nāyaka and the inhabitants of the *nāḍu*, including Noṇappa...made a grant of a village, the name of which is effaced in the record, but which was near Vēma-maṅgaḷa, as a *kuḍaṅgai*. The grant contains "the signature of the inhabitants of the *nāḍu*—Śrī-Bhairavanātha."⁴ Another effaced inscription dated A. D. 1397 tells us that a number of Heggāḍes (named) made a grant of the Kallakoḍagi land (specified) of Hollavāni to some one whose name is lost in the record.⁵ In A. D. 1407 all the people of the two Maṇḍu-nāḍ

Pāppi Śīyar and Aṅkaya Nāyaka only confirms our assumption, made in this treatise and elsewhere, that the rulers of Vijayanagara being the legitimate heirs to the Hoysala traditions, allowed the offices and governors who served under the latter, to continue under the new regime. B.A.S.

¹ E. B., IX, Dv. 50, p. 80.

² *Ibid.*, Cp. 16, p. 138.

³ E. C., X, Ct. 75, p. 257. See also Ct. 76 of the same date. The same people made another grant.

⁴ *Ibid.*, K1. 12, p. 3.

⁵ E. C., VIII, T1. 160, p. 195.

Thirty of Hombuchcha-nāḍ gave to Bomōga's son Kāmōja the land (specified) in Halavanahalli as a *koḍage*.¹

About the Brahmans we are told that in A. D. 1452 all the *mahājanas* of Gavuḍagere granted certain lands (specified) as a tax free *koḍage* to Kāḷa Nāyaka for having made Sāveyahalli a *pura*.² All the Brahmans of the *sarvamānya-agrahāra* Kundalagurige otherwise called Rāmasamudra, granted specified lands as *koḍage* to Bagturahalli Tamma Gauḍa in about A. D. 1500.³

Brahmans as well as artisan classes joined together to make provision for the dancing-girls attached to temples. In A. D. 1366 Kālappa, the Gauḍa of Honganūr, the *mahājanas* of the village and the *gavuḍuga!* of the *nāḍu*, having met together, granted some lands and taxes to provide for dancing-girls in the temple of god Ankanātha. All the eighteen castes attended the meeting at which it was decided that for making the above provision every house should pay one *tāra* every year and on occasions of regular marriage of a girl one *bāgīlu-vaṇa* (*door-haṇa*) and one *dēvara-haṇa* (*God's-haṇa*) and of *kūḍike* marriage of a woman half the amount.⁴ In A.D. 1369 all the Brahmans of the *agrahāra* Madhusūdanapura also called Talirūr, agreeing among themselves, made a grant in Imma-Uyagaṇḍiyahalli for the support of the dancing-girls in the temple of the god Madhusūdana.⁵ All the Brahmans of the *agrahāra* Prasanna-Vijayapura, agreeing among themselves in A. D. 1372, made a grant (specified in detail) for the support of the dancing-girls of the original god of the village (*grāma-dhidaivavāgiha*), the god Rāmanātha. The amount set apart for this purpose was thirty *gadyāṇa*. As we have already seen,

¹ E.C., VIII, Tl. 122, p. 187. See also E.C., X, K1. 240 of the same date in which we are informed that the inhabitants of Śoppeyanāyan-chaturvēdi-nāḍu, including Pattiyūr Pemmi Śetti and others (named) gave the village of Śiṛṇamarādi to (?) Seravāran-nāḍu as a *kūḍaṅgai*, p. 67. The exact meaning of the last clause is not apparent. B. A. S.

² My. Arch. Report for 1920, p. 42.

³ E. C., X, Sd. 75, p. 189.

⁴ My. Arch. Report for 1917, p. 47.

⁵ E. C., V, P. I, Ak. 134, p. 173.

the epigraph concludes thus : " Whatever Brahmins oppose this, are out of the Brahmin community, and banished from the village."¹ In the same year all the Pañchālas of Terakānāmbi and various other places (named), we may likewise be permitted to repeat, with the smiths of the four places (named) agreeing together made a grant also with the same object, of providing for the dancing-girls of the same temple. Their generosity extended also to the dancing-girl Kētavve, presented to the temple by Rāmaṇṇa, son Nāgavve. We have already seen that, like the Brahmins of Prasanna-Vijayapura, the Pañchālas also imposed a penalty on all those who destroyed their grant.² In A. D. 1403 all the Nāyakavāḍis of Ālūr, the southern Ayyāvaḷiyūr, who were altogether seven, made a grant for the support of the dancing-girls of the god Dēśinātha of the same place Ayyāvaḷiyūr.³

We may also note that when *vīragals* were set up, all the people joined together to commemorate the event. An effaced inscription dated A. D. 1371, informs us that various Gauḍas whose names are mostly gone, set up a *vīragal* at Hoḷalkere.⁴

Agreements relating to marriage may next be considered. A record which is unfortunately much defaced, but dated about A. D. 1449, tells us that a number of Śeṭṭis (named) of Bāgūr made some regulations regarding women who lapsed from marriage.⁵ In Śakā 1377 (A.D. 1455-6) certain merchants of Kāvērippākam drew up a private agreement to the effect that a specified sum of money was to be set apart, on marriage occasions, for the repairs of the temple of Kēśava Parumāḷ at Kāvērippākam *alias* Vikrama-Śōḷa-Chatuvēdimangalam.⁶ All the subjects and Śeṭṭis (of a place not mentioned in the epigraph), we are told in a record dated A. D. 1534, by the order

¹ E. C., IV, Gu. 32, p. 41, op. cit.

² *Ibid.*, Gu. 34, p. 42, op. cit.

³ *Ibid.*, Ch. 45, p. 6.

⁴ E. C., XI, Hk. 31, p. 119. The inscription on the *vīragal* was written by the Aḍanūr Sēnabōva Kasapa.

⁵ E. C., XII, Tp. 86, p. 59, text, p. 165.

⁶ 383 of 1905; Rangachari, *Top List.*, I, NA. 4, p. 32.

of the Emperor Achyuta Rāya, remitted for all castes the tax on marriage and on marriage pandals. The inscription also contains the names of Śeṭṭis who joined in this.¹

The corporate activities of the people in connection with charity are of particular interest in determining their social solidarity. A Tamil record of A. D. 1346 deals with the public charities of the *paṭṭa-viyaṭṭari* Muttiyaraśaṇ ḷamaṇ Śuvāśā-Nāyakkar, and the inhabitants of Tentarṟu-Tuṟavaḷi-nāḍu in Śarṇai-nāḍu of Rājendra-Śōla-vaḷa-nāḍu in Nigarili-Śōla-maṇḍalam. They granted certain lands (specified) together with the right to sell or mortgage, to Gaṅgādhara (descent stated), a resident of Śeṇji-agaram in Toṇḍa-maṇḍalam.² In about the same year the *mahājanas* of Irumbiliyūr and the inhabitants of Veyūr-nāḍu (a few named) together with Vallappa Daṇṇāyaka, granted the wet and dry lands in Udayanapaḷḷi to Śēviḍa-pergaḍaiyār, as a *sarvaśāntā*.³ Another incomplete record dated A. D. 1359 relates that the *Mahāsāvantādhipati* Mayileya Nāyaka's younger brother Yōjaya Nāyaka and Santeya Nāyaka with all the subjects and farmers of the great Pa...nāḍ made some grant.⁴ All the people and farmers of Attihaḷḷi together with the Brahmans of Rāmapura which is Bannūr, and Chokka Gauḍa seem to have made a grant in A. D. 1366.⁵ In the same year "the *mahājanas*, the heads of the *maṭṭhas* and *sthānas*, the reciters of the Vēdas, the temple manager (*dharma-karttār*), Śembāṇḍai, the *pūjāris* Vaitti-baṭṭar, Mādēva-baṭṭar and their sons, Māra Baṭṭar and his sons, the Kaikkōḷar (? weavers) of the fine temple at (?) Kavarippinā, the (?) *mūlachchēdi* Śrī-Virabhattira and the servants performing various duties, from the *pūjāri* at the top to the scavenger at the bottom,—having assembled on the seat of

¹ E. C., XI, Hk. 17, p. 118. This is an unusual case of remission of taxes on marriage by the subjects, since we have already seen that it was the State which remitted the marriage tax. B. A. S.

² E. C., IX, Bn. 59, pp. 12-3.

³ *Ibid.*, Bn. 47, p. 11.

⁴ *Ibid.*, N1. 23, p. 33.

⁵ E. C., III, TN. 110, p. 90.

justice", agreed among themselves to measure out "a certain quantity (specified) of paddy and pay certain taxes (named) to Śrī-Rudra-Śrī-Māhēśvara of Chitramēli Peruk-kālan-Dirukkāvaṇam residing in the temple of Sōma-īsvaram-uḍaiyar of Tāmaraikkīrai in Rājendra-Chōḷa-vaḷa-nāḍu.¹

The people of Maṇdu-nāḍu have given us some more evidence of their solidarity. In A. D. 1367 all the Gauḍas and subjects of that *nāḍu* granted specified land to Śakaṇṇa's son Dēvappa.² In A. D. 1371 all the *nāḍ* people of the four Maṇdu-nāḍ Thirty, which is here stated to be in Maduvaṅka-nāḍ, granted the lands of Maṅgaḷa village, excluding those belonging to the god, to Sūrya Bhaṭṭa's son Maharasa, in order that he might attain the four objects of human desire (*dharma-artha-kāma-mōksha-chatur-vidha-purushārtha-sidhyarthavāgi*). And also the land in Badagareyakere (specified), from affection for Umā-Mahēśvara.³

The goodwill existing between the Brahmans and other sections of the people, which is proved in the numerous epigraphs we have cited, is also seen in a record dated A. D. 1374. This relates that all the Brahmans of Honnavāḷi gave to Bomma Gauḍa and other Gauḍas (named) and all the farmers and subjects of Halukūr a *śāsana* for an exchange (*parivartana-śāsana*) of 470 poles of land in Bhagavati-ghaṭṭa, a hamlet of Honnavāḷi, for the same extent of land in Būdana-hāḷu, attached to Tulikeyahāḷi, a hamlet of Halukūr.⁴ In A. D. 1377 all the Gauḍas together with some others, whose names are effaced in the inscription, "agreeing among themselves, from affection for Īśvara, granted Huttadahāḷi to the house-minister (*maneya-pradhāna*) of Virūpaṇṇa Oḍeyar, Rāmarāsa. He however "at the time of the eclipse of the sun, from love to his *ishṭa-dēvatā*" formed it into an *agrahāra* called Hariharapura, and bestowed it on Brahmans.⁵

¹ E. C., IX, Bn. 66, p. 14.

² E. C., VIII, Tl. 120, p. 186.

³ *Ibid.*, Tl. 119, p. 186, P. II, p. 580.

⁴ E. C., V, P. I., Ak. 63, p. 135.

⁵ E. C., VIII, Tl. 125, p. 187.

During the viceroyalty of the same governor, Virūpaṇṇa Oḍeyar, in A. D. 1377, all the *nāḍ-prabhus* in the Nāsavandu-nāḍ-sīme of Maduvaṅka-nāḍ gave to Bēcharasa's son Gōyindēva (Gōvinda Dēva ?) lands in the Attigāra village as a free gift."¹

The Brahmans of fifteen shares out of the forty-five of Tirthahalli agreeing among themselves, in A. D. 1378, granted by *śāsana* certain lands (specified) to the Brahmans of the thirty shares of Virūpākshapura which is Kōṇandūr.² Forty-five Brahmans of a village, the name of which is effaced in a record dated about A. D. 1378, also unanimously released the *svāmya* to certain persons (named) granting them the dues (named) in Eḍehalli, Betuḷa and Beḷugūru.³

The Gauḍas and subjects of the two Maṇdu-nāḍ Thirty of the Hombuchcha-nāḍ (many named), and five original land-owners of Niṭṭūr in Hombuchcha-nāḍ (named), granted to Mallappa of the Treasury, in A. D. 1379, lands of the Niṭṭūr village, rated (as specified) at fourteen *hon*.⁴ An inscription dated A. D. 1390 relates that Hibbari Lukumaiya Nāyaka granted for *dharma* Lakshmināthapura in Kōlāḷa-nāḍ, to some one not mentioned in the grant. The *nāḍ-prabhus* of Kōlāḷa (several named) and other men disposed in *dharma* granted all the lands belonging to that Lakshmināthapura.⁵

The Brahmans of Elase and Kuppugaḍḍe in the Gutti Eighteen Kampana, together with all the Gauḍas, in A. D. 1395, granted of their own accord Elamballi in the Nāgarakaṇḍa-nāḍ to Nara Nārā(ya)ṇa Dēva, son of the Treasurer Dharani Dēva, in the presence of the god Saptanātha of Gōve.⁶ All the Brahmans and subjects of a place, which is effaced in an inscription dated A. D. 1396 but which was in the Āraga kingdom, together with all the *nāḍ* people of Maduvanka-

¹ E. C. VIII., T1. 28, p. 169.

² *Ibid.*, T1. 108, p. 185.

³ *Ibid.*, T1. 21, p. 167.

⁴ *Ibid.*, T1. 114, p. 185.

⁵ E. C., X, K1. 105, p. 32.

⁶ E. C., VIII, Sb. 382, pp. 67-8.

nāḍ, agreeing among themselves, granted to Mayyaṇṇa's son Virūpaṇṇa a gift of land (specified)¹ All the cultivators of the three cities of all the nāḍs of the Eighteen Kaṁpaṇa of the Āraga-vēṇthe, "agreeing among themselves, with one accord", made a grant of lands to the learned governor Viṭṭhaṇṇa Oḍeyar in six villages in the Maḍavaḍi-nāḍ, having purchased them "at the price of the day", 500 *varāha*, and having obtained "the consent of the people of Meṇasūr and Dānamūla. We may incidentally note that the donee is described thus: "the recipient of the ascetic virtues (*yajña-yājana-adhyayana-adhyāṣana-dāna-pratigraha-śaṭ - karma-niyataṛa*), restrained by the six rites, follower of the Rik-śākhā, Viṭṭhaṇṇa Oḍeyar of the Bharadvāja-gōtra".²

In A. D. 1404 the ruling *prabhus*, the chief men of the nāḍs of the Āraga-vēṇthe Eighteen Kaṁpaṇa, of all the three cities, the Rāu-nāḍ, Four Mandus and sixty villages, (many men named) and the Dānā-mūlas of Kobaḍe, having agreed together, granted to Ingalēśvara Māyaṇṇa's son Virūpaṇṇa, and to Virūpaṇṇa's sons Kallappa and Māyaṇṇa a gift of land (specified) in the Kobaḍe village of Rāu-nāḍ. And forming this land into an *agrahōra* called Nāgalāpura, after Keśava Dēva Heggade's mother, they divided it into three shares for Virūpaṇṇa, Kallappa and Māyaṇṇa, and made it over (to them) in the presence of the god Kallinātha of the Āraga-mūlsthāna.³

The *Mahāsāvantādhipati* Kūḍalūr Mañchaya Nāyaka, with all the farmers and subjects of Koḷanalūr-sthāḷa, in A. D. 1404, made to all the Brahmans of the immemorial *agrahōra* Sarva-jña-Bhāskarapura which is Koḷanalūr, a grant of the Uḷēnahalli village, with a tank in the low ground.⁴ In about A. D. 1405 all the nāḍ-*śeṭṭis* agreeing among themselves, made a grant of the Bālagārakoppa rented-land in Bekkase village (boundaries specified) to the nāḍ people of the Eighteen Kaṁpaṇa and those

¹ E. C. VIII, T1. 8, p. 164.

² E. C., VI, Kp. 52 pp. 86-7, text, pp. 334-5.

³ E. C., VIII, T1. 196, p. 206.

⁴ E. C., V, P. I, Ag. 52, p. 253.

of the three cities. And they granted Bālagāra, to Rāyappa's grandson Vīraṇṇa Oḍeyar. He made over Bālagāra, giving it the name Ayōdhyāpura to the learned Sulabhatīrtha Śrīpāda.¹ An inscription dated Śaka 1328 (A. D. 1405-6) relates that the assembly of 4,000 men of Tribhuvanamahādēvi-Chaturvēdimaṅgaḷam, a *brahmhadēya* in Niḍuvil-maṇḍalam, a subdivision of Rājādhirāja-vaḷa-nāḍu, gave a village as a *kāṇiyākshi* gift to Ālavandāṇ Bhaṭṭar *alias* Uḷagaṇḍaiya-Perūmaḷ, of Perumbarrapuliūr.² In A. D. 1408 all the farmers and subjects of the Āraga Eighteen Kaṁpaṇa and those of the three cities agreeing among themselves, made a grant of (lands) in the Sūrali village to the Brahmans (named), after having turned it into an *agrahāra* called Nāgasamudra.³ Bomma Dēva Heggade and the Brahmans of Hārandūr, as related is an effaced inscription of A. D. 1416, made a grant of lands (specified) to Abhaḷi Bhaṭṭa, son of Channappa Bhaṭṭa.⁴

In A. D. 1429 all the Nagarta Pañchāḷas granted certain lands to Morōji and Bayirōji certain lands in Hiriyūr of Kabbahāl-sthaḷa. The epigraph which gives us this information is illegible.⁵

In another effaced record dated about A. D. 1430 we are told that Śrīgirinātha Oḍeyar gave munificent donations for a new *chhatra* or rest-house of the god Śrīgiri Mallikārjuna. Saṅgama Dēvi (wife of Śrīgiri Oḍeyar ?) gave up the house she was in, together with the wells and fruit trees for the nineteen Brahmans of the *chhatra*. And for the ten Jaṅgamas for whom the *nāḍ* people have provided in the *chhatra*, "the Brahman who attends to them, and two Śūdra women to clean up, for these thirteen persons, whoever is the manager of the Brahman *chhatra* will collect from the *nāḍ* people the amount specified and provide the *bhatta* (or rice) required for the whole thirty-

¹ E. C., VIII, Tl. 24, p. 168.

² 370 of 1917.

³ E. C., VIII, Tl. 222, p. 211.

⁴ E. C., VI, Sg. 29, p. 100.

⁵ E. C., IX, Kn., 65, p. 128.

two persons." The inscription does not enlighten us on the question whether the *nāḍ* people themselves authorized the collection of the specified fee.¹

On Rāyaṇṇa Oḍeyar also constructing a *chhatra* and other works of merit, all the farmers and subjects of Anavēri-nāḍ and the Holeya-Honnūr-nāḍ, in A. D. 1431, agreeing among themselves, gave him Daṇṇāyakapura with all the taxes and dues (specified in detail), in the presence of all the gods of Kūḍali.² In about A. D. 1495 the 170 Brahmins of Belavaḍi granted land (specified) to Sabega, son of Bāvaṅka Dēva.³ Tarur-Komāra Chikkoḍeyar's son Chikkaṇṇa, in about A. D. 1510, with the approval of the Gauḍas and *sēnābōva*, granted land in Siravanoḍu to Niḍugal Vīraṇṇa Oḍeyar (descent stated).⁴

In about Śaka 1449 (A. D. 1527-8) all the *nāḍ-gauḍas* of Vijayapura granted land to Bayirapa Nāyaka in consideration of his holding the office of *yajamāna* (headman) of the *nāḍu*.⁵

Vīrappa Nāyaka, son of Muḷuvāgil Sāluva Keñchaṇṇa Nāyaka and others (named), having agreed together, in A. D. 1530, gave the two villages Voḍḍarahalli and another village, the name of which is effaced in the record, of Naṇḍagullisthaḷa, to Sōmanātha Dikshita, son of Chaturvēdimāṅgaḷa Bhaṭṭa, for some purpose not stated in the grant.⁶ Another inscription also of the same date (Śaka 1452 = A. D. 1530-1) tells us that the residents of Vallā-nāḍu in Rājarāja-vaḷa-nāḍu, gave certain lands to Śokkanār Pallavarāyar of Paḍaipattu, as a *kāṇiyāṭchi*.⁷ Four persons (named) granted the Virūpāksha-

¹ E. C., VIII, Tl. 33, pp. 169-70.

² E. C., VII, Sh. 71, pp. 27-8.

³ E. C., V, P. I, B1. 173, p. 101.

⁴ E. C., XII, Si. 111, p. 103.

⁵ *My. Arch. Report* for 1925, p. 19.

⁶ E. C., IX, Ht. 28, p. 91.

⁷ 318 of 1914. For a gift of a piece of land by the *mahājanas* of the *sarvamānya agrahāra* village of Kāñchsamudra alias Pratāpadēvarāyapuram in Ś. 1459, see 571 of 1912; Rangachari, *Top. List*, I, Ap. 78, p. 13. See also Ap. 76 for a gift of a channel and a tank by the *mahājanas* of Nagarakeṛe in A. D. 1538, p. *ibid*.

pura, otherwise called Nandicheruvu, in the Penugonda kingdom, to Achyutarāya Mallapaṇṇa in A. D. 1537.¹

All the Brahmans of Bhaṭṭa-ratnākara, which was Nāgamaṅgaḷa, in about A.D. 1549 made for the god Vīrabhadra of the same town a grant of the first five *paṇa* received every year of that temple; and all the remaining dues were granted by Bokki Śeṭṭi, son of Bāldali Śeṭṭi.² In A. D. 1560 the Brahmans of Belgoḍ *agrahāra*, also called Narasimhapura, in the Fifty-nāḍ of the Āraga kingdom, granted specified lands for the offerings of the god Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa, and also gave fourteen (*gadyāṇa*) for the *chhatra* of the same temple.³ According to an effaced inscription assigned to the year A. D. 1633, the Brahmans of the *agrahāra*...maśavapura and the Brahmans of Bayirāpura and all the people of Sōmi...made over to Anantappa Oḍeyar certain rice fields under the big tank of Bayirāpura, for some purpose not mentioned in the epigraph.⁴

CHAPTER IX

FESTIVALS, GAMES, AND AMUSEMENTS

SECTION I. *Religious Festivals*

There are detailed notices of some of the most important religious festivals and amusements of Vijayanagara in the accounts of foreign travellers which may be examined with the aid of inscriptions and literature. The most magnificent festivals were those held in connection with the great temple cars and the Mahānavami. Two other festivals also appeared singular to foreigners and these were the Hōḷi and the Sīḍi (or

¹ E. C., X, Bg. 4, p. 231.

² E. C., IV, Ng. 5, p. 114.

³ E. C., VIII, Tl. 103, p. 184. The meaning of the grant dated A.D. 1572 by which Hamparasayya, Maḷalūr Appaṇṇa Hebbāruva Paḷagōḍ Timmaṇa Hebbāruva and other Hebbārs gave a *chakra* of four *varāha* for the lands specified, is not quite clear. E. C., IX, Cp. 99, p. 155.

⁴ E. C., IV, Kr. 13, p. 102. For some notices of social solidarity in the post-Vijayanagara period, see E. C., V, P. I, Bl. 6, p. 46; Lockman, *Travels of the Jesuits*, II, p. 376.

Sēḍi.) We shall not dwell on the philosophical or symbolical significance of these celebrations but shall merely describe them in order to complete the account of the life of the people of Vijayanagara.¹

Before we deal with them in detail, we may enumerate the different kinds of festivals mentioned in the inscriptions. Some of the epigraphs merely contain references to ordinary festivals; others, to the greater celebrations which foreign travellers also witnessed. Thus an inscription dated A. D. 1375 relates that Dēvaṇṇa Oḍeyar, along with the inhabitants of Kaivāra-nāḍ, in order that merit might accrue to his father Īśvara Dēva, instituted a festival for the god Bhīmīśuram-Uḍaiyar-Nāyanār of Kaivāra.² But a more detailed account is given in a stone record dated about A. D. 1397 which informs us that the great general of Harihara Rāya, Guṇḍa Daṇḍādhipa, made provision for the following festivals in the Chennakēśava temple at Bēlūr: the daily worship according to the *pañcha rātra* ritual and the *mantra siddhānta*, the worship of the throne, the enthronement for the bath, enthronement for the decorations, the enthronement for processions, the enthronement for offerings of food, the enthronement for retiring to rest, the display of the sacred emblems, the ceremonial contact, the sixty-four festivals of rejoicing, the worship with flowers, the daily oblation, the daily procession, the fortnightly festivals, the monthly festival, the yearly festival, the festival of purifications, the festival of remaining at home, the festival of the engine (or disc), the festival of invoking Rāma and Kṛishṇa, the festival of worship with lotuses, the swing festival, the festival of illumination, the festival in Mārgaśīra, the festival in Pushya, the festival in Chaitra, the

¹ For a detailed account of some of the most important religious festivals, read Wilson, *Religion of the Hindus*, II, pp. 152, *seq.* (1862 ed.); Wilkins, *Mod. Hind.*, p. 214, *seq.*, Abbé Dubois, *Hindu Manners*, I, p. 279; II, p. 575, *seq.*, 706, *seq.* For chronological details of the festivals days, see Kielhorn *I. A.*, XXVI, p. 177, *seq.* The following may also be noted: *Manual of Adm. of the Madras Presy.*, I, pp. 92, (n), 93, 94; E. D. Ross, *An Alphabetical List of the Feasts and Holidays of the Hindus and Muhammdans* (Calcutta, 1914).

² E. C., X, Ct. 94, p. 262.

decoration with the nine gems, the decoration with new clothes and jewels, the burning of sandal perfume, the congratulation, the presentation of fruit and delicacies, the presentation of a bull, the offering of honey, the offering of seeds, the display of the four divisions of the army, the exhibition of the mirror and of garlands, the exhibition of dancing, the procession to the treasury, the bathing at equinoxes, at solstices, and at the time of the sun's entering a new sign, the waving of lights, the penance for defects (or omissions) in the daily service, and the penance for accidental interruptions, the peace offering and the festival of bringing the god home from a distance.¹

An inscription dated about A. D. 1495 gives us some more festivals. These were the *pañchāmṛita* anointing of the god, the offerings, perpetual lamp, prayers with flowers, worship with fruit, putting on of *davana* leaves, putting on of the *pavitra*, the worship with lights in Kārttika and Kṛttikā, the spring festival and other festivals at the five *parvas*, the feast of lights, the worship and offerings at Sivarātri, new years' day, and other great *tithis*.²

These and many other festivals in temples were conducted with the aid of the assignments given in the shape of revenue and produce by the princes and people of Vijayanagara.

The most remarkable festival which dazzled the foreigners was the Mahānavami celebration. Religious in its atmosphere, it is essentially political in its significance. For it commemorates the anniversary of Rāma's marching against Rāvaṇa, and in its twofold aspect of the worship of Durgā and of the *dyudhas* or arms, culminating in the Vijaya-daśami,³ was particularly suited to the Vijayanagara times when fatal issues loomed ominously in the political horizon. According to the

¹ Rice, *My. Ins.*, p. 223; *E. C.*, V, P. II, Bl. 3, p. 145.

² *E. C.*, V. P. I, Cn. 259, pp. 234; P. II, p. 699. Cf. *My Arch. Report* for 1913-14, p. 49, for festivals mentioned in A. D. 1544; 80 of 1915 dated Śaka 1476 (A. D. 1554-5); *Ep. Ind.* IV, pp. 5, 6 and n. (1), for a record dated A. D. 1556; *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 341, for an inscription of A. D. 1567. For various monthly celebrations as given in tradition, read Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 153.

³ Cf. Suryanarayana Rao, *The City*, p. 37.

Hindu calendar it falls in Āśvina-śuklapaksha (September-October).¹

‘Abdur Razzāq witnessed this great festival. He calls it *Mahanāwī*, and describes it thus: “The infidels of this country who are endowed with power, are fond of displaying their pride, pomp, power and glory, in holding every year a stately and magnificent festival, which they call *Mahanāwī*, the manner of it is this: The King of Bijānagar directed that all his nobles and chiefs should assemble at the royal abode from all the provinces of his country, which extends for the distance of three or four months’ journey. They brought with them a thousand elephants tumultuous as the sea, and thundering as the clouds, arrayed in armour, and adorned with howdahs, on which jugglers and throwers of naphtha were seated; and on the foreheads, trunks, and ears of the elephants extraordinary forms and pictures were traced with cinnabar and other pigments...On that beautiful plain were raised enchanting pavilions of from two to five stages high, on which from top to bottom were painted all kinds of figures that the imagination can conceive, of men, wild animals, birds, and all kinds of beasts, down to flies and gnats. All these were painted with exceeding delicacy and taste. Some of these pavilions were so constructed, that they revolved, and every moment offered a different face to the view. Every instant each stage and each chamber presented a new and charming sight.

“In the front of that plain, a pillared edifice was constructed of nine stories in height, ornamented with exceeding beauty. The throne of the king was placed on the ninth story. The place assigned to me was the seventh story, from which every one was excluded except my own friends. Between this

¹ Sewell correctly ascribes the Mahānavami festivals to the 1st of the month of Āśvina, but one fails to understand how the New Year’s Day could succeed it in the month of Kārtika. Sewell is evidently wrong in squeezing the New Year’s Day between Āśvina and Mārgaśīrsha. See below. Cf. Suryanarayana Rao, *The City*, p. 12. According to legend this festival is associated with the early days of Vijayanagara history when Vidyāranya propitiated Bhuvanēśvari (or Durgā). Taylor, *O.H. MSS.*, II, p. 103.

palace and the pavilions there was an open space beautifully laid out, in which singers and story-tellers exercised their respective arts. The singers were for the most part young girls... They were seated behind a beautiful curtain, opposite the king. On a sudden the curtain was removed on both sides, and the girls began to move with their feet with such grace, that wisdom lost its senses, and the soul was intoxicated with delight."¹

The Persian ambassador who was thus bewitched by the beautiful dancing-girls, does not give us more details about the Mahānavami festival, although he describes the jugglers at play on the same occasion. He tells us, however, something about the duration of the celebration. "For three continuous days, from the time that the world-enlightening sun began to glow like a peacock in the heavens, until that when the crow of evening's obscurity displayed its wings and feathers, this royal fete continued with the most gorgeous display. One cannot, without entering into great detail, mention all the various kinds of pyrotechny and squibs, and various other amusements which were exhibited."²

As regards the throne of the monarch, he says, "During the three days the king sat on the throne upon this cushion, and when the celebration of the *Mahanāwī* was over, he sent for this humble individual one evening at the time of prayer." In the same connection he describes the throne: "It was of a prodigious size, made of gold inlaid with beautiful jewels, and ornamented with exceeding delicacy and art; seeing that this kind of manufacture is nowhere excelled in the other

¹ Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, pp. 117-18; Major, *India*, p. 35, *seq.*, Sewell persists in maintaining his mistake that the New Year's Day was celebrated in Vijayanagara on the 1st Kārtika *For. Emp.*, p. 93. It requires no argument to maintain that the orthodox people of Vijayanagara did not fail to observe the New Year's Day at the usual time in March, and the attempts of Sewell, therefore, to prove that 'Abdur Razzāq was wrong in ascribing the Mahanāwī festival to the month of Rajab, are futile. Cf. Suryanarayana Rao, *The City*, p. 37. (n.). But see *ibid.*, p. 36 where Mr. Suryanarayana Rao speaks of it as a sort of political conference. Payne has some remarks to make on this subject. *Scenes from Indian History*, p. 71.

² Elliot, *ibid.*, IV, p. 119.

kingdoms of the earth. Before the throne there was placed a cushion of *zaitūni* satin, round which three rows of the most exquisite pearls were sewn."¹

What 'Abdur Razzāq failed to notice Paes was careful to observe. The description of the Mahānavami festival as given by the Portuguese chronicler is long and interesting. "You should know that among these heathen there are days when they celebrate their feasts as with us. When the time of the principal festival arrives the king comes from the new city² to this city of Bisnaga, since it is the capital of the kingdom and it is the custom there to make their feasts and to assemble. For these feasts are summoned all the dancing-women of the kingdom, in order that they should be present; and also the captains and kings and great lords with all their retinues,—except only those whom the king may have sent to make war, or those who are in other parts, or are at the far end of the kingdom on the side where (an attack) is feared, such as the kingdom of Oria, and the territories on the Ydallcao; and even if such captains are absent in such places, there appear for them at the feasts those whom I shall hereafter mention.

"These feasts begin on the 12th of September, and they last nine days, and take place at the king's palace."³

"The palace is on this fashion : it has a gate opening on to the open space of which I have spoken, and over this gate is a tower of some height, made like the others with its verandahs ; outside these gates begins the wall which I said encircled the palace. At the gate are many doorkeepers with leather scourges in their hands, and sticks, and they let no one enter but the captains and chief people, and those about whom they receive orders from the Chief of the Guard. Passing this gate you have an open space, and then you have another gate

¹ Elliot, *Hist. of India*, p. 120.

² Nāgalāpura, ?.

³ Cf 'Abdur Razzāq's computation. There cannot be a doubt that both refer to the Mahānavami festival. Sewell interprets Paes' remarks to mean the Kanarese New Year's Day. *For. Emp.*, p. 85.

like the first, also with its doorkeepers and guards ; and as soon as you enter inside this you have a large open space, and on one side and the other are low verandahs where are seated the captains and chief people in order to witness the feasts, and on the left side of the north of this open space is a great one-storeyed building (*terrea*) ; all the rest are like it. This building stands on pillars shaped like elephants and with other figures, and all open in front, and they go up to it by staircases of stone ; around it, underneath, is a terrace (*corredor*) paved with very good flagstones, where stand some of the people looking at the feast. This house is called the House of Victory as it was made when the king came back from the war against Orya, as I have already told you. On the right side of the open space were some narrow scaffoldings, made of wood and so lofty that they could be seen over the top of the wall ; they are covered at the top with crimson and green velvet and other handsome cloths, and adorned from top to bottom. Let no one fancy that these cloths were of wool, because there are none such in the country, but they are of very fine cotton. These scaffoldings are not always kept at that place, but they are specially made for these feasts ; there are eleven of them. Against the gates there were two circles in which were the dancing-women, richly arrayed with many jewels of gold and diamonds and many pearls. Opposite the gate which is on the east side of the front of the open space, and in the middle of it, there are two buildings of the same sort as the House of Victory of which I have spoken ; these buildings are served by a kind of staircase of stone beautifully wrought—one is in the middle and the other at the end. This building was all hung with rich cloths, both the walls and the ceiling, as well as the supports, and the cloths of the walls were adorned with figures in the manner of embroidery ; these buildings have two platforms one above the other, beautifully sculptured, with their sides well made and worked, to which platforms the sons of the king's favourites come for the feasts, and sometimes his eunuchs. On the upper platform, close to the king, was Christovao de Figueiredo, with all of us who came with him,

for the king commanded that he should be put in such a place as best to see the feasts and magnificence. . . .

"Returning to the feasts, you must know that in this House of Victory the king has a room (*casa*) made of cloth, with its door closed, where the idol has a shrine; and in the other, in the middle (of the building), is placed a dais opposite the staircase in the middle; on which dais stands a throne of state made thus,—it is four-sided, and flat, with a round top, and a hollow in the middle for the seat. As regards the woodwork of it, you must know that it is all covered with silk cloths (? *soajes*),¹ and has lions all of gold, and in the spaces between the cloths (*soajes*) it has plates of gold with many rubies and seed-pearls, and pearls underneath; and round the sides it is full of galden images of personages, and upon these is much work in gold, with many precious stones. In this chair is placed an idol, also of gold, embowered in roses and flowers. On one side of this chair, on the dais below, stands a head-dress; this also is made in the same manner; it is upright and as high as a span, the top is rounded, it is all full of pearls and rubies and all other precious stones, and on the top of it is a pearl as large as a nut, which is not quite round. On the other side is an anklet for the foot made in the same fashion; it is another state jewel, and is full of large pearls and of many rubies, emeralds and diamonds, and other stones of value; it will be of the thickness of a man's arm. In front of all this, at the edge of the dais, resting on a support were some cushions where the king was seated during all these feasts. The feasts commence thus :—

"You must know that when it is morning the king comes to this House of Victory, and betakes himself to that room where the idol is with its Brahmans, and he performs his prayers and ceremonies. Outside the house are some of his favourites, and on the square are many dancing-girls dancing. In their verandahs round the square are many captains and chief people who come there in order to see; and on the

¹ Sewall, *For. Emp.*, p. 265, n. (1)

ground, near the platform of the house, are eleven horses with handsome and well-arranged trappings, and behind them are four beautiful elephants with many adornments. After the king has entered inside he comes out, and with him a Brahman who takes in his hand a basket full of white roses and approaches the king on the platform, and the king, taking three handfuls of these roses, throws them to the horses, and after he has thrown them he takes a basket of perfumes and acts towards them as though he would cense them ; and when he has finished doing this he reaches towards the elephants and does the same to them. And when the king has finished this, the Brahman takes the basket and descends to the platform, and from thence puts those roses and other flowers on the heads of all the horses and this done, returns to the king. Then the king goes again to where the idol is, and as soon as he is inside they lift the curtains of the room, which are made like the purdahs of a tent, and the king seats himself where these are, and they lift them all. Thence he witnesses the slaughter of twenty-four buffaloes and a hundred and fifty sheep, with which a sacrifice is made to that idol ; you must know that they cut off the heads of these buffaloes and sheep at one blow with certain large sickles which are wielded by a man who has charge of this slaughter ; they are so sure of hand that no blow misses. When they have finished the slaughter of these cattle, the king goes out and goes to the other large buildings, on the platforms of which is a crowd of Brahmans, and as soon as the king ascends to where they stand they throw to the king ten or twelve roses—those (that is) who are nearest to him. Then he passes all along the top of the building and as soon as he is at the end he takes the cap from his head and after placing it on the ground turns back (to the place) where the idol is ; here he lies extended on the ground. When he has arisen he betakes himself to the interior of the building, and enters a garden (or walled enclosure—*quyntal*) where they say that a little fire has been made, and he throws into the fire a powder made up of many things, namely, rubies and pearls and all other kinds of precious stones, and aloes and other

sweet scented things. This done, he returns to the pagoda and goes inside and stays a little, at which time enter by the other door some of his favourites who are in the building, and they make their salaam. Then he goes back to the place whence he threw the flowers to the horses, and as soon as he is here all the captains and chief people come and make their salaam to him, and some, if they so desire, present some gifts to him ; then as they come so they retire, and each one betakes himself to his own dwelling. And the king withdraws to the interior of his palace by that gate which I have already mentioned—that which stands between the two buildings that are in the arena (*terreyro*) ; the courtezans and bayaderes remain dancing in front of the temple and idol for a long time. This is what is done during the morning of each day of these nine days, with the ceremonies I have mentioned, and each day more splendid (than the last).

“ Now, returning to the feasts. At three o'clock in the afternoon every one comes to the palace. They do not admit every one at once (they allowed us to go into the open part that is between the gates), but there go inside only the wrestlers and dancing-women, and the elephants, which go with their trappings and decorations, those that sit on them being armed with shields and javelins, and wearing quilted tunics. As soon as these are inside they range themselves round the arena, each one in his place, and the wrestlers go close to the staircase which is in the middle of that building, where has been prepared a large space of ground for the dancing-women to wrestle. Many other people are then at the entrance-gate opposite to the building, namely Brahmans, and the sons of the king's favourites, and their relations ; all these are noble youths who serve before the king. The officers of the household go about keeping order amongst all the people, and keep each one in his own place. The different pavilions are separated by doors, so that no one may enter unless he is invited.

“ Salvatinica (Sāḷuva Timma), who is the principal person that enters the building, supervises the whole, for he brought up the king, and made him king, and so the king looks upon

him like a father. Whenever the king calls to him he addresses him as 'Lord (*senhor*) Salvatinica', and all the captains and nobles of the realm make salaam to him. This Salvatinica stands inside the arena where the festivals go on, near one of the doors, and from there gives the word for the admission of all the things necessary for the festival.

"After all this is done and arranged the king gives forth and seats himself on the dais I have mentioned, where is the throne and the other things, and all those that are inside make their salaam to him. As soon as they have done this the wrestlers seat themselves on the ground, for these are allowed to remain seated, but no other, howsoever great a lord he be, except the king so commands; and these also eat betel, though none else may eat it in his presence except the dancing-women who may always eat it before him. As soon as the king is seated in his place he bids to sit with him three or four men who belong to his race, and who are themselves kings and fathers of his wives; the principal of these is the king of Syringapatao and of all the territory bordering on Malabar, and this king is called Cumarvirya,¹ and he seats himself as far in front as the king on the other side of the dais, the rest are behind.

"There the king sits, dressed in white clothes all covered with (embroidery of) golden roses and wearing his jewels—he wears a quantity of these white garments, and I always saw him so dressed—and around him stand his pages with his betel, and his sword, and the other things which are his insignia of state. Many Brahmans stand round the throne on which rests the idol, fanning it with horsetail plumes, coloured, the handles of which are all overlaid with gold; these plumes are tokens of the highest dignity, they also fan the king with them.

"As soon as the king is seated, the captains who waited without making their entrance, each one by himself, attended by his chief people, and so on, all in order; they approach and make their salaams to the king, and then take their places in

¹ See Sewall's note on this. *For. Emp.*, p. 269, n. (1).

the pavilions (*veramdas*) which I have previously described. As soon as these nobles have finished entering, the captains of the troops approach with shields and spears, and afterwards the captains of the archers; these officers are all stationed on the ground around the arena in front of the elephants and they constitute the king's guard, for into such a place no man may enter bearing arms, nor near to where the king is. As soon as these soldiers have all taken their places the women begin to dance, while some of them place themselves in the circular galleries that I have said were (erected) at their gate of entrance. Who can fitly describe to you the great riches these women carry on their persons? . . .¹

"Then the wrestlers begin their play. . . .

"In all this portion of the day nothing more is done than this wrestling and the dancing of the women, but as soon as ever the sun is down many torches are lit and some great flambeaux made of cloth; and these are placed about the arena in such a way that the whole is as light as day, and even along the top of the walls, for on all the battlements are lighted lamps, and the place where the king sits is all full of torches. As soon as these are all lit up there are introduced many very graceful plays and contrivances, but these do not stop long; they only approach where the king is and then go out. Then there enter others in other fashion, with battles of people on horseback; these horses are like the hobby-horses made in Portugal for the feast of the Corpo de Dios; others come with casting-nets, fishing, and capturing the men that are in the arena. When these amusements are ended, they begin to throw up many rockets and many different sorts of fires, also castles that burn and fling out from themselves many bombs (*tiros*) and rockets.

"When these fireworks are finished, there enter many triumphant cars² which belong to the captains, some of them

¹ *Infra*, Section on Games and Amusements.

² These are evidently the chariots to which we have referred in an earlier connection. B. A. S.

sent by those captains who are waging war in foreign parts; and they enter thus. The first belongs to Salvatinica, and they come in one after the other. Some of the cars appear covered with many rich cloths, having on them many devices of dancing-girls and other humun figures; there are other cars having tiers one on top of another, and others all of one kind; and so in their order they pass to where the king is. When the cars have gone out they are immediately followed by many horses covered with trappings and cloths of very fine stuff of the king's colours, and with many roses and flowers on their heads and necks, and with their bridles all gilded; and in front of these horses goes a horse with two state-umbrellas of the king, and with grander decorations than the others, and one of the lesser equerries leads it by the bridle..

"These horses then, going in the way I have stated, pass twice round the arena and place themselves in the middle of the arena in five or six lines, one before the other, and the king's horse in front of them, all facing the king; they stand in such a way that between them and the men there is an open space all round. As soon as they are arranged in this way and are all quiet there goes out from the inside of the palace a Brahman, the highest in rank of those about the king, and two others with him, and this chief Brahman carries in his hands a bowl with a cocoanut and some rice and flowers, while others carry a pot of water; and they pass round by the back of the horses, which all stand facing the king; and after performing his ceremonies there, he returns to the palace.

"After this is over you will see issuing from inside twenty-five or thirty female doorkeepers, with canes in their hands...¹

"When these women retire the horses also go, and then come the elephants, and after making their salaam they too retire. As soon as they are gone the king retires by a small door which is at the end of the building. Then the Brahmans

¹ *Supra*, Chapter, IV. Women.

go and take an idol, and carry it to the House of Victory where is the room of cloth that I have spoken of; and the king at once comes from within, and goes to where the idol is, and offers his prayers and performs his ceremonies. Then they bring there more buffaloes and sheep, and kill them in the same way as before, and then come the professional women to dance. As soon as the slaughter of the buffaloes and sheep is over the king retires, and goes to his supper; for he fasts all these nine days, and (each day) they eat nothing until all is finished, and their hour of food is midnight. The bayaderes remain dancing before the idol a long time after all this is done.

“In this way are celebrated these festivals of nine days; on the last day there are slaughtered two hundred and fifty buffaloes and four thousand five hundred sheep.

“When these days of festival are past, the king holds a review of all his forces, and the review is thus arranged.”¹

Nuniz also witnessed the Mahānavami festival but his account is not so complete as that of Paes. Nuniz writes thus: “When he wishes to please his captains, or persons from whom he has received or wishes to receive good service, he gives them scarves of honour for their personal use, which is a great honour; and this he does each year to the captains at the time that they pay him their land-rents. This takes place in the month of September when for nine days they make great feasts. Some say that they do this in honour of the nine months during which Our Lady bore her Son in the womb; others say that it is only done because at this time the captains come to pay their rents to the King. Which feasts are conducted in the following manner.

“The first day they put nine castles in a piece of ground which is in front of the palace, which castles are made by the nine principal captains in the kingdom. They are very lofty and are hung with rich cloths, and in them are many dancing-

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 262-75.

girls and also many kinds of contrivances. Besides these nine every captain is obliged to make each one his castle, and they come to show these to the King. Each one has his separate device, and they all come like this during the nine days of the feast. The officers of the city are bound to come with their devices each day at night, just as in our festivals, and in these nine days they slaughter animals and make sacrifice. The first day they kill nine male buffaloes and nine sheep and nine goats, and thenceforward they kill each day more, always doubling the number; and when they have finished slaying these beasts, there come nine horses and nine elephants of the King, and these come before the king covered with flowers—roses—and with rich trappings. Before them goes the chief Master of the Horse with many attendants, and they make salaam to the King. And when these have finished making their salaam there come from within priests, and they bring rice and other cooked edibles, and water, and fire, and many kinds of scents, and they offer prayers and throw the water over the horses and elephants, just (as our priests do with) holy water; and they put chaplets of roses on them. This is done in the presence of the King, who remains seated on a throne of gold and precious stone; he never sits on this except only this once in the year. And this King¹ that now reigns does not sit on it, for they say that whoever sits on it must be a very truthful man, one who speaks the whole truth, and this King never does so. Whilst this is going on there pass by the King fully a thousand women, dancing and posturing before him. After all the devices that have been prepared have been witnessed all the horses of the King pass by, covered with their silken trappings, and with much adornment of gold and precious stones on their heads, and then all the elephants and yokes of oxen in the middle of the arena in front of the palace. After these have been seen there come thirty-six of the most beautiful of the King's wives,²

¹ Achyuta Rāya.

² Paes in the above passage clearly tells us that they were door-keepers. Nuniz makes them the king's wives! This once again proves that Nuniz cannot be relied upon for many of his statements. B. A. S.

covered with gold and pearls, and much work of seed-pearls, and in the hands of each a vessel of gold with a lamp of oil burning in it; and with these women come all the female servants and the other wives of the King, with canes in their hands tipped with gold and with torches burning; and these then retire inside with the King...

"In this way during these nine days they are compelled to search for all things which will give pleasure to the King."¹

There are two details in the foregoing accounts of the foreign writers, especially of Paes, on which some light is thrown in the traditional accounts of the south. The first refers to the buffalos and the second to the "anklet for the foot" which was of "the thickness of a man's arm." The former is connected with the following story:

"Shortly after, the *Nava-rattiri* festival occurred. In this capital (called the *Vizianagaram Penukondai Patnam*) was the temple of a *durga* (or goddess), to which a festival was annually dedicated; and it terminated with the offering of a wild buffalo to the goddess on the tenth day. This buffalo was generally hunted for in the jungle, by the prince of the kingdom, and usually taken in a net. On the eighth day of that year, the *Rayer*, as usual, went with his hunting party into the woods, which abounded with wild buffalos; and having chased them, a buffalo was reported to be caught in the snare laid for it by the huntsmen. This buffalo was remarkable for the strength and length of its horns, which bended backwards and reached to its tail; consequently the *Rayer* and his principal officers were much concerned at the improbability of sacrificing it with one blow, as would be needful: since a failure on this point would be a sure indication of some catastrophe, unfavourable to the future prosperity of the kingdom, according to a current tradition long since established." It was then that Viśvanātha Nāyaka, advised in a dream by the

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 376-8.

goddess, came to the rescue of the king and offered to cut off the buffalo's head at one stroke.¹

The other detail carries us to the palace of Tirumala Nāyaka of Mudura. The *Accounts of Tirumalai-Naicker, and of his Buildings* relate thus: "To the west, in the midst of a great dome-shaped hall, is a square building of black stone, which includes a hall made of ivory: in the middle of this is a jewelled throne, on which the king is accustomed to take his seat at the great *Nava-ralliri* festival, surrounded by all his banners, or ensigns of royalty; and where also all kings are accustomed to do homage. At that festival, the *Retsha-bandah*, (or amulet), is put on by the king." Taylor tells us the following about this amulet: "The Brahmins during the festival have to watch and fast; and, with attendant ceremonies, a thin *chakram* either wheel or square of gold, has written on it, in its various compartments certain mystical or astrological words or figures; the plate is then rolled up, inclosed in a small case and tied to the arm or wrist or suspended on the breast. It was supposed to convey to the king protection from enemies; dread and honor from subjects."²

Conti also speaks of a nine days festival but with some uncommon details. "On the third, which last nine days, they set up in all the highways large beams, like the masts of small ships, to the upper part of which are attached pieces of very beautiful cloth of various kinds, interwoven with gold. On the summit of each of these beams is each day placed a man of pious aspect, dedicated to religion, capable of enduring all things with equanimity, who is to pray for the favour of God. These men are assailed by the people, who pelt them with oranges, lemons and other odoriferous fruits, all which they bear most patiently."³

Provision was made by the people for providing offerings in temples on the occasion of this great Mahānavami festival.

¹ Taylor, *O.H. MSS.*, II, p. 5.

² *Ibid.*, II, pp. 157-9, and 159 n.

³ Major, *India*, p. 28.

Thus a record dated Śaka 1516 (A. D. 1594-5) informs us that Raṅgappa, son of Yatirāja Ayyangār of Turiyāsthakali-*gōtra*, gave 110 *geṭṭi varaham* for providing certain offerings to the god Chennakēśava Perumāḷ at Śriperumbūdūr, Chingleput district, on the ten days of the Mahānavami festival.¹

Another celebration which evoked admiration from foreign travellers was the Dipāvali festival held in the month of Kārttika. This commemorates the victory which Viṣṇu scored against the Asuras and Narakāsuras, and since, as they say, it was won in the evening, there is a universal illumination of houses and temples in the land...² Conti thus describes the Dipāvali festival: "On another of these festivals they fix up within their temples, and on the outside of the roofs, an innumerable number of lamps of oil of Susimanni, which are kept burning day and night."³

People gave contributions to the temples also for the celebration of these festivals. In about A. D. 1443 Gōvaṇṇa and Baḷlaṇṇa, sons of Śriranga Dēva of Araṇipura in Kaḍalūr, made a grant for the Chaitra festival of lights in the temple of Chennakēśvara according to former custom.⁴ An inscription dated Śaka 1443 (A. D. 1521-2) informs us that Sadāsiva Nāyaka provided *ghee* for lamps during the festival of Tirukkārtigai to the temple of Bṛihadambā at Dēvikkāpuram, for the merit of the chief (*svāmi*) Tirumalai Nāyaka.⁵ In Śaka 1444 (A. D. 1522-3) the daughter of the Kannaḍiya chief Dēvappuḍaiyar at Marudarśar-Paḍaiviḍu, gave a gift of *ghee* for the same festival to the same temple.⁶

Foreigners observed another great festival about which they left some details. This is the car festival or the *ratha*-

¹ 191 of 1922.

² Srikantaliyar, *I. A.*, XX, p. 430; Suryanarayana Rao, *The City*, p. 11. For an account of the Dipāvali festival, Wilson, *I. A.*, XXVI, p. 308; Gupte, *I. A.*, XXXII, pp. 237-9.

³ Major, *India*, p. 28; Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 86.

⁴ *E. C.*, V, P. 1, Hn. 82, p. 25.

⁵ 361 of 1912; Rangachari, *Top List*, I, NA 162, p. 49.

⁶ 362 of 1912; Rangachari, *ibid.*, NA 163, p. 50. Read Pietro della Valle's description given below.

saplami. Conti gives us a fanciful picture of the scene in the following words : " In Bizenegalia also, at a certain time of the year, their idol is carried through the city, placed between two chariots, in which are young women richly adorned, who sing hymns to the god, and accompanied by a great concourse of people. Many, carried away by the fervour of their faith, cast themselves on the ground before the wheels, in order that they may be crushed to death,—a mode of death which they say is very acceptable to their god. Others, making an incision in their side, and inserting a rope thus through their body, hang themselves to the chariot by way of ornament, and thus suspended and half dead accompany their idol. This kind of sacrifice they consider the best and most acceptable of all."¹

Since we know that "young women richly adorned" have never been, and are not, carried in the great temple chariots during the *rathasaplami* festival; and that the description of people hanging "themselves to the chariot by way of ornament" refers to a festival which is quite distinct from the one under review, we may be cautious in accepting Nocolo dei Conti's other remark that many carried away by the fervour of their faith, cast themselves on the ground before the wheels in order to attain salvation.

Paes has more sober views on the subject. This chronicler says : "Close to these pagodas is a triumphal car covered with carved work and images, and on one day in each year during a festival they drag this through the city in such streets as it can traverse. It is large and cannot turn corners."² That Paes does not relate things which he has not seen is evident from the following observations made by him on cars. "Whenever the festival of any of these temples occurs they drag along certain triumphal cars which run on wheels, and with it go dancing-girls and other women with music to the temple, (conducting) the idol along the said street with much pomp. I do not relate the manner in which these cars are

¹ Major, *India*, p. 28; Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 84

² Sewell *ibid.*, p. 255.

taken, because in all the time that I was in this city none were taken round.”¹

The fiction of people falling under the wheels of a temple car must have gained considerable popularity among foreigners. We find Linschoten repeating the story of Conti but with a significant detail at the end of his narrative which plainly indicates the nature of the source of his information. Linschoten (A. D. 1583) tells us the following: “In the Kingdome of Narsinga, on the coast called Choramandel, there standeth a Pagode, that is very great and exceeding rich, and holden in great estimation, having many Pilgrimages & Visitations made into it from all the Countries bordering about it, where every yeere they have many Faires, Feasts, and Processions, and there they have a Waggon or a Cart, which is so great and heavie, that three or foure Elephants can hardly draw it, and this brought foorth at Faires, Feasts and Processions. At this Cart hang likewise many Cables or Ropes, whereat also all the Countrey people, both men and women of pure devotion doe pull and hale. In the upper part of this cart standeth a Tabernacle or Seat, wherein sitteth the Idoll, and under it sit the Kings Wives, which after their manner play on all Instruments, making a most sweet melodie, and in that sort is the Cart drawne forth, with great Devotions and Processions: there are some of them, that of great zeale and pure devotion doe cut peeces of flesh out of their bodies, and threw them downe before the Pagode: others lay themselves under the wheeles of the Cart, and let the Cart runne over them, whereby they are all crushed to peeces, and pressed to death, and they that thus die, are accounted for holy and devout Martyrs, and from that time forwards are kept and preserved for great and holy Reliques, besides a thousand other such like beastly Superstitions, which they use, as one of my Chamber fellowes, that had seen it showed me, and it is also well knowne throughout all India.”²

¹ Sewell, *For Emp.*, p. 262.

² Linschoten, *Purchas, Pilgrims*, X, p. 274.

Although Linschoten improves upon Conti's version by saying that "all the country people, both men and women," merely pulled the large cables or ropes, and that they did not "hang themselves to the chariot by way of ornament," as the latter asserts, yet the account we have given above cannot be accepted as accurate for the following reasons: Linschoten says that "under it (the image in the chariot) sit the King's wives" playing on musical instrument. Paes speaks of the dancing-women going in front of the cars. If this was the custom in the capital, it could not have been that the "king's wives" sat in the temple chariot on the coast of Coromandal. Further, Linschoten speaks of those who sacrificed themselves by falling under the wheels of the chariot "being kept and preserved for great and holy Reliques". This incredible assertion needs no refutation.

If it were really true that people allowed themselves to be crushed under the wheels of temple chariots, other travellers would not have failed to learn something about it. It is not only Paes who does not mention this detail; in the accounts of the Jesuits too, who have also left behind them notices of the "beastly superstitions" of the Hindus spoken of by Linschoten, no reference is made to the ghastly incident given by Conti and Linschoten. Nicolas Pimenta in A. D. 1599 writes thus about the events on the Coromandal coast. While describing the city of St. Thomas (i. e. Mylapore) he says: "But so prodigious and innumerable were their Idols, in many very faire Temples, and other lessee Oratories almost without number, that Superstition contended with Ambition; and the Colosses of their Idols were removed from place to place in Chariots as high as steeples, by thousands of men setting their shoulders to the Wheelles."¹

Another Jesuit named Emanuel de Veiga in his letter dated A. D. 1592 from Clindragiri tells us how "Superstition contended with Ambition" on the same coast. He writes about his voyage from Chandragiri to Mylapore. "The second

¹ Pimenta, *Purchas, Pilgrims*, X, p. 207.

day at night they lay at Trivalur, where they saw their Idols
solemne Procession by night, carried into the street by eight
Porters in a high Throne: the Image it selfe not above three
spannes long clothed with an upper garment of red silke, an
inner shirt of linnen. An Elephant went before the pompe,
consecrated to the Idoll, carrying a white Banner on his backe;
and after him three Oxen sacred also thereto, on which sate
Drummers: after them Trumpetters and Pipers with diversif-
ied Instruments, straight, crooked, great, small. These all
made a confused sound, without any observation of order and
time. After these came 30 women-dancers, which have devoted
themselves to the Idolls in perpetual service; which may not
marrie, but prostitute themselves for the most part, all goodly
and richly arrayed, all carrying Lampes burning. And the Idoll
came in the Rere with his Porters and Priests, living on the
revenues of the Temple. The common people followed with
lights. They passed foure streets, and in their returne set the
Idoll in a place erected with pillars with a stone rooffe, and all
the companie compassed the Idoll three times, which done,
they carried him to the Temple, where foure Braehmanes
entertained him, which bowed their heads to the Idoll; one of
them bringing on his head a basket of boyled Rice for the
Idoll's supper, attended with Fanners to scarre away Flies.
When the meate was set downe, a Curtaine was drawne, lest
any might see the Idoll eating, the Instruments sounding the
while. Soone after the Curtaine was drawne againe, the
Rice removed, the Ministers gone in, and one comes forth
which makes an Oration in his praise, and then all went into
the Temple, where foure houres were spent in idle idol-rites."¹

The same Jesuit traveller tells us that "at the Feast of
Perimal's marriage was such concourse of people, that that
daye's offering amounted to two hundred thousand Ducats, the

¹ Veiga, *Purchas, Pilgrims*, X, pp. 220-1. This shrewd Jesuit, who in
those orthodox days would never have been able to enter even the outer
precincts of a temple, must have observed the whole proceeding from outside
in order to note "the meate (which) was set downe" "before the Idoll".
He is evidently referring to the usual *naivēdyas* of a temple. B. A. S.

King and Queene and Courtiers being present. The Idoll was carried in a great triumphall Chariot drawne by ten thousand men, about midnight, a mile and a halfe."¹

Pietro della Valle noticed the great temple chariots at Ikkēri. He writes thus: "Moreover, in a close place opposite to the Temple, I saw one of those very great Carrs, or Charriots, wherein upon certain Feasts they carry their Idols in Procession, with many people on it and Dancing-women, who play on musical instruments, sing and dance. The four wheels of this Carr were fourteen of my spans in diameter, and the wood of the sides was one span thick. At the end of it were two great wooden Statues, painted with natural colours; one of a Man, the other of a woman, naked, in dishonest postures; and upon the Carr, which was very high, was room for abundance of people to stand; and, in brief, it was so large that scarce any but the widest streets in *Rome* as *Strada Giulia*, or *Babuino*, would be capable for it to pass in."²

There are certain details of the car festival which may be noted before we pass on to the description of another famous festival of Vijayanagara. From the inscriptions we know that a car festival was sometimes held for nine days. Thus in A. D. 1495 *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Timmaya Dēva Mahā-arasu's son Narasaya Dēva Mahā-arasu gave twenty-eight *gadyāṇa* as a gift for the offerings of the god Bayirava of Sihati and for a new car festival to be held for nine days.³

Sometimes a car festival was held for fifteen days. A record dated A. D. 1562 relates that Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka's agent Vēlūr Kālappa Nāyaka's son Mārggasahāya Nāyaka rebuilt the village of Gaṅganarasi and granted it free of all imports for the purpose of providing a car festival for the fifteen days of *Chaitra-suddha* in the temple of the god Harihara. We may also note that the same inscription gives us the

¹ Veiga, Purchas, *Pilgrims*, X, p. 222.

² Pietro della Valle, *Travels*, II pp. 259-60. Cf. Peter Mundy's description of the car festival also at Ikkēri. *Travels*, III, P. I, pp. 85-6 (Hakluyt).

³ E. C., X, Kl. 34, p. 8.

reason why Mārggasahāya Nāyaka granted the village. "He who made petition to Mārggasahāya Nāyaka for the village of Gaṅganarasi for the car festival of the god Harihara and the goddess Lakshmi and caused the village to be restored and granted, was Chaduparāla Koṇḍama Rāja's son, Sūrappaiya. Great good fortune to him."¹ This last statement suggests that Sūrappaiya had conferred a boon on the temple and the people.

Provision was also made for the celebration of the car festival held in the month of Tai (January). Avasaram Anṇamarasayya granted the taxes collected from the villages Śatayābharāṇanallūr and Sunṇavūru for offerings in the temple of Tiruvīraṭṭānēśvara at Tiruvaḍi, South Arcot district, during the early morning service and for conducting the car festival in the month of Tai. The inscription which gives this information is dated only in the cyclic year Vikṛiti, but refers us to the reign of Śāluva Narasiṅga Rāya.²

The nobles sometimes reinstituted the car festival which for some unknown reasons had been discontinued for a long time. According to a record dated Śaka 1430 (A. D. 1518-9) of the times of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, Eṛamāñchi Tulukaṇṇa Nāyaka built a car for the Kāmeśvara temple at Arragal, (mod. Āragalūr), Salem district, which had not been in existence subsequent to the rule of the Pāṇḍya kings. He also instituted a festival called *Śivali Nāyaka* and appointed a private individual with maintenance for carrying the god in procession (*śri-pādam-laṅgi*).³ We are also informed that a temple car, evidently the one in question, was called *Naralōkagaṇḍāṇ* after one of his own titles.⁴

Merchants too instituted a car festival. An inscription dated Śaka 1519 (A. D. 1597-8) contains the information that

¹ E. C., XI, Dg. 30 and 83, pp. 40, 66; *My. Ins.*, pp. 42, 229.

² 372 of 1921.

³ 427 of 1913.

⁴ *Ep. Report* for 1914, p. 99. His three titles were *Nāyaṅkārāchārya*, *Naralōkagaṇḍāṇ*, and *Vaṅginārāyaṇa*.

the sacred car of the temple of Kakōlanātha, Śrīvaikuṇṭham tāluka, Tinnevely district, having been damaged, a new one was made in its place by the merchants of Iḷaiyāttakūḍi and that the income of the village of Peranallūr, viz. fifty *pon* and 500 *kālam* of paddy, was set apart to meet the cost of the annual car festival.¹

Those who thus gave new life to the festival were usually given adequate reward. An inscription dated Śaka 145 (4) (A. D. 1532-3) informs us that Kaṇṇaṇ, a Kaikkōlar of Kuhaiyūr, having instituted a car festival in the temple of Kāmēśvara at Āragaḷūr, Salem district, the managers of that temple met together in the *sōpānamamḍapa* and decided to grant him and his descendants a house, a loom, a piece of land and some privileges in the temple.² We are told in a record dated Śaka 1473 (A. D. 1551-2) that an agreement was made between the temple authorities of the Kakōlanātha temple at Tirukkaikkūḍi and the merchants of Iḷaiyāttakūḍi near Kulaśēkhara-puram in Kalvāśal-nāḍu, evidently in regard to a car which the latter had built for the temple, and the honours which they were to receive at the hands of the former.³

The *dhvaja-sēve* or flag service is another feature of the car festivals which deserves to be noted. An inscription dated A. D. 1541 relates that by order of the Emperor Achyuta Rāya, the minister Rāma Bhaṭṭa's younger brother Yellappayya granted the tank Kētagauḍanakere and the village Gōpagoṇḍanahalī, surnamed Veṅkaṭasamudra, to Dhvaja Timmaṇa Dāsa, son of Vāsudeva Nāgayya, for conducting every year the flag service (*dhvaja-sēve*) and the *jātrā* of the god Tiruveṅgaḷanātha. The epigraph which was found at the Raṅganātha temple of Raṅgapura, Pāvugaḍa tāluka, further relates that the agent for the charities of Yallappayya, Hebbāruva Upādhyāya of Rodda, who was the superintendent (*pārūpalyakarta*) of the *sīma*, was ordered to see that the

¹ 45 of 1916,

² 452 of 1913.

³ 51 of 1916.

charity was carried on properly.¹ This proves that charities given at the instance of the Government were placed under an official of the State.

The feudatories and nobles of Vijayanagara also gave endowments for the car festival. A record dated Śaka 1463 (A. D. 1541-2) tells us that a gift of money was made by a feudatory (not named) of the Emperor Achyuta Rāya for maintaining the car festival in the temple of Tuyyamāmaṇi-Nāyiṇār at Uṛṛattūr, Trichinopoly district.² In A. D. 1541 the Agent for the affairs (*kāryakke karttarāda*) of the great head minister (*mātra-śirah-pradhānan*) Vāraṇāsi Varadappaṇṇa was Kaṇṇappa Nāyaka. His son Tamma Nāyaka caused a new car to be made for the god Hanumantēśvara, lord of Vahni-pura, together with new images of Umā-Skandēśvara, Vigñēśvara and other attendant gods, and in order that this car festival might be permanent, granted specified paddy fields and 900 areca trees. The same epigraph relates that "Tippammā added other similar grants for the same god." We cannot determine who was this lady.³

An inscription dated only in the cyclic year Sādhārana informs us that Sēvappa Nāyakkar-ayyaṇ made provision for the celebration of the festivals on the *rathasaptami* and the following *aṣṭami* days every year in the temple of Tīrumigai-chchūr in Uyyankonḍa-Śōḷa-vaḷa-nādu. The endowment, we may note, was made for the merit of the Emperor Sadāśiva.⁴

In later Vijayanagara history too the nobles continued to bestow grants to the temples for similar religious purposes. In A. D. 1606, in the reign of Veṅkaṭapati Rāya I, Sakhare Lakshmarasu (descent stated), caused to be erected a *maṇṭapa* for use during the floating and car festivals and the final sacred bath of the god Lakshminarasimha at Hoḷe-Narsipur, and Lakshmappa Nāyaka, evidently one of the chiefs of Hoḷe-

¹ *My Arch. Report* for 1918, p. 53.

² 524 of 1912.

³ *E. C.*, III, Tn. 120, pp. 91-2.

⁴ 72 of 1925.

Narispura, granted certain lands to meet the expenses of the above festivals.¹

Mention must be made in this connection of the great car festival held at Udipi, the seat of Madhvācharya in Tuluva. The late Mr. B. Venkoba Rao assigned the institution of the famous *paryāya* of Udipi to about A. D. 1532.²

A festival which was as noteworthy as the one described above was that called the *Hōli*.³ Nicolo dei Conti witnessed this celebration. He gives us a brief account of it. "There are also three other festival days, during which they sprinkle all passers-by, even the king and queen themselves, with saffron-water, placed for that purpose by the way-side. This is received by all with much laughter."⁴ One of the carvings in the ruins of the capital illustrates this in an interesting manner.

Pietro della Valle, who observed this festival in Surat, thus describes it : "*March* the fifteenth was the first day of the Feast of the *Indian-Gentiles*, which they celebrate very solemnly at the entrance of the Spring, with dancing through the street, and casting orange water and red colours in jest one upon the other, with other festivities of Songs and Mummeries, as I have formerly seen the same in *Spahan*, where also reside constantly a great number of *Banians*, and *Indian-Gentiles*. Yet the solemnity and concourse of people was greater than in *Persia*, as being in their own Country and a City inhabited in a great part by *Gentiles*, and wealthier persons."⁵

References to the *Hōli* festival and the *Okali* sprinkling are also found in the inscriptions and literature. There can be

¹ *My Arch. Report* for 1912-13, p. 44. See *My Ins.*, p. 212 where we are told that in A. D. 1697 "at the time of the car procession forty *khandis* shall be given from the palace of Avati-nād for the feast of the Brahmins."

² Venkoba Rao, *Vyasayōgicharitam*, Intr., p. clxxiv.

³ On the *Hōli* read Wilson, *Theatre of the Hindus*, II, p. 264, 268,, 269, 274, (1835.); *Religion of the Hindus* II, p. 227, seq.; Edgerton, *Vikramacharita*, Story of the 16th Statuette (Harvard Oriental Series No 26); Wilkins, *Mod. Hind.*, p. 286, seq.; Bana, *Harshacharita*, p. 174.

⁴ Major, *India*, pp. 28-9; Suryanarayana Rao, *The City*, p. 12.

⁵ Pietro della Valle, *Travels*, I, pp. 122-3.

no doubt that this festival was celebrated with great enthusiasm in early days. A record dated A. D. 1281 speaks of the *Okali* sprinkling of the god Hoysaṇēśvara (of Belūr?).¹ In A. D. 1438 thirty *honnu* were collected from the Śrīvaishṇava Brahmans for the spring festival of the god Śrīraṅgaṇātha of Śrīraṅga-pura.² Timmi Nāyaka, the Agent of Aṇṇamarasayya, who was the deputy (*avasaram*) of the king Sāluva Naraśiṅga, in Śaka 1391 (A. D. 1468-9), gave certain specified taxes collected from the village Mūsukolaṭṭūr for the expenses connected with the Vasanta festival of the god in the Tiruvīraṭṭānēśvara temple at Tiruvaḍi, South Arcot district.³ One of the *birudus* given to Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya in an inscription dated A. D. 1509-10 is the following—he “who, every year, performed a sacrifice to (*Kāma*) the lord of the golden festival of Spring.”⁴ We are told in a record dated 1586-7 that the *Vasanta mahōtsava* was held in Udayagiri.⁵

Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya is represented by Nandi Timmayya in a verse at the end of the first canto of his *Pārijātāpaharaṇam* as hearing along with his queens, the works composed by the poets assembled at the court for the spring festival.⁶ In the Sanskrit drama entitled *Jāmbavatīkalyāṇa*, written by Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya himself, we are told in its prologue that that drama was enacted before the people assembled to witness the Chaitra (spring) festival of Virūpāksha.⁷

Śrīnātha informs us in his *Harivilāsam* that the brothers of Avachi Tippaya Śeṭṭi had the monopoly of supplying all the necessary articles for the grand Spring festival celebrated by the Reḍḍi king Kumāragiri of Koṇḍaviḍu.⁸

¹ E. C., V, P. I, B1. 90, p. 69.

² E. C., III, Sr. 7, p. 8.

³ 371 of 1921.

⁴ Ep. Ind., I, p. 370 and n. (64).

⁵ Butterworth-Chetty, *Nellore Ins.*, III, p. 1366.

⁶ *Pārijātāpaharaṇam*, *The Sources*, pp. 138, 140.

⁷ *Jāmbavatīkalyāṇa*, *ibid.*, p. 142.

⁸ *Harivilāsam*, *ibid.*, pp. 57, 59.

A festival which specially interested foreigners was the *Sīḍi* or Hook-swinging. This was well known to the early times. In A. D. 1123 in the reign of the Western Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalla Dēva, when under the orders of the *Maneverggade* Daṇḍanāyaka Sālipagya, Rāmaya was ruling the Banavāsi 12,000, the *Mahāsāvanta* Bopparasa and his wife Sīriya Devi "surrounded by all the subjects were in the temple (of Koṇḍasabāvi) at the rice fields." Then the cowherd Mārana's son Dēkaya Nāyaka made a vow saying: "If the king obtains a son, I will give my head to swing on the pole for the god Brahmā of Koṇḍasabāvi." Some one whose name is effaced in the record, granted rice lands to provide for a line of 810 lights on this occasion and ? for the expenses of the *basadi*.¹ The festival receives the name from the iron hook or *sīḍi* from which a man was suspended and swung round, the hook being passed through the sinews of the back.² Women also gave up their lives in this manner. A record dated about A. D. 1215 informs us that on the death of the Halivana *sāvanta* Si... Seya Nāyaka's mother Honnaka Nāyakiti, Ma... ..ya... Kittī Honni gave her head to the hook and died.³

The fantastic account of Nicolo dei Conti, where he says that people making an incision in their side "hang themselves to the chariot by way of ornament," evidently refers to the *sīḍi* festival.

Barbosa gives a detailed description of this performance. "The women of this land are so bold in their idolatry and do such marvels for the love of their gods, that it is a terrible thing' [As to the women of this country, although they are so delicate and go about with so many jewels and scents, I cannot refrain from saying what I have seen of the greatness and incredible constancy of their minds in addition to the matters related above.] If any young maiden would marry a youth on whom she has set her fancy she makes a vow to her god that if

¹ E. C., VII., Sk. 246, p. 141.

² *Ibid.*, n. (1).

³ E. C. XI Mk. 12, p. 91.

he will arrange for her marriage she will do him a great service before giving herself to her husband. If her wish is fulfilled, and she obtains him for her husband, she tells him that before giving herself to him she must offer sacrifice to such and such a god to whom she has promised to make an offering of her blood. Then, appointing a certain day for the ceremony, they take a great ox-cart and set up therein a tall water lift like those used in Castille for drawing water from wells, at the end of which hang two very sharp iron hooks. She goes forth on the appointed day in the company of her relations and friends, men and women, with much music played and sung, also dancers and tumblers. She is naked from the waist up, and wears cotton garments below. When she arrives at the gate where the cart stands ready, they let down (the long arm of) the lift and push the hooks into her loins, through skin and flesh. Then they put a 'small dagger' [small round shield *Ramusio* and Spanish] into her left hand, and from the other end, cause the (arm of the) lift to rise, with much outcry and shouting from the people. She remains hanging from the lift with the blood running down her legs, but shows no sign of pain, nay, she waves her dagger most joyfully, throwing limes at her husband. In this manner they conduct her to the temple wherein is the idol to whom she has vowed such a sacrifice, on arriving at the gate whereof they take her down and attend to her wounds, and make her over at her husband, while she, according to her station in life, gives great gifts and alms to the Bramenes and idols, and food in abundance to all who have accompanied her."¹

If what Barbosa narrates is true, the hook-swinging ceremony must have been slightly different from what Nicol dei Conti on the one hand and Pietro della Valle and modern witnesses on the other have observed. In the accounts of these neither the great "ox cart" nor a "tall water lift" appears on the scene. Pietro della Valle saw the festival in A. D. 1623 at Ikkēri. "Walking about the City I saw a beam

¹ *Barbosa, Dames I., pp. 220-22; Stanley, p. 95.*

rais'd a good height, where in certain of their Holy-days, some devout people are wont to hang themselves by the flesh upon hooks fastened to the top of it and remain a good while so hanging, the blood running down in the mean time, and they flourishing their Sword and Buckler in the Air and singing verses in Honor of their Gods."¹

This festival has disappeared only in modern times. Buchanan was informed that it was an essential feature of the annual feasts given by the chief Gauda to *Kalikantama*, that this cruel worship was never performed before the great gods; and that the Brahmans of the south considered it "as an abomination, fit only for the groveling understanding of the vulgar."² That Buchanan was well informed on this subject is evident from the survivals of the festival in various parts of the country. In front of the Māriamma temple at Mūḍubidre, in Tuḷuva, stands a quadrangular stone hollowed out at top. It was formerly used as the receptacle for a wooden beam on which another wooden beam was made to revolve at the hook-swinging festivals.³ At Chitaldroog, near the Hiḍim̐bēśvara and Sampige-Siddhēśvara temple, are high stone porches (*uyyāle-kambha*) from which iron chains are suspended. At the Ekanāthēśvara temple in the same district there is a raised platform (*siḍi-paṭṭi*) with a vertical pole in the centre (*male-kambha*). On this there used to turn a horizontal beam (*siḍi-mara*) to which a man or woman who had made a vow was attached by a rope and iron hooks with face downwards. The beam was then turned round by the bystanders.⁴

¹ Pietro della Valle, *Travels*, II., p. 259.

² Buchanan, *Journey through Malabar*, III., p. 342. Cf. Kṛishṇa Sastri, *S. I. Gods*, p. 226. In the light of Buchanan's observations, the remarks of Grey that it was a "well known festival in honour of Śiva" may be rejected. Pietro della Valle, *ibid*, II., p. 250, n. (3).

³ *Ep. Report* for 1901, p. 4.

⁴ *Ep. Report* for 1889 (January), p. 2. This seems to have been known as Chakra (Charak)-pujā in the north. The following may be read in this connection—Ward, *Hindoos*, III., p. 15; Heber, *Journal*, I., p. 77; Tavernier, *Travels*, p. II., Bk. III. p. 181 (1678); Francis, *Bellary Gaz.*, p. 222; Richards, *Salem Gaz.*, I., P. I., p. 122; Brackenbury, *Cud-dapah Manual*, pp. 65-6; Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in South India*,

About the following festivals we have no notice in the accounts of foreign travellers except in one instance. And that is in connection with the celebrations made on full moon and new moon days. Correa writing about Conjeeveram in A. D. 1542-4 tells us that the temples of that city were visited regularly by the Rājas of Vijayanagara, and that a fair was held there at the full moon of the month of August.¹

Floris (A. D. 1614) writes in the following manner: "The one and twentieth of November, the Gentiles had a Feast, which Solemnitie happens thrice a yeare, when the New Moone commeth on a Monday: in which both Men and Women come to wash themselves in the Sea, esteeming thereby to have great indulgence. The Bramenes also and Cometis doe the same."²

Pietro della Valle thus describes the New and Full Moon celebrations at Ikkēri: "I was told by one of the spectators that this ceremony was practised every *Monday* night and at every New Moon and Full Moon, as also upon certain other extraordinary solemnities, with more or less pomp proportionably to the Festivals; and he added that the night following there could be a greater solemnity than this,³ because the New Moon and another of their Feasts were then co-incident, and that the King (Veṅkaṭappa Nāyaka) himself would be there; wherefore I resolved with myself to see it.

"*November* the one and twentieth. This night an infinite number of Torches and Candles were lighted, not onely in all the Temples but also in all the Streets, Houses and Shops of *Ikkeri*, which made a kind of splendour over all the City. In each of the Temples was its Idol, while in some was a Serpent;

pp. 487-501 (Madras, 1906); J. H. Powell in *Folk Lore* for 1914, pp. 147, seq. The festival has not completely died out in the Karṇāṭaka in spite of the attempts of the Mysore Government to suppress it. Read Brockbank, *Q. J. M. S.*, II., pp. 57-9.

¹ Whiteway, *The Rise of the Portuguese*, p. 282.

² Floris, *Purchas, Pilgrims*, III, p. 339.

³ This refers to a long description of a temple procession. *Travels*, II, pp. 279-82.

and they had adorned the outward Porches not onely with lights, but also with certain contrivances of paper, on which were painted Men on Horseback, Elephants, people fighting and other odd figures ; behind which papers lights were placed in certain little Arches, like those which we make in our Sepulchres ; these with other gay Ornaments of Silk hung round about made a sufficiently pretty Show. In the great Temple not only the inside, in the middle whereof is a very high and slender Cupola, (which appears without too) but also all the other walls and those round about the Piazza which lies before it, as also the Houses on the adjacent sides, were all full of lights. . The concourse of people of all sorts and degrees, both Men and Women, was very great ; and they appeared to go about visiting all the Temples.”¹

Mention is made of the Full Moon and New Moon festivals in the epigraphs.² An inscription dated A. D. 1513 informs us that Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya established an image of Kṛishṇa at Kṛishṇāpuram and donated land for the first day of the month, the 11th of the Moon, the Full Moon, the New Moon, *Pañcha-parvams*, and other festivals.³

We may note references to the *Ēkādaśi* and *Dvādaśi* and similar festivals before we treat of the greater celebrations common to all the people and those particularly found in the Tamil land. An epigraph dated Śaka 1461 (A. D. 1539-40) records the gift of three villages Kalappālanpaṭṭu, Tarkōlapaṭṭu and Paṇṛittāṅgal in Dāmar-kōṭṭam of the Chandragiri-rājya, by Parāṅkuśa-jīyār for meeting the expenses on fifteen *Ēkādaśi* days.⁴ The same donor gave a gift of gold to the same Arulāḷa-Perumāḷa temple in Śaka A. D. 1542 (A. D. 1620-21) for meeting the expenses of *Ēkādaśi* and on the *Kauśika*-

¹ Pietro della Valle, *Travels*, II, p. 283-4. In the same account he tells us that “even the (Portuguese) chaplain himself but disguised” came to see the dancing “of two great companies of Dancing women . . .” p. 285.

² See *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 11, *seq.*, for festivals connected with the Full Moon and New Moon.

³ *As Res.*, XX, p. 30.

⁴ 373 of 1919.

dvādaśi days.¹ Bīravōli Timmarājadēva Mahārāja granted land in the village of Mēḍimākulapalli in the Jagatāpi-Guttidurga in Śaka 1562 (A. D. 1640-1) for the lamps of the god Hanumantarāya of the village, on the occasion of the *Prathama-dvādaśi*.² According to a record the Śaka year of which is effaced, but which contains the cyclic year Śrīmukha, Ashāḍha, a certain Raṅgōjalu confirmed the gift of many lands belonging to the gods and Brahmans of the villages of Chitracchēḍu and Malakatāḷa, in the presence of the god Raghunātha on the occasion of the *Utthāna-dvādaśi*. This was in the reign of Śrīraṅga Rāya.³ A damaged record dated Śaka 1446 (A. D. 1524-5) registers the grant of certain lands to the Viṣṇu (Perumāḷ) temple at Gōraṅṭla, Anantapur district, for maintaining festive processions on the *daśamī* days of the month by the Agent of Vākiṭi Aḍapa Nāyūḍu.⁴

Among prominent festivals were two celebrations one of which, as we shall presently relate, was, as it is today, of great consequence in the Tamil land. These are the *Mahaśaṅkramaṇa* and *Makaraśaṅkrānti* festivals. A record dated only in the cyclic year Vikrīta, but of the times of Achyuta Rāya, deals with the gift of the village Attipiravaḍai *alias* Namassivāyanallūr, made on the occasion of the *Mahāśaṅkramaṇa* under orders from Namassivāya Nāyakkar.⁵ In A. D. 1529 the *Daḷavāyi* Raṅga Nāyaka, son of Garige Nāyaka, granted certain specified land from his fief in the Ummattūr country for the offerings of the god Śrīraṅganātha of Ummattūr at the festival of *Makaraśaṅkrānti*.⁶

The famous celebrations of *Gōkulāshṭami* and *Śivarātri* also figure in the inscriptions. In A. D. 1532 Timmappa

¹ 374 of 1919. These refer to the Arulāja Perumal temple, Little Conjeeveram, Chingleput district.

² 361 of 1920.

³ 366 of 1920.

⁴ 181 of 1913; Rangachari, *Top. List.*, I, Ap. 50, p. 8.

⁵ 280 of 1915.

⁶ E. C., IV, Ch. 1, p. 1. For an account of this festival, dead Srinivasa Ramachandra Savadi, *Makarasankramana Habba*, (Dharwar, 1900).

Nāyaka granted to Giri Bhaṭṭa's son *archaka* Timma Bhaṭṭa certain lands, in the presence of the god Tiruveṅgaṇātha of Ālambagiri, in the customary manner, on the holiday of *Gōkulāshṭami*.¹

For celebrating the *Śrījayanti* festival an interesting donation was made in Śaka 1460 (A. D. 1538-9). The record informs us that a gift of 100 *paṇam* was made for celebrating the day on which Kṛishṇa was born. It was laid down that the image of Kṛishṇa should be represented as a child drinking milk placing the conch at the mouth. The gift was engraved on stone in the name of Vaḍa Tiruveṅgaḍajīyar, the Kōyil-Kēlvi, at the instance of Kandāḍi Rāmānujañjīyangār, one of the managers of the temple of Arulāḷa Perumāl, Little Conjeeveram.² In A. D. 1557 Jayakāra Rāmappayya and Rāyasta Venkaṭādri made a grant of one share in the rent-free *agrahāra* Triyambakapura, which is Sānehaḷli of the Halebiḍ-sṭhaḷa, for the *Kṛittikā* illumination festival of Chennigarāya of Vēlāpuri. The same record tells us that they gave five *ghaṭṭi* (solid) *gadyāṇa* to Nāmbi Singapaya, for a *charaṇi* at the *Gōkulāshṭami* festival, when the Svāmi visited the *Nāgi-Nāyaka Maṇṭapa*. A *vrindāvana* to the south of the Biṭasamudra tank was also granted (to the temple) on the same occasion.³

The *Śivarātri* festival is also referred to in the records. In the *śasana* of temple endowments and Brahman endowments caused to be written by Aubaḷa Rāja Oḍeyar at the meritorious time of the *Śivarātri*, provision was made for the decorations, festivals, and illuminations of the god Harihara. The epigraph dated A. D. 1419, we may incidentally note, in addition to the details pertaining to the endowments also informs us that Rāma Gauḍa received certain specified land for 2000 areca trees as *nāḍ-gauḍige*.⁴ In A. D. 1548 Chikka Siṅgappa Nāyaka gave

¹ E. C., X, Ct. 60, p. 254.

² 579 of 1919.

³ E. C., V, P. I., B1. 28, pp. 53-4. For some remarks on this festival see I. A. III, pp. 21, 47, 300; IV, p. 249; VI, pp. 161, 281 and 349.

⁴ E. C., XII, Mi. 20, p. 106.

the villages Chikka-Gauḍubali and Gōvindanahallī in the Hāsana-sīme for the *Śivarātri* car festival of the god Chennakēśava of Bēlūr.¹

In the Chennakēśava temple, as in other temples of course, there was a ten days raft festival in Phālgua (February-March), as is related in a record dated A. D. 1524.²

Similar festivals of some consequence were the garden and swinging festivals. Parankuśa Man-Śaṭagōpayya Jiyam-gāru assigned in Śaka 1486 (A. D. 1564-5) a piece of land in the village of Liṅgamadiya in Ghaṇḍikōṭa-sīme for providing offerings at the garden festival of Ahōbalēśvara conducted near the square tank (*konēru*) constructed by himself on the way to the tank Bhārgava.³ Narasammaṅgār, daughter of Gaḍḍam Tirumala Tāttayaṅgār of Kūram in Śaka 1458 (A. D. 1536-7) gave the village Paṭṭālam for the offerings to the temple of Vijayarāghava Perumāḷ at Tiruppukkuḷi, Chingleput district, on the occasion of the swinging festival.⁴

Some of the Tamil festivals deserve special notice, since the gifts made in order to maintain them show the good feeling that existed between the Karṇāṭaka and Tamil people. A record dated Śaka 1433 (A. D. 1511-12) informs us that the great Madhvaguru Vyāsātīrtha, the disciple of Brahmanya-tīrtha, gave the village of Pūlambākkam in Vaḍapā-nāḍu in Jayaṅgoṇḍa-Sōḷamaṇḍalam, as a gift for celebrating the festival in the month of Āvaṇi (August) to the temple of Arulāḷa Perumāḷ, Chingleput district. The village which was thus granted had been received by the donor as a gift from Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya. He also made a gift of the serpent-vehicle to be carried in procession on the 4th day of all festivals.⁵

In Śaka 1513 (A. D. 1591) a gift of land in the Brahman village of Naṛraṇallūr *alias* Rāmabhadrapuram, was made by

¹ E. C., V, P. I, Bl. 4, p. 45; *My. Ins.*, p. 224.

² E. C., V, P. T, Bl. 78, p. 64.

³ 73 of 1915.

⁴ 210 of 1916.

⁵ 370 of 1919.

Viśva Paṇḍitar, Agent of Ēṭṭūr Tirumalai Kumāra Tātāchārya, who was one of the managers of the Arulāla Perumāla temple, to Nallammaṅgār, wife of Ammāṇ Appaiyyaṅgār, for conducting the festivals *Tiruvadhyanam-uḍaiyavaṅśirappu* and *Ulagamunḍa-peruvāyāṅśirappu*, in the month of Mārgaḷi in the same temple.¹ This seems to be an exceptional case of a lady receiving grants for conducting festivals in a temple.

There was a custom in the Tamil land of naming certain festivals after the king. Thus, according to an inscription dated in the thirty-fifth regnal year of Kōṇērimaikōṇḍāṇ Tribhuvana-chakravartin Perumāḷ Kulashēkara Dēva, "who was pleased to take every country," a gift of land was made to the temple of Brahmapuriśvara at Tirumayāṇam, for conducting a festival called *Kulaśēgaran-sandi*.²

Another record dated Śaka 1328 (A. D. 1406-7) informs us that a gift of land was made by some one, for repairs and for the festival called *Bokkarōyaṅ-sandi* (named after the king Bukka Rāya) to the temple of Tirukkaḷukkunramuḍaiya-Nāyiṇār, Chingleput district.³

A record of the times of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kōṇērimaikōṇḍāṇ registers an endowment for celebrating a festival called *Bhuvanēkavīra-sandi*. "This Bhuvanaikavīra, after whom the festival was called, seems to be earlier than the Pāṇḍya king Bhuvanaikavīra Samarakōlākala whose inscription dated A. D. 1469-70 has been found at Conjeeveram."⁴

According to an inscription dated Śaka 1383, expired, Vṛisha (A. D. 1461), provision was made for the celebration of a festival called *Sundara-Pāṇḍya-Vijayālavan-sandi* in the Satyagirinātha Perumāḷ temple at Tirumaiyam.⁵

In Śaka 1512 (A. D. 1590-1) all the tenants of the temple villages of Ādikēśava Perumāḷ and Emberumāṇār, including

¹ 421 of 1919.

² 59 of 1906.

³ 57 of 1909.

⁴ Ep. Report for 1907, p. 70.

⁵ 400 of 1906.

those in Śrīperumbuḍur and Kachchippaṭṭu-śimai in the Chingleput district, at the instance of Śirāmu Rāghava Nāyakaḥ, granted a *kuṟum* of paddy from each threshing floor (*kaḷam*) to provide for offerings to Ādikēśava Perumāḷ and others, when they halted in the *maṇṭapa* in the arecanut garden on *tiruppādivēṭṭai* (i.e., hunting festival) days.¹

More important than the above are the *Mahāmāgha* and *Pōṅgal* festivals. An inscription dated A. D. 1523-4 tells us that the Emperor Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya visited Arigaṇḍapuram (another name of Nāglāpuram in the Chingleput district) on his way to Kumbhakōṇam for the *Mahāmāgha* festival.² The same monarch gave the proceeds of the taxes *jōḍi* and *śūlavari* amounting to ninety *pon*, as related in an inscription dated Śaka 1440, expired, Dhātṛi (A. D. 1517), in favour of the temple of Śoṇṇavāraṇivār, on the occasion of the *māmāṅgaṇ* festival at the request of Basavarasa of Tiruppeyarrūr in Tōṇḍaimaṇḍalam.³

In *The Accounts of Tirumala-Naicker and of his Buildings*, we are told that Tirumala Nāyaka took over the charge of the famous Mīnākshī temple at Madura. "Having assumed the management, he provided especially for the apartment appropriated to the temple goddess, by endowing it with land, yielding revenue to the annual amount of twelve thousand *puns*; and from the first day of *Tai* month of *Isvara* year, on the *Magara Sangranthi* (or *Pongal* feast) he gave up the charge of purveyor to *Puvēnnatha-Pandaram* the son of the hereditary female lamp-lighter in the temple."⁴

One of the most famous festivals among the Jains is the *Gōmatābhīṣēka* held at Śravaṇa Belgōḷa and Kārkaḷa. This is, however, celebrated at certain conjunctions of the heavenly bodies at intervals of years.⁵

¹ 189 of 1922.

² *Ep. Report* for 1905, p. 51.

³ 493 of 1907.

⁴ Taylor, O. H. *MSS.*, II, p. 155 and *ibid.*, (n).

⁵ For a detailed account of this festival read *E. C.*, II, Intr., p. 30, and n. (4) (1st ed.).

SECTION 2. *Games and Amusements*

Great importance was attached to games in Vijayanagara times. The few bas-reliefs which to are be found in the neglected hamlet of Hampe, depict some phases of the brighter side of the life of the people of Vijayanagara. The most prominent among these bas-reliefs are those related to dancing and music. Never was dancing held in greater esteem in the history of southern India than in the days of the Vijayanagara kings. From the earliest times of Indian history in the north as well as in the south, music and dancing were considered great accomplishments. Without entering into further details about the position these two arts occupied in the life of the people in pre-Vijayanagara days,¹ we may observe that the traditions which the Tamil rulers handed down to the mediaeval monarchs as regards the patronage that was to be accorded to dancing and music, carried with them one or two significant considerations which may be found interesting in our estimate of Vijayanagara history. An epigraph of the twelfth century relates that, on the eighth night of the Āvaṇi festival, the Chōḷa king Rājarāja III attended the dancing of *agamārga* performed by a lady who bore the title *Uravak-kinan-talaikkoli*. Ancient Tamil literature informs us that ladies who were acknowledged experts in dancing were favoured by the kings with a special mark of honour and were invested with the title of *talaikkoli*. The investiture of this title was preceded by a grand ceremony and was followed by the presentation of a staff embellished with nine gems and covered with gold plates.²

We know that dancing in the Karnāṭaka was also popular from references in inscriptions. Even the titles of Jaina sages were associated with the ideas of dancing. Thus Prabhāchandra Dēva in A. D. 1139 is called *Sukara-kavi-nivāsaṁ Bhārati-*

¹ For some notices on music and dancing, see *S. I. I.*, II, P. III, 299; III, P. III, p. 378, *A. S. R.*, for 1924-5, pp. 120-1.

² *A. S. R.* for 1921-2, p. 117. An inscription of the times of Kulōtunga III, also introduces a lady with the title of *Talaikkoli*.



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ṇṛityaraṅgam.¹ There were royal dancing-girls in the Karṇāṭaka. Mangāyi of Belgūla, a lay disciple of Chārukīrti Paṇḍita Āchārya, is called *Rāyapūtra-chūḍāmaṇi* (a crest jewel of royal dancing-girls).²

While describing the *Mahānavami* festival and also the status women occupied in Vijayanagara, we remarked that Nuniz, Paes and 'Abdur Razzāq were struck by the beauty of the dancing-girls and the dexterity of their movements. The daily routine of the *dēvadāsīs* who belonged to a temple in a city which Paes calls "Darcha" has been thus described by him. "They (i.e., the Brahmans) feed the idol every day, for they say that he eats; and when he eats women dance before him who belong to that pagoda, and they give him food and all that is necessary, and all girls born by these women belong to the temple."³

As regards the *dēvadāsīs* attached to the palace, Nuniz relates the following: "Every Saturday the dancing-girls are obliged to go to the palace to dance and posture before the King's idol, which is in the interior of his palace."⁴

There was a dancing-hall for the ladies of the royal household. This is proved by the following statement of Paes: "Thence we went up by a little staircase, and entered by a little door into a building which is in this manner. This hall is where the king sends his women to be taught to dance. It is a long hall and not very wide, all of stone sculpture on pillars, which are at a distance of quite an arm's length from the wall; between one and another is an arm's length and a half, perhaps a little more. These pillars stand in that manner all around the building; they are half-pillars (?) made with other hollows (?) all gilt. In the supports (or pedestals) on the top are many great beasts like elephants, and of other shapes; it is open

¹ E. C., II, No. 141, p. 67 (2nd ed.).

² *Ibid.*, No. 341, p. 145 (2nd ed.). For the different postures as given in the *Bhāratiya Nāṭyaśāstra*, and as depicted on the walls of Chidambaram, see *Ep. Rep.* for 1914, p. 74, *seq.*

³ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 241-2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 379.

so that the interior is seen, and there are on the inner side of these beasts other images, each placed according to its character; there are also figures of men turned back to back and other beasts of different sorts. In each case from pillar to pillar is a cross-bar (the architrave) which is like a panel, and from pillar to pillar are many such panels; there are images of old men, too, gilded and of the size of a cubit. Each of the panels has one placed in this way. These images are over all the building. And on the pillars are other images, smaller, with other images yet more subordinate, and other figures again, in such a way that I saw this work gradually diminishing in size on these pillars with their designs, from pillar to pillar, and each time smaller by the size of a span and it went on, becoming lost; so it went dwindling gradually away till there remained of all the sculptured work only the dome, the most beautiful I ever saw. Between these images and pillars runs a design of foliage, like plates (*a maneyra de lamine*s), all gilt, with the reverses of the leaves in red and blue, the images that are on the pillars are stags and other animals, they are painted in colours with the pink on their faces; but the other images seated on the elephants, as well as those on the panels, are all dancing women having little drums (tom-toms).

"The designs of these panels show the positions at the ends of dances in such a way that on each panel there is a dancer in the proper position at the end of the dance; this is to teach the women, so that if they forget the position in which they have to remain when the dance is done, they may look at one of the panels where is at the end of that dance. By that they keep in mind what they have to do.

"At the end of this house on the left hand is a painted recess where the women cling on with their hands in order better to stretch and loosen their bodies and legs; there they teach them to make the whole body supple, in order to make their dancing more graceful. At the other end on the right, in the place where the king places himself to watch them dancing, all the floors and walls where he sits are covered with gold, and in the middle of the wall is a golden image of a woman of the



Kolatam.

[Vol. II, p. 411.]

size of a girl of twelve years, with her arms in the position which she occupies in the end of a dance.”¹

The name of this dancing-hall which Paes was fortunate enough to see cannot be determined from his account. But it is quite possible that it may have been called by the name *paṭṭada-nāṭaka-śāle* in the Karnāṭaka. This we infer from an inscription dated A. D. 1599 which relates that Śṛīngārammā, of the Elahaṅka-nāḍī *Prabhu* Immaḍi Hiri Kemṇaya Gauḍa's state dancing-saloon (*paṭṭadu-nāṭaka-śāle*), founded Śṛīnagā-rasāgara *agrahāra*.²

A series of sculptures on the walls of Vijayanagara represent a popular game which only Pietro della Valle noticed at Ikkēri. This is *kolāṭam* or stick-play. We have recorded his description of the agile girls whose heads were decked with yellow and white feathers “which made a pretty sight”. In the same connection he says : “All of them carry'd in each hand a little round painted Stick, about a span long, or a little more, which they struck together after a musical measure, to the sound of Drums and other instruments, and one of the skilfullest of the company sung one verse of a song, at the end of which they all reply'd seven or eight times, in the number of their meter with the word, *Cole, Cole, Cole*,³ which signifies I know not what, but, I believe, 'tis a word of joy. Singing in this manner they went along the street, eight or ten together, being either friends, or neighbours, follow'd by many other women, not dress'd in the same fashion, but who were either their Mothers, or Kins-women . . . I understood afterwards that they went to the Piazza of the great Temple which is moderately large, and there danc'd in circles, singing their songs till it was late ; and that this was a Festival which they keep three dayes together at the end of a certain Feast in Honor

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 288-9.

² *E. C.*, XII, Kg. 29, p. 36.

³ *Kōlu*? Grey erroneously connects this word with Kāli. Pietro della Valle, *Travels*, II., p. 258, n. (2).

of *Gaurī*, one of their Goddesses, wife of Mohedaca ; and therefore "tis celebrated by girls".¹

It is superfluous to say that music was as highly cultivated in Vijayanagara as dancing. There are notices of some of the most important musical instruments in the inscription. So early as A. D. 994 mention is made of the *vīṇā*. A record of this date of the times of Rājarāja I registers a grant of land for the maintenance of a musician who was to play on the *vīṇā* and of a vocalist who was to accompany it in the Tiṇḍiśvara temple at Kiḍaṅgil in Kiṭkkai-nāḍu, (mod. Kiḍakkai-nāḍu) a subdivision of Ōymā-nāḍu.² Another instrument which was known in the Koṅgu country about the middle of the thirteenth century was the *yāl*.³

Students of Karnāṭaka history are aware of the *pañcha-mahāśabda* which occurs so frequently in the early inscriptions. The musical instrument needed for the *pañcha-mahāśabda*, according to an inscription dated A. D. 1092, were the following: *tivari* (? trumpet), *daṭṭa*, *khaṇḍikke*, *jaya-gaṇṭe*, and *kāle* or (horn).⁴

Among the drums and fifes of Vijayanagara the *bhēri*, *dundhubhi*, and *mahā-muraja*, as related in an inscription cited elsewhere, and dated about A.D. 1400, may be noted.⁵

¹ Pietro della Valle, *Travels*, II, pp. 258-9.

² *Ep. Report* for 1900, p. 8. "Of course there is nothing in this to show how that the old Dravidian musical instrument *yāl* had been superseded about this time by the *vīṇai*." *ibid.* p. 8. See also Rangachari, *Top List.*, I SA., 446, p. 183; Seshagiri Sastri *Report on Sans. & Tam. MSS.* for 1897, p. 58.

³ *Ep. Report* for 1910, p. 93.

⁴ *E. C.*, III, Nj. 164, p. 112. It is interesting to observe that the epigraph which records a grant of land for the Iśāna-Iśvaram Uḍaiyar (of Garikegāla?) contains the following on the *pañcha-mahā-sabda*. "... Also a gift of one *tivari* (trumpet), three, *daṭṭa*, three *khaṇḍikke*, one *jaya-gaṇṭe* (bell), and three *kāle* (horns) with grants to provide for the sounding of those *pañcha-mahāśabda* (five great instruments) three times a day." On the *pañcha-mahāśabda*, see *I. A.*, V, pp. 251-354. On the horn *kahale*, see *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 260, n. (3); *I. A.*, XV, p. 352; *I. A.*, XVIII, p. 359.

⁵ *E. C.*, VIII, Sb. 153, p. 22, *op. cit.*

A record of A. D. 1432 contains the following praise of the poet Maṅgarāja : " Capable of producing good musical modes (*otherwise* joy to the good) by its association with the sound (*otherwise* suggested meaning) of the composition, the poetry of the poet Maṅgarāja resembles the *viṇā* (lute) of Sarasvatī".¹ To the tambourine players (*tammuṭukārariḡe*) of the Hanumaṅta temple at Huruvaḷi, Koppa, a grant of land in Koppa was made in A. D. 1533 by Allappa Nāyaka.²

Paes relates that Christovao de Figueiredo gave to the Emperor Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya " certain organs that the said Christovao de Figueiredo brought him."³

That great monarch was himself proficient in music. One of his titles as given in a record dated A. D. 1528-9 is the following : " He who was unrivalled on the battlefield (*as well as*) in music and rhetoric."⁴ We have ample evidence to prove the first assertion relating to the valour of that ruler. From Nārāyaṇa's *Rāghavēndravijayam* we learn that Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya presented his tutor Kṛishṇa, who taught him to play on the *viṇā*, costly pearl necklaces and jewels as *guru-dakshiṇe*.⁵

The famous Regent Rāma Rāya also seems to have been well known for his musical attainments. This assertion is based on the fact that in an inscription dated A. D. 1589 he is said to have " had great pleasure in music on the *viṇā* and singing."⁶ Further Rāmayāmātya, son of Timmamātya of the

¹ E. C., II, No. 258, p. 121 (2nd ed.)

² E. C., VIII, Sb. 379, p. 67.

³ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 251, and n. (3).

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 401. See also *ibid.*, p. 370 where the same ruler is described thus—"who, (*like*, a second Bhōja), knew the mysteries of poetry, of the drama, and of Rhetoric".

⁵ *Rāghavēndravijayam*, *The Sources*, pp. 252, 254. This music master Kṛishṇa was the maternal grandfather of Rāghavēndra who is the subject of *Rāghavēndravijayam*. In this connection we may observe that Mr. Suryanarayana Rao speaks of a Viṇā Rāmappa at the court of Harihara II. *The City*, p. 20. It would have been better if the source of information for this detail had been cited. B. A. S.

⁶ E. C., XII, Ck. 39, p. 84, text, p. 239, ll. 44-5.

Toḍaramalla family, is described to have exhibited skill before Rāma Rāya, and to have written at the instance of the great Regent a book on music called *Svaramēlakalānidhi*.¹

Raghunātha Nāyaka's proficiency in music has already been dwelt upon in connection with the description of the court he held to examine the talented ladies of his court. He was author of the *Saṅgīta-sudhā* and he invented a new *mēḷa*, called after his own name, and new *rāgas*.²

About the cunning Brahman, who was a perfect master of music and dancing and who brought about the war between Dēva Rāya I and Firūz Shāh for the sake of the Mudkul beauty, Firishtah, as we remarked in an early connection, has much to say.³

With the patronage which the rulers gave to this fine art, it is only natural that the people should have had theatres and shows. From very early times in southern India dramatic art has been associated with temples and royalty. In the days of Rājarāja I and Parakesarivarman, dramas were acted in temples.⁴ The *raṅga-sṭhala* or stage is mentioned in the *Karṇāṭaka* in A. D. 1224.⁵ There is no denying the fact that both in the Tamil and *Karṇāṭaka* dramas were acted in early times.

The tradition of conducting musical performances in temples was continued under the Vijayanagara kings. In A. D. 1363, the sole manager (*sarva-nirvāhakan*) of Karṇapaṇa Oḍeyar's palace, *Abhaṅga Garuḍa Nūrāyaṇa Chakrakōla Vijaya Chūdāmaṇi* Duggaṇṇa, granted certain specified offerings for the worship of the gods Vālavanda-perumāl and Villiyār of Velliyūr *alias* Śrī-Vishṇuvardhana-chaturvēdimāṅgalam. The grant also made provision for the vocal and instrumental music

¹ *Svaramēlakalānidhi*, *The Sources*, p. 190; Rangachari-Kuppuswamy Sastri, *Triennial Cat. of Sanskrit MSS. for 1910-15*, I, P. I, p. 495.

² *Saṅgīta-sudhā*, *The Sources*, p. 269.

³ Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise II*, p. 380, op. cit.

⁴ *S. I. I. III*, P. III, pp. 260-1.

⁵ *E. C.*, XI, Dg. 25, p. 36.

in the temple.¹ Kallarasiyammā, the wife of a Nāyaka whose name is effaced in a record dated A. D. 1470, repaired the shrine of the god Sidda-Mallikārjuna, erected a *bhōgamaṇṭapa* and for the decorations and enjoyments of the same god provided thirty vessels and granted lands. The epigraph relates that singers and players on the tambourine was also made over to the temple.²

From the opening verses of the same epigraph, we gather that puppet shows were also common in those days. For it commences thus with an invocation to Śrīgiri Mallikārjuna : "As the stage manager pulls the strings of the puppet and makes him dance, so (?) (control my actions), Śrīgiri Mallikārjuna" (*bombeyan ēkamam piḍidu sūtrikan āḍisuv-aṇṭey āḍut ā-bom-bege . .*)³ In A. D. 1521 Gaṅga Rāya Dēva Mahārāja-aya granted to the puppet player (*bommālāṭa*) Puruvati Purāṇar Vīrapa's son Kṛishṭapa (Kṛishṇappa) Uppakuṇṭipale belonging to Sādali, free of all imports.⁴

Literature throws some light on the Vijayanagara stage. In *Gaṅgādāsapratāpavilāsam* by Gaṅgādhara, of the times of Mallikārjuna Rāya, we are told that an actor of the court of the Vijayanagara king on hearing that Prince Gaṅgadāsa was in need of a proper person to stage the new drama written by the poet, proposed to go to the court of that ruler.⁵ The farce in two acts entitled *Dhūrtasamāgama Prahasana* by Jyōtirīśvara Kaviśekharaṇḍhārya,⁶ must also have been staged in the reign of Sāluva Nṛisimha. The theatrical world of Vijayanagara was no doubt considerably benefited by Sāluva Gōpa Tippa Bhūpāla's *Tāḷa Dipikā*.⁷ We have already stated that Kṛishna Dēva

¹ E. C., X, Kl. 101, p. 31.

² E. C., XII, Gb. 29, p. 23.

³ *Ibid*, text, p. 67.

⁴ E. C., X, Sd. 100, p. 195. On the *Bhāgavata-sampradāya*, see E. C. III. Intr., p. 22.

⁵ *Gaṅgādāsapratāpavilāsam*, *The Sources*, p. 66.

⁶ Eggeling, *Cat. of Sanskrit MSS. in the India Office*, VI, pp. 1622-3.

⁷ *Colophon on the Tāḷa Dipikā*, *The Sources*, p. 63.

Rāya's *Jāmbhavatī Kalyaṇa* was enacted in the Chaitra or spring season.

The provincial courts were not without theatres. Vijaya-rāghava Nāyaka of Tanjore in his *Rāghunāthābhyudayam* tells us that there was a theatre adorned with gems of all sorts at Tanjore.¹ The existence of a beautiful theatre at Ikkēri in the times of Saṅkaṇṇa Nāyaka is proved by Basava Rāja's *Śivatattvaratnākara*.²

The amusements mentioned above do not explain the vitality of the people so much as the following games which are an index to the character of the Hindu people. Fencing and duelling, wrestling and hunting—these attracted the common folk. Here, too, the monarchs set an example, as is evident from the following account of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya by Paes. "This king is accustomed every day to drink a *quartilho* (three-quarter pint) of oil of *gingelly* before daylight, and anoints himself all over with the said oil; he covers his loins with a small cloth, and takes in his arms great weights made of earthenware and then, taking a sword, he exercises himself with it till he has sweated out all the oil, and then he wrestles with one of his own wrestlers. After this labour he mounts a horse and gallops about the plain in one direction and another till dawn, for he does all this before daybreak. Then he goes to wash himself, and a Brahman washes him whom he holds sacred."³

Fencing and duelling were held in high repute in Vijayanagara. Castanheda in his *History of Portugal* deals with duels in Vijayanagara in the sixteenth century. He writes thus: "There are many duels on account of love of women wherein many men lose their lives. Those who fight ask the King for a field, which he gives them and also seconds (*padrinhos*, 'step-fathers'), and if they are men of position he

¹ *Rāghunāthābhyudayam, The Sources*, p. 265.

² *Śivatattvaratnākara, ibid.*, pp. 339, 343.

³ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 249-50. Paes seems to have been misinformed about this last detail. Cf. Nuniz's account cited elsewhere.

goes to see the duel. They fight on foot in a place surrounded with steps, whereinto they enter naked and wearing turbans. They are armed with swords and shields and are girt with daggers. They have seconds and judges who give judgment as to the fight, and duels are so usual among them and the King takes so great delight therein that any man whom he knows to be a valiant knight he orders to wear a golden chain on his right arm to show that he is the bravest of all, and this he must defend in arms against any who come to demand it, if he would not lose it. And he who wishes to fight tells the king he has insulted him by giving the chain to one who is not so good a knight as he . . . And these duels also take place among the officials as to which of them knows his duties best, and also among any skilled in matters known to men, for he who knows best wears the same chain, which is called *berid*."¹

We may compare Cashtanheda's account with that given by Barbosa who speaks of the events that took place in Bhatkal. "They are accustomed to challenge one another to duels, and when a challenge has been accepted and the king gives his permission, the day for the duel is fixed by the persons challenged, and the weapons to be used must be according to measure ; that of the one of the same length as that of the other. The king appoints seconds and a field for the fight, and when this has been done, they go thither naked, covered only with some cloth wrapped round their middles, with very cheerful faces. Then after saying their prayers they begin to fight, and as they are bare it is over in a few strokes in the presence of the king and his court. No man may speak to them while they are fighting, except the seconds, each of them stands by his own man: and this is such a common practice among them, that some are slain daily."²

¹ *Cashtanheda*, Bk. II, Ch. 16, p. 53. Translated by Dames, *Barbosa*, II, p. 236, n. (2) (to p. 190 of Vol. I).

² *Barbosa*, Dames, I, pp. 190-1; Stanley, p. 80. We may note here that Marco Polo describes duels at Cael (Kayal) on the Coromandal coast. Yule, *Marco Polo*, II., p. 306 (1870).

Nuniz confirms both Barbosa and Castanheda in their account of the duelling in Vijayanagara. We have seen that according to Nuniz great honour was done to those who fought in a duel, and to those who won they gave the estate of the dead man. Although the versions of Barbosa and Castanheda differ from each other as regards the person who authorized people to fight duels—the former tells us that “no one fights a duel without first asking leave of the minister,” the latter asserts that “those who fight ask the King for a field,”—yet the descriptions of Castanheda and Barbosa may be supplemented by the following account of the duel between the Gajapati Prince Virabhadra and one of the king’s own men. Nuniz here, it must be noted, commits an error in saying that that Prince lost his life in a duel, thereby contradicting the evidence of inscriptions which speak of Prince Virabhadra as a provincial governor in the Karṇāṭaka. Nevertheless the account of Nuniz is not without its interest. “And he (i.e., *Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya*) sent to call the son of the king of Orya who was taken captive in the first fortress, and told him that as people said he was a very active man and was very dexterous with both sword and dagger, he would be pleased to see him fence.

“The young man (i.e., Prince Virabhadra) said that since His Highness summoned him he would do what he could, and asked that this might be put off till next day. And when the next day came the King sent to call him, and also sent for one of his own men who at that time was very expert in the art, that he should fence with him. And when the son of King of the Orya saw him, being offended with the King for sending a man to fight with him who was not the son of a King but only a man of humble birth, he cried out to the King:—‘God forbid that I should soil my hands by touching a man not of the blood royal’, and saying this he slew himself.”¹

¹ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, pp. 319-20. Cf. Duelling in the Muhammadan courts. Prince Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh fights against Ambūr Khān. Firishṭah, Briggs, *The Rise*, III, pp. 328-9.

In the *Sivatattvaratnākara* we are told that Saṅkappa Nāyaka defeated Ankus Khān in a duel in the presence of the Delhi Sultan in about A. D. 1550.¹ Tilting was also practised in the court of Ginjee in about A. D. 1597.² Pietro della Valle informs us that fencing was common at Ikkēri. Viṭṭhala Śeṇai, the ambassador from the court of Venkaṭappa Nāyaka, travelled with Pietro della Valle "but apart by himself, came to visit, and entertained with the sight of two young men, who fenc'd very well a good while together, only with Swords made of Indian Canes. On which occasion, I shall not omit to state that amongst the *Indians*, 'tis the custom for every one to manage and make use of one sort of Arms, where unto he accustoms himself, and never uses any other even in time of War."³

The other manly pastime which deserves special notice is wrestling. Paes informs us on many occasions that women knew wrestling in Vijayanagara. We have cited his description of the women who handled sword and shield, others who wrestled, and others who blew trumpets and pipes, while dealing with women.⁴ Then again we observed that, according to the same eye-witness, during the Mahānavami festival the dancing-women wrestled in a large arena in the presence of the nobles and the king. In the same connection he gives us further details about wrestling. "Then the wrestlers begin their play. Their wrestling does not seem like ours, but there are blows (given), so severe as to break teeth, and put out eyes, and disfigure faces, so much so that here and there men are carried off speechless by their friends; they give one another fine falls too. They have their captains and judges, who are there to put each one on an equal footing in the field, and also to adjust the honours to him who wins."⁵

¹ *Sivatattvaratnākara, The Sources*, pp. 337-8.

² Heras, *Aravida*, p. 405.

³ Pietro della Valle, *Travels*, II, p. 225.

⁴ *Supra*, Chapter IV, Women; Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 249, *op. cit.*

⁵ Sewell, *ibid.*, pp. 268, 271.

Nuniz adds the following : " The King has a thousand wrestlers for these feasts who wrestle before the King, but not in our manner, for they strike and wound each other with two circlets with points, which they carry in their hands to strike with, and the one most wounded goes and takes his reward in the shape of a silk cloth, such as the King gives to these wrestlers. They have a captain over them and they do not perform any other service in the kingdom."¹

With the aid of the above we may appreciate the following description of a *malla-yuddha* (or wrestling match) as given by the poet Chāṭu Viṭṭhalanātha :

ತಳವ ತಳದಲಿ ಹೊಯ್ದು ಭುಜಮಂ |

ಡಲವನಾಸ್ಥೋಟಿಸಿ ಪರಸ್ಪರ |

ಕಲಿತಕರ ಜಾನೊರು ಪಾದದ್ವಿತಯ ಬದ್ಧದಲಿ ||

ತಳಸಿ ತೊಡರುವ ದೀಸಿ ದಿಸುಡುವ |

ನಿಲುವ ನಂದಡಿಯಿಂದ ಬಲಿಸುವ |

ಹಲವು ಪರಿಯಲಿ ಹಳಚಿ ತಿವಿದಾಡಿದರು ಪಟುಭಟರು ||²

A *viragal* was set up by Channappa in about A. D. 1466 to commemorate the death of his elder brother Mādi Gauḍa, son of Nāga Gauḍa, son of Tāri Gauḍa, while fighting with wrestlers.³

The provincial capitals too had their own wrestling grounds. From the *Raghunāthābhyudayam* by Vijayarāghava Nāyaka we know that there was a gymnasium in Tanjore.⁴

There were also beast-fights and gladiators in Vijayanagara. An inscription dated about A. D. 1434 tells us that Gōpa Rāja directed his minister to rebuild the inner and outer forts of Tēkaḷ, originally erected in the time of Ballāḷa Rāya

¹ Sewell, *For Emp.*, p. 378. For Du Jarric's account of the gymnasium at Chandragiri, read Heras, *Aravidu*, pp. 313-4. A gymnasium was called *garidi* or *garadi*. Cf. Suryanarayana Rao, *The City*, p. 47. This word occurs frequently in the folk-songs of the Tuluva people. B. A. S.

² *Kavicharite*, II, p. 224.

³ E. C., VII, Sk. 1, p. 39, op. cit. For later accounts, see Wilks, *Sketches*, I, p. 52, n. (1810); I, p. 32, n. (1869). These wrestlers are also called *jaffis*.

⁴ *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, *The Sources*, p. 265.





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but which had been overturned and gone to ruin. On the completion of the bastion called *rājagambhīra*, Gōpa Rāja and his son called Tippaya had tigers brought there and hunted them at this indispensable bastion. In this their hound called Sarpige distinguished itself by its courage. This was a remarkable hound. The epigraph which gives us this information contains a dog holding a tiger by the throat. It tells us that the hound Sarpige seizing the tail of tigers dragged them along so as to frighten them.¹

We are told in *The Accounts of Tirumali-Naicker, and of his Buildings* that there was an arena for the combat of gladiators to the north of the palace of Tirumala Nāyaka at Madura, that various kinds of animals were there, and pavilions and buildings on the western side of the arena were reserved for the relations and favourites of the king for looking at the spectacle.² In another connection the account continues to state that Tirumala Nāyaka built public choultries at a distance of every seven miles. "At nearly the same time he established in the town of Madura combats between gladiators and elephants, tigers and bears; and for the purpose of looking on during this spectacle, he had a two-storied building constructed, in an excellent manner, in a place named *Tamakam pottal*. From that time forwards the Carnataca governors always came hither to see the spectacle".³

There are many references to hunting in the writings of foreign travellers and in the inscriptions. We are aware of the existence of hunting grounds from a record dated A. D. 1482 which says that the Kādalaunṇi village described as the *umbali* of Mallarasa, the Penugonḍe minister, was the place which he visited on the occasion of his coming there for hunting.⁴ We may reasonably suppose that the adjacent districts may have

¹ E. C., X, Intr., p. xxxvi; Mr. 2, p. 155; *My. Ins.*, p. 208.

² Taylor, O. H. *MSS.*, II, pp. 153-9.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 153. Peter Mundy in A. D., 1637, speaks of elephant fights and buffalo fights at Ikkēri. He describes them in detail. *Travels*, II, pp. 127-8; III, P. I, p. 85. (Hakluyt).

⁴ E. C. X, Gd. 53, p. 224.

been reserved as hunting grounds. Dēva Rāya II came to Māchanahalli for hunting in A. D. 1434 and visited the god Jataṅgi Rāma. On this occasion he directed that a village yielding an income of twenty *varāha* was to be granted to the local god.¹

Foreign travellers also remarked on the facilities which Vijayanagara offered to hunters. Varthema, as we have once observed, writes thus about the capital. "It occupies the most beautiful site...with certain very beautiful places for hunting and the same for fowling, so that it appears to me to be a second paradise".² Barbosa confirms Varthema's remarks about the hunting grounds in the following words: "The people of this kingdom are great hunters both of flying game and wild beasts. There are many small hacks, and very good ones to go".³

From the manner in which elephant hunting has been associated with one of the titles of the kings of Vijayanagara, we may assume that it was specially patronized by the princes. We know that one of the *birudus* of Dēva Rāya II was *Gaja-bēṇṭe-kāra* (Hunter of elephants). In earlier times as well this game attracted the attention of the rulers. Harihara Odeyar is said to have gone a-hunting elephants in A. D. 1349. ~~Abdur Razzāq's detailed description of the methods by which they caught and trained elephants for hunting and other purposes, figures in one of the previous chapters of this treatise. An inscription dated Śaka 1373 expired, Prajāpati (A. D. 1451), contains the information that Dēva Rāya witnessed an elephant hunt.~~⁵ There is no reason to doubt that Dēva Rāya might have

¹ *E. C. XI Mk. 32 p. 25*. According to his personal order (*sam-mukhāda nirūpa*) the tract (*kōru*) on Sanga Bōva's channel in Hāneya-nāḍ was granted to the temple.

² *Varthema*, Jones, p. 126; Temple, p. 51, op. cit.

³ *Barbosa*, Stanley, p. 98; Dames, I, p. 228. The story of the buffalo hunt in which Visvanātha showed his prowess has been given in a previous page.

⁴ Shama Sastry, *Q. J. M. S.*, XIII, p. 760.

⁵ 67 of 1907. See also 474 of 1908; 703 of 1904.

been justified in appending the *birudu Gaja-bēṇṭekāra* to his name.¹

Among nobles, who also were known by that *birudu*, was Immaḍi Rāya Oḍeyar (A. D. 1484).² The *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Nañja Rāja Oḍeyar of Ummattūr in A. D. 1504 is also called a *Gaja-bēṇṭekāra*.³

The fame of Immaḍi Rāya Oḍeyar as a hunter of elephants was maintained by his son Dēpaṇṇa Oḍeyar, who is called *Gaja-mṛigayā-vihāra* (celebrated for sport with elephants and deer) in a record of A. D. 1505.⁴ His son Vīra Chikka Oḍeyar is likewise styled the great elephant hunter-*Mahāgaja-bēṇṭekāra*-in A. D. 1511.⁵

The *birudu* of "One who witnessed the elephant hunt" continued to be a royal title in later days. Achyuta Rāya also is said to have witnessed the elephant hunt in a record dated Śaka A. D. 1455 (1533-4).⁶

About deer and tiger hunts we have a few notices in the inscriptions. Virūpāksha's claims to be called *Gaja-mṛigayā-vihāra* were not ill-founded. An inscription of A. D. 1474 relates that Haryaṇa invited Virūpāksha Rāya for a great deer hunt, evidently nearabouts Ālugōḍu in the Gayā-triṣṭhāna.⁷

A record of the fourteenth century, found in the Kālahastīśvara temple at Kālahastī, informs us that a certain Valli-āraśar, who was called Lord of Ayōdhyāpura, killed 150 tigers.⁸

There was boar-hunting too in Vijayanagara. This game was also prevalent in the Hoysala times. Śokka-Iṅgattōṇ, we are told in a record dated about A. D. 1310 "having gone

¹ For a discussion on this subject, see *A. S. R.* for 1907-8, p. 250. One of the titles of Virūpāksha was *Gaja-mṛigayā-vihāra*. *Ibid.*

² *E. C.*, IV, Ch. 127, p. 17.

³ *Ibid.*, Gu. 5, p. 36.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Gu. 67, p. 47.

⁵ *E. C.*, IX, Ma. 79, p. 61.

⁶ 337 of 1908. See 166 of 1904, dated Śaka 1461 expired Sōbhakṛit (A. D. 1539) where Sadāśiva Rāya is called by the same *birudu*.

⁷ *E. C.*, III, Ml. 121, p. 68.

⁸ *Ep. Report* for 1904, p. 16.

boar-hunting, pierced the boar and died, along with his dog".¹ The *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Vira Parvati Rāja Odeyar, brother of Dēva Rāya II, being on his horse called Pārvvatīnātha, "in the hunting plain at the ditch to the east of the hill of the god Tirumalenātha, in the Terakaṇāmbi kingdom which he was ruling, and seeing a boar, in order to seize it, crossed over the ditch." The epigraph, which unfortunately breaks off, relates, however, that Huli-hara Hāyaṇṇa's son Hariyaṇṇa set up a pillar of victory as a signal stone (*jayastambhada kuru-hina kallu*).²

There is one point which may be noted here—whether hawks were used in hunting and whether they were unknown to the Hindus before they were introduced by the Muhammadans. Firishtah tells us, as we already remarked, that Ahmad Shāh Bāhmani gave to the son of Dēva Rāya, among other presents, "dogs for the chase and a leash of hawks; to which last, the people of Carnatic had been till then strangers".³ In the reply which Dēva Rāya sent to Alā-ud-dīn Ahmad Shāh, according to 'Abdur Razzāq, there is evidence of the existence of falconers in Vijayanagara. The king says: "Now let all that my enemy can seize from out my dominions be considered as booty, and made over to his *saiyids* and professors; as for me, all that I can take from his kingdom I will make over to my falconers and brahmans".⁴ If hawks had been introduced into Vijayanagara only in the reign of Dēva Rāya, we would not have met with the word *Sāḷuva* in Indian history in early times. But as we have already seen, one of the relatives of Harihara Rāya II was called *Sāḷuva Rāma Dēva*. In the record dated about A. D. 1434 which has been cited above, *Sāḷuva Tippa Rāya Odeyar* is styled as a hawk to royal birds—*rāya-pakshi-sāḷuva*.⁵ We may, therefore, accept Firishtah's assertion with some reservation.

¹ E. C., IX, Kn. II., p. 122.

² E. C., IV, Ch. 195, p. 24.

³ Firishtah, Briggs, *The Rise*, II, p. 405, op. cit.

⁴ Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, p. 121.

⁵ E. C., X, Mr. 1, p. 155, op. cit.

There are some other amusements which may be briefly reviewed here. To foreigners the jugglers of Vijayanagara gave much delight. 'Abdur Razzāq gives in the following words a detailed account of the feats of the jugglers during the Mahānavami festival. "The jugglers performed astonishing feats; they set up three beams joined one to the other, each was a yard long and half a yard broad, and about three or four high. Two other beams were placed on the top of the first two beams, which are of about the same length and breadth. They placed another beam a little smaller on the top of the second beams, which were already supported by the lower beams, so that the first and second series formed two stages supporting the third beam, which was placed on the top of them all. A large elephant had been so trained by them, that it mounted the first and second stages, and finally to the top of third, the width of which was less than the sole of the elephant's foot. When the elephant had secured all four feet on this beam, they removed the remaining beams from the rear. Mounted thus on the top of the third beam, the elephant beat time with his trunk to every song or tune that the minstrels performed, raising his trunk and lowering it gently in accord with the music.

"They raised a pillar ten yards high, through a hole at the top of the pillar they passed a beam of wood, like the beam of a balance, to one end of this they attached a stone about the weight of an elephant, and to the other they attached a broad plank about one yard in length, which they fastened with strong cords. The elephant mounted this plank, and his keeper by degrees let go the cord, so that the two ends of the beam stood evenly balanced at the height of ten yards; at one end the elephant, and at the other his weight in stone, equal as two halves of a circle. In this way it went (up and down) before the king. The elephant in that high position, where no one could reach him, listened to the strains of the musicians, and marked the tune with motions of his trunk.

"All the readers and story-tellers, musicians, and jugglers, were rewarded by the king with gold and garments".¹

¹ Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV., pp. 118-9.

With the evidence of 'Abdur Razzāq before us, we may give credence to the following description of jugglers by poet Anṇāji in A. D. 1660:

ಗಣೆಯ ತುದಿಯಲಿ ಶಸ್ತ್ರವನಿಟ್ಟು ವುಂಗುಟದ |
 ಕೊನೆಯೊಡಲಿ ಪುಟವೆದ್ದು ಲಾಗುಲವಣೆಯ ಕೊಂಡು |
 ಮಣೆಯ ಹುರಿಗಳ ಮೇಲೆ ಮರಗಾಲಕಟ್ಟಿ ದುವ್ರಾಳಿಸುತ ಜೊಂಬತಿಯರು ||
 ಮಣೆದು ಹಿಂಗರಣಮನೆ ಕೊಂಡು ವೊಡಿಯುಗಿದಲಗ |
 ಪಣೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಗುಂಜಿಯಗ್ರದೊಳಿಟ್ಟು ಪೋಯೆನುತೆ |
 ತ್ರಿಣಯನಾಪರ ರೂಪನೇ ನೋಡುನೋಡೆಂದು ಜೋಳು ಬಡಿದರು ಜೊಂಬರು || ¹

Foreign witnesses have left us a few details about fire works in Vijayanagara. While describing elephants Varthema, as we have seen, spoke of the great dread which they had of fire. He remarks that the people of Vijayanagara were great masters of the art of making fireworks.² In his description of the Mahānavami festival Paes also spoke of the different kinds of fireworks mentioned above.³

Swimming and horse riding were two other games also popular in Vijayanagara. Linschoten, while dealing with the Canariins, says that "they are very expert in Swimming and Diving, they rowe up and down the Rivers in Boates called Almadias, whereof some of them are hewen out of a piece of wood, and so narrow that a man can hardly sit in them, and it chanceth of often times that they turne over and over twice or thrice before they passe the River, and then they leape out into the water and turne them up, and so powring out the water they get into them againe".⁴

In a record dated A. D. 1383 Allappa Nāyaka is called *Champion over Maṇḍalikas who mount a horse with the help of*

¹ Kavicharite, II., p. 337. Cf. Sōmarāya's description, *ibid.*, I, p. 343. (Rev. ed.)

² Varthema Temple, p. 52; Jones, p. 127, *op. cit.*

³ Sewell, *For. Emp.*, p. 271, *op. cit.*

⁴ Linschoten, Purchas, *Pilgrims* X. p. 263-4.

a stool or stirrup.¹ The carvings at Vijayanagara contain numerous figures riding on horseback.

Notices in literature enable us to assert that game of dice was also common in the Hindu Empire. Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya the Great presented poet Naṇḍi Timmayya, author of *Pārijatāpaharaṇamu*, with an *agrahāra* for his skill in playing dice.²

There are other games like ball playing, buffalo racing, and cock fighting which have survived to our own days but about which contemporary records are silent. We can only assume that these must also have been very well known to Vijayanagara times.³

(END OF VOL. II.)

¹ *My Arch. Report* for 1914-15, p. 59.

² *Pārijatāpaharaṇam, The Sources*, p. 138. Mr. Subrahmiah Pantulu says that the Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya's daughter played chess with her father. *I. A.*, XXVII, p. 299.

³ A kind of polo or ball play on horseback is mentioned in A. D. 982. *E. C.*, II, No. 133, p. 62, (n). 1.

A
GLOSSARY OF TECHNICAL TERMS

A GLOSSARY OF TECHNICAL TERMS

ABBREVIATIONS

A.	= Arabic.
Ap.	= Apte, V. S., The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary,
Arth.	= Arthaśāstra (Translation by R. Shama Sastry).
A. S. R.	= Archaeological Survey Reports.
Bar.	= Barani, Tarik-i Firūr Shāhi.
B & C.	= Butterworth & Chetty, Nellore Inscriptions.
Coll.	= Collector of Canara's Letters relating to the Early Revenue Administration of Canara.
E. C.	= Epigraphia Carnatica.
E.	= Ellis, The Mirāsi Right.
E. I.	= Epigraphia Indica.
E. R.	= Epigraphical Reports for the Southern Circle.
Ell.	= Elliot, History of India as told by Her own Historians.
H.	= Hobson-Jobson.
I. A.	= Indian Antiquary.
K.	= Kanarese.
Kav.	= Kavicharite (R. Narasimhacharya).
Kit.	= Kittel, Canarese English Dictionary.
Kr.	= Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, Sources of Vijayanagara History.
My.	= Mysore Archaeological Reports.
Mal.	= Malayalam.
Mar.	= Marathi.
M.W.	= Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary.
N.	= Narasinga Rao, Ullal, A Kismwar Glossary.
P.	= Persian.
R.=Rice, Lewis	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mysore, A Gazetteer. 2. Mysore & Coorg from the Inscriptions. 3. Mysore Inscriptions.
Rang.	= Rangachari, A Topographical List of Inscriptions.
S.	= Sanskrit.
Sew.	= Sewell, Lists of Antiquities, etc.
S. I. I.	= South Indian Inscriptions.
Suk.	= Sukrāchārya, Nītisāra (Trans. Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar).
T.	= Tuju.
Tam.	= Tamil.
Tel.	= Telugu.
W.	= Wilson, A Glossary of Indian Terms.
WZKM.	= Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.

GLOSSARY

- Abhyāgati*, K. A tax. (?) (*E. C. II.*, No. 347, p. 150, n. 1.)
- Achārya*, S. A teacher, preceptor; a spiritual guide (*Ap.* p. 205).
- Achchu*, Tam. A coin (value?) (*E. R.* for 1911, pp. 77-78).
- Achchukattu*, Tam. Tel. (Cf. *Ayakattu*, *Achchakāta*) (a) The measurement of land determining the boundaries of a village. (b) The whole extent of taxable land in a village. (c) The total area of land attached to a village, or the total extent of land capable of being watered by any particular irrigation work (*N.* p. 140) (d) Fixed boundaries (*E. C. V.*, Hn. 2, p. 2; see also *W.* p. 4.)
- Adhikāri*, S. Kan. One who holds a superior office or authority; a superintendent; a ruler; an officer, e.g. *Grāmādhikāri*, *Dēśādhikāri*, etc., (*W.* p. 6; *N.* p. 74.)
- Aḍa-dere*, K. Goat tax. (?) (*E. C. V. Cn.* 259, p. 234.)
- Aḍi-kāṣu*, Tan. K. A tax on shops. In later times a daily-tax levied on shops, especially in regimental bazars, varying from one to two *kāṣu* or cash. (*W.* p. 7.)
- Aḍaiṭṭu*, Tam. (?) (*E. R.* for 1915, pp. 107-108).
- Aḍe-vaṇa* K. A tax on anvil or bench (*E. C. XII*, Ck. 8, p. 71).
- Aḍe-kalu-vaṇa*, K. See above. (*My.* for 1916, p. 52).
- Aḍḍa*, K. Tel. (a) A measurement equal to 2 *māṇikas* or one-eighth of a *tam*. (*B. & C.*, III, p. 1495). (b) A gold or silver weight of about 5·68 grains (Avoirdupois) in South Kanara. (c) A fractional part denoting $\frac{1}{8}$ and written || (*ardha*) (*N.* p. 161).
- Aḍḍagaḍa-sunkam*, Tel. A tax levied on the sellers of sheep and similar things. (?) (*B. & C. II*, p. 947; *III*, p. 1498).
- Aḍḍa-ōlai*, Tam. (a) A lease deed (*E. R.* for 1921, p. 102). (b) A pledge. (#22 of 1913).
- Agarabrama-dēśa*, S. Tam. Brahman village (*E. R.* for 1910, p. 97).
- Agasa-dere*, K. Washerman's tax (*E. C.*, IV, Hn. 137, p. 97).
- Agavilai*, Tam. Market-price of grain (*W.* p. 9).
- Agrahāram*, S. Land or village granted in charity to Brahmans as free gift (*My. Gaz. I.*, p. 579 [Rev. ed.]; *B & C.*, II, p. 1495; 390 of 1920).
- Agrahāra-makki*, K. (a) High-level rice land (*E. C. VI.*, Sg. 15, p. 97). (b) Worst kind of rice. (*W.* p. 322) (*Akki*=paddy deprived of its husk. *N.* p. 7).
- Akkasālavari*, Tam. Tax on goldsmiths. (*E. I.*, XVIII, p. 139).
- Akshipi*, S. K. "Imperishables". A term used in grants and leases. (*B & C.*, III, p. 1495) But see *infra* *akṣa-bhōga-tējas-svadya*.

- Ālavu*, Tam. The revenue survey conducted in the 40th year of Kulōt-tuṅga I. (440 of 1912).
- Ālivu* or *Ālavāl*, *Ālavai*, Tam. See above. Measurement, especially of grain. Portion of produce set apart as payment for the measurement of the crop. (*W.* p. 18).
- Ālivu*, Tam. See above. Damaged. (*E. R.* for 1915, pp. 107-108).
- Ālipu*, K. (?) (*My.* for 1911. p. 44). *Ālipu*=*aḷupu*=hankering after, addiction. (*Kit.* p. 136).
- Allāya*, K. (?) (Cf. *Allu*=to knit or braid. *N.* p. 90).
- Allāyamānyam*, Tam. Tax. on shops. (?) (*E. R.* for 1911, p. 84).
- Āmbiga*, K. Boat-man. (*My, Ins.* p. 26).
- Amaram*. S. K. Tam. Tel. (a) Commandant of a thousand feet. (b) A grant of revenue by the prince or *pāḷeyagāra*. (c) Condition of service, generally military, or police. Such grants were resumable when the *amarakāra* grantee failed to perform the stipulated service. (*W.* p. 21; *B & C.* III., p. 1495).
- Amardār*, *Amaragāḍu*, Tel. The holder of an *amaram* (*B & C.* III., p. 1495).
- Amara-mahale*, K. (?) (*E. C.* VII, Sb. 379, p. 67).
- Amara-māgaṇi*, S. K. (?) (*E. C.* VI, Cm. 80, p. 45).
- Amara-nāyaka*, S. K. Governor or Prefect of the City (*B. & C.* II, p. 637. But see *Fleet*, I. A., IV., p. 329, n.).
- Amara-nāyakatana*, K. Office of Governor or Prefect of the City (*My.* for 1920, p. 76).
- Amara-paḍeya-nāyaka*, K. (?) (*E. C.* V, Hn. 13, p. 7).
- Amara-paḷḷeya-nāyaka*, K. (?) (*E. C.* VI, Cm. 80, p. 45).
- Amji*, Cf. *Amañji*, Tam. Tel. Labour customarily exacted without payment in regard to certain works, *e.g.*, the repair of tanks and channels. (*B. & C.*, III, p. 1495).
- Aṇe*, *Aṇay*, *Aṇi*, Tam. K. Mal. A dam, a dyke, embankment, a bank, a bridge. (*W.* p. 25; *E. C.* V, Hn. 2, p. 2.) In South Kanara it also means a steep foot-path (*N.* pp. 26, 128).
- Āṇicut*, K. Tel. A dam across a river. (*N.* p. 26; *B. & C.* III, p. 1498).
- Āṇgaḍi-guttu*, K. A tax paid by the shop-keepers. (*My. Gaz.* I., p. 497) Cf. *Āṇgaḍi-pasige* or *pasike*, K. A fee or cess upon stalls or booths. (*W.* p. 26).
- Āṇga-jitamu*, Tel. Personal salary. (*B & C.*, II., p. 637).
- Āṇḡḷa*, S. K. The thumb; a finger's breadth; a measure equal to 8 barley corns. 12 *āṇḡḷas*=1 *vitasti* or span: 24 *āṇḡḷas*=a hasta or cubit. (*Ap.* p. 21.) See below under *Kōḷ*, *Kōḷu*. [According to Dr. Fleet, 1 *āṇḡḷa*= $\frac{1}{2}$ inch; 1 *vitasti*=9 inches; 1 hasta=2 *vitasti*=18 inches. *Arth.* p. 520.]

432 SOCIAL & POLITICAL LIFE IN VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE

Angaśalai, Tam. (?) (*E. R.* for 1913, p. 120).

Ankakāra, K. Head of commercial guild. (*E. C.* VII. Sk. 118, p. 251).

Antarāya, K. Tam. (?) A civil and judicial term meaning estoppel. (*N.* p. 17) [*Antarāya* is included among money payments. *E. R.* for 1917, p. 110].

Anyāya, S. Injustice. A complaint of injustice; a plaint in a civil suit. (*W.* p. 29) [Dr. Barnett suggests the following:—Tax in some kind of breach of contract or fraud.]

Anyāyārjita=Wrongful gain. (*N.* p. 67).

Anujñe, *Anujñā*, S. K. Declaration from the government (*E. C.* IX. Cp. 50. p. 142).

Amṛitapaḍi, S. K. Tel. Tam. Food-offerings of a god (*B & C.* III., p. 1495; see also *S. I. I.*, I. Pt. I., p. 82, n. 5).

Aramane, K. Palace. (*E. C.* III., Ml. 95, p. 65.) Cf. *Huzūr*, *Mahal*, in Hindi.

Araśi-kāṇam, Tam. (?). *Araśi*=any kind of grain, but especially rice, freed from chaff. (*W.* p. 32). *Kāṇam*=Mal. mortgage, free, present or reward. It also applies to an advance or loan of money as the equivalent to, or consideration for, a mortgage or transfer of landed property, fields and gardens into the occupancy of the person advancing the money, without prejudice to the proprietor's vested rights, to whom, also, the occupant is bound to pay all the proceeds of the estate in excess of the interest of the money he has advanced (*W.*, pp. 255-256). For *araśi-kāṇam*, see *E. R.* for 1913, p. 139.

Araśupēru, Tam. (?) (*E. I.* XVIII, p. 139).

Archaka, S. Worshipper; a priest in a temple (*Ap.* p. 148; *B. & C.* III. p. 1495).

Arisuttanḍam, Tam. (?) A money payment) (507 of 1916).

Asavechchālu, Tam. (?) (*Rang.* I. p. 23).

Ashṭa-bhōga-īśas-svāmya, S. Or merely *ashṭa-bhōgam*. Enjoyment of the whole, or the eight products of an estate: *siddhi* or the land cultivated; *sādhya* or the produce of such land; *pāshana* or uncultivated or rocky land and its produce e.g., minerals etc.; *nikshēpa* or property deposited on the land; *nidhi* or treasure-trove; *jalāmṛita* or waters and their produce; *akshīṇi* or actual privileges; *āgāmi* or prospective rights and privileges. (*W.* p. 36; see also *My. Ins.* p. 3; Fleet, *I.A.* IV. p. 278, n.)

Asvapati, S. "General of the Horse", a title mentioned in a list of state officers. (*WZKM.* XII., p. 69).

Aṭhavaṇe, K. Revenue Department; revenue; an armed messenger or peon employed in revenue affairs. (*W.* p. 38, *N.* p. 139).

- Avasaram*, *avasarya*, *avataram*, Tam. (?) King's Representative. (368 of 1917; E.R. for 1918, pp. 164-165).
- Avasara satra*, K. (?) Annual *satra* of a god. (E.C. IX, Cp. 152, p. 164).
- Avasara-vārtanai*, Tam. (?) A tax to meet the expenses of the tour of an *avasaram*. (E.I. XVIII, p. 139).
- Aiyñūru-guḷiga-pannāya-dere*, K. Tax on 500 ploughs of *pannāya*. (E. C. V, Hn. 137, p. 272).
- Adi-kārttigai-pachchai*, Tam. A *kāṅkikkai* or present given in the month of *Adi* and *Kārtigai*. (E.I., XVII, p. 112).
- Adāya*, S. K. Tel. (a) Gain, profit, receipt. (*W.*, p. 5); (b) Customs, toll. (*N.*, p. 139).
- Mārga-ādāya*, K. transit dues or duties.
- Māmūl-ādāya*, K. Export duties.
- Sihala-ādāya*, K. Customs on goods imported to be sold at one place. (*N.* p. 139).
- Adhaka*, S. A measure of grain, the 4th of a *drōṇa*=16 *prasthas*=16 *kuḍavas*=nearly 7 lbs. 12 ozs. Avoir. (*Ap.*, p. 207).
- Agāmi*, See above under *ashṭa-bhōga*.
- Agram*, S. K. Revenue from gardens and plantations. (*My. Gaz.* I., p. 476).
- Al-amañji*, Tam. *Al*=labourer; *amañji*=compulsory service. Compulsory service which the villagers in the Tamil country were formerly compelled to render to the Government servants travelling on public duty. (*W.*, p. 18; E.R. for 1913, p. 120).
- Aḷivara*, K. Loss. (E.C. V., Hn. 2, p. 2).
- Aḷukku-nir-pāṭṭam*, Tam. Cf. *Nir-āṇikkam*. Tax for maintaining the person who regularly supplies water to the fields (E.I., XVII, p. 112).
- Āṣuvakkaḍamai*, Tam. (?) (352 of 1912; E.R. for 1913, p. 122).
- Āṭṭai-kāṇikkai*, Tam. (?) (E.R. for 1913, p. 120).
- Aya*, S. K. Tam. (a) Dues. (E. C. XI, Hk. 34, p. 120). (b) Payment in kind, corn being given from the threshing floor to hereditary servants of the village. (*N.*, p. 49) (c) Tribute. (*W.*, p. 41).
- Aya-dāya*, K. Profit and loss. (*N.*, p. 57).
- Ayagāra*, *Ayakāra*, K. Village servants or officers entitled to the *āya* or proportion of the crop, for the services to the community. Cf. *Balutē* of the Marathi country. (*W.*, p. 41).
- Bali*, S. Occasional and periodical cess; tax. (E.I., I, p. 402; Ghosal *Ag. Syst. in Ancient India*, p. 12).
- Bala*, See below.
- Balla*, Cf. *Baḷla*, *Baḷa*, K. (a) A grain measure of 8 *kuḍutas* in South Kanara. (b) A dry measure of 168 *tōlas* in Mysore. (c) A land measure requiring 800 square yards of dry, and 125 square

- yards of wet, land in Mysore (*N.*, p. 168). (d) A measure of capacity, the 4th part of a *koḷaga* or 4 *maṇas*. (*Kit.* p. 1097).
- Basadi*, K. (a) A tax. (*E.C.* II, No. 347, p. 150). (b) *Basadi*, *Basti*, *Basdi*, K. (*S. Vasati*), A Jaina temple. (*Kit.* p. 1091).
- Beddalu*, K. (a) Tax upon the straw of the dry grain, the whole of which is taken by the ryots. (*W.*, p. 70). (b) Corn growing on dry land (*N.*, p. 14). (c) Dry fields. (*E.C.* V, Hn. 2, p. 2).
- Bēḍige*, Tel. K. (a) Quit-rent. (*W.* p., 70). (b) Alms. (*E.C.* V, Hn. 2, p. 2). (c) Collection (*E.C.* III, Sr. 6, text p. 26.).
- Bēḍa-binugu*, K. (? A tax on those who refused to be enlisted during a war.) (*My.* for 1920, p. 79; *Kit.*, pp. 1118, 1149).
- Bēgāra*, K. Cf. *Bigāra*, Per. Mar. Superintendent of Forced Labour. Cf. *Bēgari*, K. Labour exacted by a Government without giving remuneration for it. (*Kit.*, p. 1147).
- Bēḷe*, K. (a) A fractional part denoting one eighth. (*N.* p. 169). (b) An eighth of a rupee. (c) Split pulse. (*W.*, p. 71).
- Beṭṭada-kāvalu*, K. Fees for grazing on the hills. (*E.C.* IV, Gu. 1, p. 35).
- Bhaṇḍāra*, S. K. Tam. Tel. (a) A treasury. (b) A store, a room where the household supplies are kept. (c) Villages managed by the ruler himself, his own peculiar estate not rented or farmed to others. (d) In Cuttack it also means a reservoir. (*W.*, p. 75). (e) A grant of land on favourable rent. (*B. & C.* III, p. 1425).
- Bhaṇḍārada-bōḷḷasa*, K. Treasury chest. (*E. C.* IX, Cp. 50; p. 142).
- Bhaṇḍāra-grāma*, S. K. Tel. Tam. Crown villages. (390 of 1920).
- Bhaṇḍāra-karttadāra*, K. Treasury Officer. (*E.C.* IX, Cp. 152, p. 164).
- Bhaṇḍidere*, K. Tax on carts. (*E.C.* V., Hn. 137, pp. 97, 272).
- Bhāṣa*, S.K. Bards. (*E.C.* III., Ml. 12, p. 56).
- Bhaṭṭavritti*, *Bhaṭṭavritti*, S.K. Land enjoyed by the Bhaṭṭas or Brahmans. (*My. Gaz.* I., p. 579 [rev. ed.] : *S.J.I.*, I., p. 91) Cf. *Bhaṭṭa-mānya*, S.K. Land granted by a ruler to a learned Brahman. (*Kit.* p. 1066) For a discussion on *aghōrbajāi*, read, E.H. Johnston, *J. R. A. S.*, for 1929, pp. 93-94.
- Bhaṭṭa-gutta*, S.K., Gutta held by the Brahmans. (*E.C.* VII, Sk. 131, p. 100).
- Bhōga*, S.K. Tel. Tam. (a) Enjoyment. (b) The food offered to a god in a temple. (*B. & C.* III., p. 1495).
- Bhōgya-āyakam*, S. Tam. K. Mortgage by possession. (*E.R.* for 1918, p. 170).
- Bhōgya-patra*, S.K. Tam. Tel. Written deeds recording the reconveyance of land held on mortgage by possession (*bhōgya-āyakan*). (*E. R.* for 1918, p. 170). See also *W.*, p. 81 for two other kinds of deeds: *savēdha* and *nirvādhā*.
- Bhōga-maṇḍalam*, S.K. Tel. Tam. The part of a temple where food is prepared for the image. (*B. & C.* III. p. 1495).

- Bōgāra-terige*, K. Tax on braziers. (*E.C.* IV., Gu. 1, p. 35).
- Birāḍa*, K. Tel. Land tax in Mysore, e.g., *Birāḍa bāgāit-jāsti* an extra cess charged on garden cultivation. (*N.* p. 152). Cf. *Virāḍa*, Tel. Fines. (*E.C.* IV, Gu. 67, p. 67; see also *W.*, p. 548).
- Birangi-vari*, Tam. Cannon tax. (*E.R.* for 1921, p. 107).
- Bira*, (S. *Vira*?). Head of a commercial guild. (*E.C.* VII. Sk. 118, p. 87).
- Bira-vaṇigas*, *Vira-baṇajigas*, S.K. Heads of commercial guilds. The status of these as well as of those mentioned above cannot be determined. (*E.C.* VII. Sk. 118, p. 87).
- Bira-vaṇa*, K. Soldier's tax. (*My.* for 1916, p. 52).
- Birudu*, K. Title, distinction. (*Kit.* p. 1120; *B. & C.* III. p. 1495).
- Birudāvaḷi*, K. Enumeration of distinctions or marks of distinctions. (*Kit.*, p. 1120).
- Birudulu*, Tel. Tax on waste lands. (?) (*Rang.* I, p. 23. See also *W.*, p. 85).
- Bitāḍa*, K. A tax, an impost. (*E. C.* IX, Ht. 4, p. 88, text, p. 195).
- Bisige*, K. (?) Kittel gives it as a *tadbhava* of *vinisati*; 20 *pālas*. *Kit.* p. 1128. It is included among customs. *E.I.*, XIX, pp. 35, 40).
- Brahmadēya*, S. (a) Any grant or perquisite appropriated to Brahmans. (*W.*, p. 93). (b) Share of crop given to Brahmans. (*My. Gaz.* I, p. 579. [rev. ed.]).
- Bāra*, Tel. (?) A Fathom: six feet. (*B. & C.* III, p. 1495).
- Bōyee*, K. Tel. Palanquin bearer. (*Kit.* p. 1157).
- Chakra-varāha*, S.K. Tel. Perhaps the same as *kāruka-varāha* which is Rs. 4. The ordinary *chakram*, according to some, is one-sixteenth of a pagoda. (*B. & C.* III. p. 1495).
- Chavela*, *Chavala*, *Chavalama*, Tel. (a) About 1 shilling. (Brown, Tel. Dict., q. v.). (b) Four *dabs* of 20 *kās* each. (*W.*, p. 107). (c) An eighth of a pagoda, half a rupee in Mysore. (*N.* p. 166).
- Chara*, *Charādēya*, Cf. *Chara-sunḡa*; *Āyā*. K. (a) Duty levied on all sorts of goods and commodities. (b) Transit and town duties in Mysore. (*N.* p. 146; *E.C.* V., Cn. 259, p. 234).
- Chiluvāna*, K. The odd or broken money over a round sum, called *chillare*, in South Kanara. (*N.* p. 62).
- Chiluvana-sunḡa-gāṇa*, K. Miscellaneous excise for oil. (*E.C.* IV. Ch. 196, p. 24).
- Chinnam*, S.K. Tel. Tam. (a) A weight. (b) A coin worth one-eighth of a pagoda or seven annas. (*B. & C.* III, p. 1495).
- Chinna-bhaṇḍāra*, S.K. Tel. Tam. Treasury of gold. (*E. C.* VIII, Tl. 5, p. 163).
- Chāvaḍi*, K. (a) Court of a provincial ruler. (b) Verandah. (*My.* for 1916, p. 60, *N.* p. 81).
- Chōdana*, (?) (a) A liquid measure. (b) In Malabar it is 34½ cubic inches. (c) In Nellore the measure seems to be no longer used. (*B. & C.* III, p. 1495).

- Dakṣiṇa-samudrādhipati*, S.K. "Master of the Southern Ocean". This was the official designation of the Vijayanagara viceroy who was stationed in the south.
- Daḷavali*, K. (?) A tax. (*My.* for 1920, p. 79).
- Danṇāyaka-svāmya*, S.K. A tax to defray the expenses of the campaigns of the *danṇāyaka* or the commander. (?) (*My.* for 1920, p. 79).
- Daṇappēru*, Tam. A money-payment. (507 of 1916; *E.R.* for 1917, p. 110)
- Daṇḍam*, Tel. A measure of 10 *hasta* or cubits. (*B. & C.* III, p. 1495). For the different meanings of *daṇḍa*, see *Ap.* pp. 489-490.
- Daṇḍa-niti*, S. Science of polity (*Ap.*, p. 490).
- Daṇḍige*, K. (?) (*E. I.*, XIX., pp. 35, 40). Cf. (a) *Danḍiga*, A pole set horizontally in the corner of a room and used as a shelf (*Kit.*, p. 770). (b) *Daṇḍa*. S. A stick, a staff, a rod, a cane carried by mendicants; an ear; a measure of length, a rod or pole of 4 cubits. (c) A measure of time: 24 minutes. (*W.*, p. 122). *Danḍikāla*, K. Harvest time. *Danḍi-beḷe*, Plentiful crop (*N.* p. 13).
- Daruṣana-kāṇaike*, S. K. Tam. Tel. Tribute in person. (*E.C.* V, Cn. 259, p. 234).
- Daśavaṇḍa*, S.K. A permanent grant of rent-free land, given for building or repairing a tank, on condition of paying one-tenth or a small share of the produce. (*E.C.* V, Int. p. 3, n. 5). According to some, the grantee pays $\frac{1}{10}$ ths of the produce. According to others, the grantee appropriates $\frac{1}{10}$ ths and pays $\frac{1}{10}$ ths to the grantor. (*B. & C.* III, p. 1495).
- Dāsugaḷa-terige*, K. Tal on mendicants. (*E. C.* IV, Gu. 1, p. 35).
- Dere*, K. Cf. *Terige*, *Derige*, Tax. (*E. C.* IV, Gu. 1, p. 35).
- Dēvadāyam*, S. Tel. K. Lands or allowances for the support of a temple. (*W.*, p. 133; 179 of 1913). Cf. *Dharmadāya*, S. K. Grants made for the support of charitable or religious institutions. (*N.*, p. 92).
- Dēvasthānam-grāma*, S. K. Tel. Tam. Temple villages. (390 of 1920).
- Dharmakarta*, S. K. Tel. Tam. The trustee or manager of a temple. (*B & C.* III, p. 1496; *Sewell*, I, p. 106).
- Dharma-śāsana*, S. K. Tam. Tel. A stone charter embodying the confirmation of the *dharma* of a city or a town. (*E. C.* VIII, Tl. 15, p. 166).
- Dhārana-sārvabhauma*, S. Universal emperor among mnemonics. (*E. C.* VII, Sk. 99, p. 321).
- Divān-khānā*, Per. Minister's office. (*Elliot*, IV, p. 107).
- Dommarā*, Tel. K. One who belongs to the juggler or acrobat class. (*B. & C.* III, p. 1496).
- Drōṇa*, S. A measure of capacity, either the same as *adhaka* or equal to 4 *adhakas* or $\frac{1}{18}$ of a *khāri*, or 32 or 64 *seers* (*Ap.* p. 517).

- Drōṇamukha*, S. A territorial division, conterminous with *pura*, and higher than *paṭṭaṇa* and lower than *siṃhāsana*.
- Duggāṇi*, Tel. Ten *kāṣu*, about half an anna. (*B. & C.* III, p. 1496).
- Dūrḡa-danāyanamvartana*, S. K. (? A tax for the maintenance of a hill-fort). (*A. S. R.* for 1908-9, p. 191, n. 9).
- Eḍakkattayam*, Tam. A tax. (352 of 1912; *E. R.* for 1913, p. 122).
- Eḍuttalavu*, Tam. A tax. (*E. R.* for 1913, p. 122).
- Ekabhōgam* S. The possession or tenure of village land by one person or family without any co-share. The appellation is continued in some instances where other parties have been admitted to the portions under the original tenure as long as that remains unaltered. (*W.*, p. 152).
- Eka-svām̐ya-agrahāra*, S. An *agrahāra* exempted from all taxes. (?) (*E. C.* III, Ml. 95, p. 65).
- Erugāṇike*, K. Offering of manure [*Eru*=manure; *kāṇike*=offering]. (*E. C.* IX, Ht. 4, p. 88).
- Eruttasammādam*, Tam. A tax. (352 of 1912). (But see *W.*, p. 459. *Eru*=manure; *sammādam*=compact made by merchants and traders with the customs and excise).
- Eriminvilai*, Tam. (? A tax on fresh water fish). (*E. R.* for 1913, p. 122).
- Fanam*, A small silver coin formerly current at Madras; 12½ *fanams* are equal to one rupee. (*W.*, p. 155 where *phalam* is given as the S. origin of the word).
- Gadde*, K. Wet or dry land; land fit for rice cultivation, or on which rice is grown.
- Gadde-beddalū*, K. Wet and dry land. (*E. C.* V, Hn. 2, p. 2).
- Gaḍi*, K. Boundary. (*E. C.* IV, Gu. 67, p. 47. Rice gives *Tālukā*, district as the equivalent of this word *My. Gaz.* I, p. 579, Rev. ed.).
- Gaḍyāṇam*, *Gaḍya*, or merely *Ga*, S. K. (a) A goldsmith's weight, equal to 20 *vals*, 8 *māshas*, or half a *tōla*, or about 52 grains Troy. (*W.*, p. 161). (b) The weight of a *ruvi* or a farthing. (c) A small gold coin in Belgium; a pagoda (*N.*, p. 165).
- Gale*, K. Measuring rod, staff, e.g. *Bhērūṇḍa-gale* (*I. A.* IV, p. 181). Cf. *Viḍēlviḍugu*, Tam. under the Gaṅga-Pallavas. (32 of 1912).
- Gaṇāchāra-dere*, K. Tax on the Jaṅgamas. (*E. C.* IV, Gu. 67, p. 47).
- Gaṇākāra-terige*, K. See above. Tax on the Jaṅgamas (*E. C.* IV, Gu. 1, p. 35).
- Gandiga*, K. Head of a commercial guild, status unknown (*E. C.* VII, Sk. 118, p. 87).
- Gāṇa-dere*, K. Tax on oil-mills. (*E. C.* V, Hn. 137, p. 97, text, p. 272).
- Gāṇiga-gutta*, K. Farming of oil-mills. (Rice gives it as a tax on oil-mills *My. Gaz.* I, p. 479).

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Gavarega, K. Head of a commercial guild, status unknown. (*E. C.* VII Sk. 118, p. 87).

Gavariga, K. A basket maker. (*W.*, p. 171).

Gāvunḍa-svāmi, K. Head of a commercial guild, status unknown. (*E. C.* VII, Sk. 118, p. 87).

Gidda, K. A fourth-part, a quarter (of anything). (*Kit.*, p. 542).

Giddana, K. The fourth part of a *solige*. (*Kit.*, p. 542).

Gidna, K. Eight *seers* or two *soliges*. (*Kit.*, p. 542).

Gorru, Tel. A variable measure of land, commonly equal to 3·1637 acres. (*B. & C.* III, p. 1496).

Grāma, S. K. One of the smallest territorial divisions; a village, hamlet. (*Ap.*, p. 417).

Grāmādhīpati, S. Officer appointed by the king to collect revenue from the man who holds a contract from the Government. (*Śukr.* IV p. 149).

Grāma-gaḍyāṇa, S. K. Village rent. (?) (*E. C.* VII, Hl. 71, p. 173). Cf. *Grāma-teṛige*, K. A fine levied in Mysore from ryots who have left their villages and settled in others. (*W.*, p. 187; *N.*, pp. 145, 148).

Guñjā, S. A small shrub of that name bearing a red black berry which is used as a weight, measuring on an average $\frac{1}{181}$ grains Troy, or an artificial weight called *Guñjā* measuring about 2 Troy. (*Ap.* p. 406).

Guṇṇa, Tel. (a) A pond. (b) A land measure equal to $\frac{1}{80}$ th or $\frac{1}{118}$ th of a *gorru* which is generally about 3½ acres. In Nellore a *guṇṇa* is taken as equal to 2,756½ square feet or ·0633 acre, being $\frac{1}{80}$ th of a *gorru*. In the case of garden lands, however, the *guṇṇa* is only ·02725 acre or merely $\frac{1}{118}$ ths of a *gorru*. (*B. & C.* III, p. 1490).

Gutte, *Guttige Guttu*, *Guttigai*, K. Tam. Tel. A contract, a monopoly of a tenure, an exclusive right of sale or supply of any commodity, farm, or rent, an income of variable amount sold or let out for a fixed sum. (*N.*, pp. 92, 145 for different kinds of *guttas*; *W.*, p. 191).

Güttige-piṇḍa-dānā, K. (?) Fee levied for planting areca trees in an areca garden belonging to a temple. (*E. C.* VI, Tr. 43, p. 110).

Gātriga, K. Head of commercial guild, status unknown. (*E. C.* VII, Sk. 118, p. 87).

Haḍapa, K. Bearer of the betel pouch of a prince. (*W.*, p. 193).

Haḍa-vaḷeya, K. (?) (*My. for 1916*, p. 52).

Hadiyarāyā, K. A tax. (?) (*My. for 1916*, p. 52).

Hadike, Cf. *Hodike* K. See below. An impost (*E. C.* III, TN. 98, p. 87).

Hādara, K. Tax on prostitutes (?). (*My. for 1920*, p. 79).

- Hāga*, K. A fractional part denoting quarter and symbolized by | a small coin in Mysore, a quarter gold fanam, also a single silver fanam. *Hāga-tūka*, K. A gold weight of 4·84 grains in South Kanara. (*N.*, p. 172; *My. Ins.* R. 269; *W.*, p. 193).
- Haṇa*, K. (a) Money (b) a fanam, or $\frac{4}{5}$ ths of a rupee. *Haṇa-tūka*, a gold weight of 213 drachm (Av. in South Kanara). (*N.*, p. 172; *W.*, p. 198); *Handara-hāṇa* ? (*E. C.* VII, Hl. 46, p. 168). *Handara*, *Hanjara*, Laths. (Mysore). (*N.*, p. 176).
- Harane*, K. Cf. *Harāṇa* (a) Taking, accepting, making an agreement. (b) Seizing, withholding, stealing. (c) A nuptial present. (d) A gift to a student at his initiation. (*E. C.* III, Tn. 98, p. 87; *Kit.*, p. 1633).
- Hāne*, *Hāni*, K. A word applicable to dry and fluid measure; dry=133 *tōlas* (Manjēśvar in South Kanara), 112 *tōlas* in Bhatkal, and 160 *tōlas* in Coorg. Fluid=144 *tōlas* in Coorg, 2211 *tōlas* in Ankōla. (*N.*, p. 172).
- Horavāru*, (?) Import duties or export duties (?). (*E. C.* IV, Hn. 137, p. 97, text, p. 272).
- Harigōlu*, K. The peculiar round basket boat on the Tungabhadra and in Mysore. (*My. Ins.* p. 26). *Harugola*, Ferryman. *Ibid.*
- Hasara*, K. (?) Tadbhava of *S. pasara*, *prasara*=Collection, shop, a gift, to extend. (*E. I.* XIX, pp. 35-40; *Kit.*, p. 962).
- Hebbāra*, *Hebbāruva* K. (a) A chief, a superior. (b) The head of a village (*W.*, p. 200).
- Herjunka*, *Hejjunka*, K. Great customs (?). (*My. Ins.*, p. 125; *E. C.* V, P. I, Cn. 259, p. 234).
- Hodake*, *Hodike* K. A cover, wrapper, a roof. (*My. for 1916*, p. 96, *Kit.* p. 1690). Cf. *Podake*.
- Holamēre-niruvāli*, K. Field boundaries, and water courses pertaining to it. (*E. C.* V, P. I, 2, p. 2).
- Hojavāru*, K. Export duties. (*E. C.* VII, Sh. 71, p. 28).
- Hombāli*, K. (?) Imposts. (*E. C.* IV, Gu. 67, p. 47).
- Homla-gutta*, K. Tax annually paid by those who smelted iron. (*My. Gaz.* I, p. 479).
- Honnu* (?) K Gold, money, a coin, half of a pagoda. (*E. C.*, III Nj. 117, p. 106; *W.*, p. 211). Two pagodas. (*N.*, p. 173). (*Honnu* in the sense of impost ? *E. C.*, III, Gu. 67, p. 47).
- Hora kaulu* (or *Hodake hora kaulu*), K. Licence for export. (*E. C.* V, Cn. 259, p. 234).
- Hora-saluvāli*, K. Export duty and all other taxes payable to the *pāla*. (*E. C.* IV, Ch. 196, p. 27, text, p. 66).
- Hudike*, *Hudike-dere*, K. (?) A tax. (*E. C.* VII, Hl. 71, p. 173).

- Hullu-banni*, K. Tax paid by the Gollas or shepherds for feeding their flocks on public pasture. (*My. Gaz.* I, p. 479; N., p. 160).
- Hōbaḷi* K. Cf. *Hōbḷi*, *Taraḷi*. Sub-division of a *Tālukā*. (*My. Gaz.* I, p. 579 [rev. ed.]; *Kit.* p. 1071).
- Iḍatorai*, *Iḍaitturai*, Tam. Cf. *Iḍai*. Weight in general, a weight of 100 *palams* equal to $2\frac{1}{2}$ *vis.* or $12\frac{1}{2}$ *seers*. *Iḍaitorai*, (?) (*E. I.* XVIII, p. 139; *W.*, p. 213; 352 of 1912, *E. R.* for 1913, p. 122).
- Iḍangai-vāri*. Tam. A tax which the Pallis had to pay (?). (294 of 1910, *E. R.* for 1911, p. 84).
- Iḡtas*, Per. Revenue assignments (*Barani*, p. 429).
- Ijāra*, A lease or farm of land or revenue or tax (?). (*B. & C.* III, p. 1496).
- Inapari*, Tam. a tax (?) (*E. I.* XVIII, p. 139).
- Inām*, Per. Lands held on favourable terms, such as grants subject to a light assignment, e.g., *ardha-mānya*, *ardha-svādhi*, *umbāḷi*, *uttāra*, etc. (N., p. 91; *B. & C.* III, p. 1496).
- Jakaryati*, K. Tax paid by weavers and manufacturers of cotton cloth. (*My. Gaz.* I, p. 479).
- Jangili-gutṭu*, K. (a) Lease of forest land. (b) A contract for collecting and selling forest produce. (329 of 1920; N. p. 145). Cf. *kavali-gutṭe*, *koṇḍa-kavali*. A contract for collecting and selling forest produce. (N., *ibid*).
- Jātimānyam*, S. K. Tax paid by the Mādigas or Chucklers. Usually *mānya* means a hereditary or official estate. But it also means among the Holeyas the name given to a tribal leader.
- Jāti-terige*, K. Caste tax (*E.C.* III., MI. 95, p. 66).
- Jayiri-terige*, K. A tax on those convicted of murder (homicide?) and executors. (*My. Gaz.* I, p. 479).
- Jivita-parru*, Tam. Districts given on lease for life. (?). (*E. R.* for 1915, pp. 107-108).
- Jiyara-terige*, K. Tax on Jiyars. (*E.C.* IV, Gu. 67, p. 47).
- Jōḍi*, Tel. K. (a) An easy or quit rent, a personal tax on district officers. (b) A tenure under which a person reclaims a certain portion of waste land, settles on it, pays a half or a quarter of the gross value of the produce to government. This tenure differs from *Kāyam-gutṭe* in the latter being a permanent contract for a government village on the annual payment of a fixed sum. (N., p. 91; *E. C.* V.P.I, Hn. 2, p. 2; *W.*, p. 241).
- Kaḍamai*, Tam. A money payment. (507 of 1916; *E.R.* for 1917, p. 110; *W.*, p. 246).
- Kaḍati-vaṣa*, K. Hammer tax. (*My.* for 1916, p. 52).

- Kaḍḍāyoda-huṭṭuvalli*, K. Cf. *Kaṭṭayam*. Tam. Forced sales. *Kaḍḍāya*, K. Force, compulsion; forcing people to pay the prices set upon articles, exaction. (*Kit.*, p. 347; *E.C. X.* Bp. 18, p. 139; *W.*, p. 269).
- Kaikaḍa*, K. A temporary loan. Also called *Kaigada*, *kaisāla*, *Maigaḍa*. (*N.*, pp. 1, 51).
- Kaittaḍi*, *ōlai*, *kaḍaiyiḍu*, Tam. A demi-official revenue note. (507 of 1916 *E. R.* for 1917, pp. 109-110).
- Kakandi*, K ? A tax (*My. for 1916*, p. 52).
- Kalañju*, The weight of $1\frac{1}{2}$ pagodas of coins (*B. & C. III*, p. 1497).
- Kalam*, Tam. ? (e.g. three *kalam* [of paddy] on each *ma*) (*E.R.* for 1915, pp. 103, 107-108).
- Kaluhalli*, K. Cf. *Grāma*. Per. Ancient village (*My. Gaz.* I, p. 579 [rev. ed.]).
- Kāluve*, K. Channels, aqueduct (*E.C. V.P.I.*, Hn. 2, p. 2; *N.*, p. 27).
- Kallai*, Tam. A tax paid by those who sold spirituous liquor (*My. Gaz.* I, p. 479).
- Kalāyam*, Tam. Probably a tax payable for quarrying stones. (*E.C. XVII*, p. 112).
- Kallaimu*, lands Tam. ? (*E.R.* for 1915, pp. 107-108).
- Kammara-ṛitti*, K. Blacksmith's tax (*My. for 1916*, p. 52).
- Kampana*, K. A territorial division (*B. & C. III*, pp. 1497; But, according to others, *Kampana* is a term for the army and not a territory. (*W.Z.K.M.* XII, p. 68).
- Kamugu*, Tam. Areca-land. (*S.I.I.*, III, P. III, p. 337).
- Kandāchāra*, K. Military department. (*W.*, p. 257)
- Kappa*, *Kappam*, Tam. K. Mal tax, tribute, offering. (*W.*, p. 260).
- Karaṇam*, S. A village accountant. (*B. & C. III*, p. 1497).
- Karanika*, Cf. *Karaṇam*, *Sthaḷa-Lēkhatām*. S. Writer, accountant (*Kov.* II, p. 219).
- Karaṇike*, K. Cf. *Karaṇika-varṭtana*. S. (*Varttana*-wages). A cess levied originally for the support of the district accountant. (It was consolidated with the public revenue by Tipu Sultan.) (*W.*, p. 263).
- Karaṇika-jōḍi*, K. Karaṇika's quit rent. (*S.I.I.*, II. P. II, p. 119).
- Kasba*, The chief town of any given area. (*B. & C. III*, p. 1497).
- Kasba-kāpu*, The headman of a *kasba* town. (*B. & C. III*, p. 1497).
- Kasāyi-guttu*, K. Butcher's tax. (*My. Gaz.* I, p. 479).
- Kattari-vana*, K. Scissors tax. (*My. for 1916*, p. 52).
- Katṇam*, Cf. *Katnālu*, Tel. (a) A present to a superior. (b) A compulsory "benevolence". (*B. & C. III*, p. 1497).
- Kattige*, K. A land measure of $34\frac{1}{8}$ square cubits in Belgaum (*N.*, p. 162; *My. for 1916*, p. 96) See under *Pāṇḍu*.
- Kattige-avasaram*, Tam. Tax on fire-wood (*E.I.*, XVII, p. 112).
- Kaṭaka-sēse*, K ? (*E.C. II.*, p. 150, n. 1).

Kaffe, K. Customs house. (E.C. V, Hn. 2, p. 2) (b) A mound round a tree (South Kanara); (c) a verandah (S. Marata. N., p. 27).

Kaṇḍalu, Tel. ? Presents. Cf. *Kaṇḍam*, Tel. a nazar. (B. & C. II, p. 947, III, p. 1498; W., p. 269).

Kaṇḍu-guttige pātra sāsana, K. A stone charter containing the gift of a *kaṇḍu guttige piṇḍa dāna*.

Kaṇḍu-guttige-piṇḍa dāna, K. Cash payments paid to a temple for planting arec trees. (My. Ins. p. 107; E.C., VII, Sk. 105, p. 78).

Kavarte, *Kavate*, K. Taking by force, seizing, plundering. (?) (Kū., pp. 388, 389).

Khaḍḍayam, K. Fines (E.C. III., Ml. 95, p. 66).

Khaṇḍi, S. K. (Khaṇḍa) A word applicable to weight, dry and fluid measure. (a) *Metals*: 22,400, *tōlas* or 5 cwt. (S. Kanara; Bhaṭkal in N. Kanara); 23,040 *tōlas* in Honnāvuru, Yellāpura, and Aṅkōla (N. Kanara); 20,000 *tōlas* in Mundagōd; 22,400, *tōlas* in Śirsi (N. Kanara); (b) *Timber*: 38 feet 10½ inches (North Kanara); 24 *Kāl* × 12 *angula* × 1 *angula* (South Kanara); (c) *Sugar*, *ghee* 16,000 *tōlas* (Belgaum); 19,200, *tōlas* (Coorg); (d) *Jaggory*, 19,200 *tōlas* (South Kanara); (e) *Dry measure*: 38,40, *tōlas* in Kārwar and Ankola, 4320 *tolas* in Kumta and Honnāvuru, 1440 *tōlas* in Siddhāpura, and 71680 *tōlas* in Mundagod (North Kanara); (f) *Fluid measure*: 11,200 *tōlas* (South Kanara); 23,040 *tōlas* in Sirsi, 20,000 *tōlas* in Mundagod; *Doddakhaṇḍi*, *Hire-khaṇḍi*: a grain measure of 153,600 *tōlas* in Sirsi; *Phāṭṭa-khaṇḍi*: a *khaṇḍi* of 25 *maṇas* used only in Virajēndrapeta (Coorg). (N., p. 164). See also W., pp. 277-278.

Khaṇḍuga, Cf. *Khaṇḍi*, S.K. (a) A dry measure of 409,600 *tōlas* (Belgaum), 128,000 *tōlas* (Coorg), 13,440 *tōlas* (Mysore); (b) A salt measure of 64,000 *tōlas* (Belgaum); (c) A weight of 192,000 *tōlas* for silk, sugar, drugs, and cotton (Mysore); (d) A land measure requiring 64,000 square yards of dry, and 10,000 of wet land (Mysore); (e) a Synonym for a *muḍi* in Bhaṭkal (North Kanara). (N., pp. 164-165; E.C. II., No. 402, p. 170).

Khaṇḍrika, A portion of a village granted free or at favourable rent (B. & C. III, p. 1497).

Kharvaḍa, A territorial division higher than *Khēḍa* and lower than *Maḍamba* (Cf. *Kharva*, S. Ten thousand millions. *Kharvaḍa*, S. A Market town, a village at the foot of a mountain (Ap. pp. 391-392).

Khēḍa, K. S. A territorial division higher than *Nagara* and lower than *Kharvaḍa*. (Cf. *Khēḍa*, S. A village, a small town. Cf. *Khēḍa*, Grāmadhāna, Ap. p. 393, Kū. p. 513).

- Kirkula*, Mar. Cf. *Kirkūl*, *Kirkōl*. (a) Miscellaneous, petty taxes on articles or goods. (b) Unnecessary trouble given to ryots by inferior officers in minute things. (*W.*, p. 290; *N.*, pp. 74, 119; *E.J.*, XVIII, p. 139).
- Koḍavisa*, K. Allowance of a *visa* of grain etc. for every bullock-load that comes into a town, paid to a person employed to check the demands of the toll-keeper. (Apparently from *Kōḍu*=a horn, for horned cattle. For *visa* see below. *W.*, p. 292; *E.C.* VIII, Sh. 46, p. 168.)
- Koḍagi*, K. (a) Lands having an invariably fixed rent, not liable to any, change on account of the seasons, etc., and saleable (Manjarbad). (b) Lands granted for service in connection with the restoration or construction of tanks or of their maintenance in good order. (Mysore) (*N.*, p. 91).
- Kōl*, *Kōlu*, K. Measuring pole sometimes 18 spans (*gēṇa*) in length. (*E.C.* IV., Yd. 28, p. 56), (b). *Angula*, A lineal measure for wood 24 making a *gaja* or *kōlu*. (c) A wood, a pole, rod measurement of 24 finger's breadth (South Kanara). (For different kinds of *Kōlu*,—*Ikkēri*, *Maleyāli*, *Hokkalu*, *Kadre*, *Virājendra* and *Lin-garājendra*, see *N.*, p. 164).
- Koḷaga*, K. A measure of capacity: 4 *baḷlas* (*Ki.* p. 493). A dry measure of 768 *tōlas* in Yellapur, 384 *tolas* in Sirsi, 72 *tolas* in Siddhāpur and 924 *tōlas* in Bhatkal (North Kanara); (b) A dry measure of 672 *tōlas*. (Mysore) (For further details see *N.*, p. 163).
- Kolu*, Tam. Mal. A plough-share; cultivation, ploughing (*W.*, p. 293).
- Koru*, K. (a) A mode of cultivation under which the produce is equally divided between the proprietor and the cultivator (Mysore). A share of the crop belonging to the cultivator (Mysore). [*Koravāru*=a share of the crop due to the landlord by the tenant.] (*N.*, pp. 10, 144.)
- Koḷaga*, Cf. *Koḷuga*. K. A measure of grain, one-twentieth of a *Khaṇḍuga* or 3 bushels (*E.C.* II., No. 335, p. 144, *W.*, p. 292).
- Kōnigai*, Tam. ? Error for (*Kānigai*?) Cf. *Kōniri*, *Kōniri*. K. A square reservoir with steps) *W.* 293). (Tax for maintaining such tanks?.)
- Kōru*, See above. Land the produce of which is shared by the Government commonly used in opposition to the term *Zamindari* and *insaim* (*B. & C.* III, p. 1497).
- Korru*, Tam? (Cf. *Korru* of the king. 335 of 1913).
- Koṭṭage*, K. (Cf. *Kōṭe-biṭṭi*. A tax formerly levied in Mysore in lieu of free labour previously exacted for the repair of certain forts and carriage of stores to them, (*W.*, p. 295) (*My. for* 1920, p. 79. Cf. *Kōṭiga*, *Kōṭigāra*, A stone cutter *W.*, p. 295. Cf. *Koṭṭa*, a fort stronghold. *Ki.* p. 496).

- Kōṭṭam**, Tam. K. A territorial division higher than *Nāḍu* and lower than *Maṇḍalam*.
- Kōṭṭige**, K. Cf. (a) An out-house (South Kanara). (b) a verandah. (*N.*, p. 80) (? A tax on verandahs or out-houses).
- Kōṭṭige-vartanai**, Tam ? (*E.I.*, XVIII., p. 139). See *Kōṭṭige* above.
- Kraya-patra**, S. Sale-deed (*E.C.* VI, Kp. 59, p. 90). Cf. *kraya-chiṣu*, *kraya-sādhana*, a sale-deed. (*N.*, p. 51).
- Krōṣa**, S. *Koss*, A measure of distance equal to $\frac{1}{4}$ th of a *yōjana*. (*Ap.*, p. 382).
- Kuḍuba**, K. (Tod. of *Kḍuvva*) A measure of capacity containing about two seers (*Kit.* p. 436).
- Kuchchala**, Tel. A land measure equal to eight *garrus*. It is taken at 25 acres in Nellore, and at 29 acres in Kistna (*B. & C.* III, p. 1497).
- Kuḍimai-ṣey**, Tam. Occupancy rights (*S.I.I.*, III., P. III, p. 226).
- Kuḍumi**, Tam. Assessment (249 of 1913). Cf. *Kuḍimai* Rights. (*S.I.I.*, II, p. 117).
- Kuḍi-vāram**, Tam. Share allowed to the cultivators. (*E.* p. 43, n. 25; *W.* p. 541).
- Kuku**, K. ? (*My. for* 1920, p. 79).
- Kumbha**, S. A measure of grain equal to 20 *drōṇas*. (*Ap.* p. 363).
- Kumbhāra-ṣeṭṭi**, K. Chief of the potters. (*E.C.* IV., YI. 2, p. 27).
- Kumbhāra-svāmi**, S. Headman of the potters. Cf. *Kumbhāra-ṣeṭṭi*, (*E. C.* IV, YI. 2, p. 27).
- Kumbhāra-dere**, K. Potter's tax (*E.C.* IV, Hn. 137, p. 97, text, p. 272).
- Kumbhāra-vṛitti**, K. Potter's tax. Cf. *Kumbhāra-dere* (*My. for* 1916, p. 52).
- Kuncham**, or **Kunchaḍu**, Tel. 4 *māṇika* or *muntas* or $\frac{1}{4}$ of the *tūm* which is, roughly, a hundredweight. (*B & C.* III, p. 1497).
- Kuḷa**, K. Mar. (a) An individual paying taxes to the Government, a payer of Government dues. (For further details see *N.* p. 144). (b) Rent. (*E.C.* III, M1. 95, p. 65). (c) A certain measure: a *koḷaga*. (*Kit.* p. 453); (d) Family, race (*Kit.* p. 453).
- Kula-varittane**, K. The perquisites of the village officers receivable from farmers and those who pay revenue to Government. (*Kit.* p. 453).
- Kuli**, Tam. A square measure varying, according to some, from one square foot to 25,600 square feet. According to others, it is 567 square feet. (*B. & C.* III, p. 1497).
- Kuḷavaḍai**, Tam. A tax for fishing in tanks. (*E.I.*, XVII, p. 112). Cf. *Kuḷavāḍi*, K. An inferior village servant. (*Kit.* p. 453).
- Kuḷavāra**, Cf. *Kuḷavārapaṭṭi*, *Kuḷavārapaṭṭi*, *Kuḷavāra-tachte*, *Kuḷavār-chiṣṭa*, *Kuḷavārpaṭṭi*. S. (a) An account of the land farmed by each cultivator severally. (b) A term applied to families, or individual heads of families, paying revenue, and in this sense occurs

in various compounds given by *W.* in detail. (c) A term applied especially to the settlement of the assessment with each individual cultivator, the same as *ryotwāri*. (d) *Kuḷavāra-tachte* A rent roll containing the rent paid by each ryot, the amount of *ṭharāvu berēz*, whether the land is *bharti* or *kambharti*; and upon which the annual settlement of *kambharti vārgs* were fixed. (*W.* p. 300; *N.* p. 144) (e) *Kuḷavārchiṣha*. *K.* An account of the land farmed by each cultivator severally. (*Kit.* p. 453).

Kūḷa, *K.* Mar. See above *Kūḷa*, A payer of Government dues, the *Mālguzār* of Hindustan. (b) A quantity of land that may be ploughed in one day by a single plough. (*W.* pp. 300-301 *My. for 1916*, p. 52).

Kuṛri-dere, *K.* Sheep tax. (*E.C.* XI., YI. 2, p. 84).

Kuruju, *K.* ? (*My. Ins.* p. 269) (Cf. *Kuruje*, *K.* An unripe fruit of the Jack tree. (*Kit.* p. 447).

Kūṭa-derige, *K.* Tax on meetings (*E.C.* IV., Gu. 67, p. 47).

Kāḍāramba, *Kaṭṭ-ārambam*, *Tam. K.* Dry cultivation, or land which depends entirely upon rain for water; the cultivation of such land. (*W.* p. 240; *N.* 8; *E.C.* IX, Dv. 25, p. 33).

Kāpu, *Kāmpu*, *Tel. K.* (a) A cultivator. The word is also used in the sense of *Pedda-kāpu* or principal ryot or village headman; (b) Guarding, watching (*B. & C.* III., p. 1497; *W.* p. 260; *Kit.* p. 405).

Kāṇi, A fractional part of denoting $\frac{1}{64}$ th and written | (b) It also means a sixty-fourth fractional part of any coin; also $\frac{1}{80}$ th, $\frac{1}{8}$ nd part. (c) $\frac{1}{64}$ th of a pagoda. (d) A land measure of 57,600 square feet, a cawnie or twenty-four grounds. (e) Property, possession, hereditary right. Cf. *Kāṇiyāṭchi*, *Tam. Kaṇāṇchi*; *K.* Property which is tax free. (*N.* p. 162; *S.I.I.* II. p. 117; *Kit.* p. 403). *Are-kāṇi*, the 128th part of any coin. *Giddagāṇi*, $\frac{1}{128}$ th of a *kāṇi*, $\frac{1}{128}$ th of a *kaṇa* used in weighing. *Duggāṇi*, two *kāṇis*, two *kārus* or cashs. A half-penny called 10 cash (*Kit.* pp. 101, 403, 542, 793).

Kāṇike, *S.* Cf. *Kāṇike-kappa*, *Kāṇe*, A present from an inferior to a superior, a subscription, a donation, offerings, tribute. *Kaṭṭi-kāṇike*. A present from certain Moplahs in the village of Ullal (South Kanara). *Buṭṭu-kāṇike*, A tax levied upon the merchants of the town of Mūlki (South Kanara), being a gift formerly, agreed by them to be paid to the pagoda (? temple) but which was usurped by the former Government (*E.C.* V. P. I., Hn. 2. p. 2; *W.* p. 258 *E.C.* III., M1. 95, p. 60; *N.* p. 180).

Kāṇippidiṭṭapaḍu, *Tam.* ? (*E.R.* for 1916, p. 123).

Kāṇuka, Cf. *Kāṇike*, *Tel.* (?) A gift to a superior, a compulsory "benevolence" (*B. & C.* III., p. 1497).

Kāṇiyāṭchi, Kāṇāṇchi, Kāṇāchi. Tam. K. [From *Kaṇi* (=property, possession, right of possession, hereditary right) and *āṭchi* (=power or domination)] (a) That which is held in free and hereditary property. (b) hereditary right to lands, fees of office, or perquisites, held by members of village communities or by village officers, in the Tamil country, equivalent to the Arabic term *mirāsi*, used likewise in that part of India (*W.* p. 258).

Kār, S. Tam (?) Cf. *Khāraka, Khāri, Khārika*, S. measure of grain equal to 16 *drōṇas* Cf. *Kār*, K. The ploughing season. (*Kit.* p. 408), (b) A toll, tax. (*Ap.* 350, 392, 516-517; *E.R.* for 1913, pp. 1819).

Kār-pasana, Tam. See above. Wet lands (*E.R.* for 1915, pp. 107-8).

Kāryakarta, S. K. An agent; an agent for affairs (*B & C*, III., p. 1497).

Kāru, K. ? Cf. *Kār* above. (Preceding the name of crop indicates that it is sown in the wet season). (*B. & C.* III. p. 1497).

Kāryavārāṭchi, Tam. ? A money payment. Cf. *Varāḍa*. K. A money payment among the villagers to defray the village expenses. (*W.* p. 542; 507 of 1916; *E.R.* for 1917, p. 110).

Kāruka, Cf. *Kāraka* (a) An artisan, an artificer, a mechanic. *Pañcha-Kāruka*=the five artificers or artisans: carpenters, goldsmiths, black-smiths, stone-cutters (masons and braziers (*Kit.* pp. 510, 921). (b) A tax generally of the *mohatarpha* (?) (c) A tax paid by certain classes in *Kṛishṇarāya Oḍeyar's* time for relief from payment of certain duties (Nagar, Mysore) (*N.* p. 142). (d) The wet season; the crop of rice sown in April, and reaped in June-July. (e) Black, dark, also salt, saline, withered. (f) *Kārukāya*, Tel. weak or blighted corn (*W.* p. 265).

Kāśu, Tel. K. A small copper coin, current at Madras, made equal in 1832, to the Calcutta and Madras *paisa* and rated at 64 to the rupee; it was formerly rated at 80 to a *fanam*, a small silver coin, it also means, in Tamil, coin, money, e.g., *Ponakāśu*, gold coin; *Vennukāśu*, silver coin; *Pettalai-kāśu*, copper coin. It formerly denoted a coin of a certain value, supposed by some to have been the same as S. *karsha* and equal to the double silver *fanam* of Madras. (b) A coin of gold, silver, or copper, the copper *kāśu* worth about $\frac{1}{20}$ th (?) of a penny. (c) $\frac{1}{8}$ th of a rupee, half a pie in South Kanara. (d) A pie or $\frac{1}{16}$ th of a rupee in Mysore (*W.* p. 267; *B. & C.* III., p. 1497; *N.* p. 162).

Kāśu-kadamai, Tam. Revenue in money (*S.I.I.* II., p. 117).

Kāśupāḍu, Tam. Customs. Nad-duties. (?) (*E.R.* for 1916, p. 140).

Kāvali, K. Tel. Watch, A plate or pan for frying or baking (*B. & C.* III., p. 1497; *Kit.* p. 415).

- Kavulu, Kāvulu**, K. Tel. (a) Charters granted by the State embodying favourable terms of cultivation and occupation of lands which had been deserted by the tenants. (b) Grazing ground, also called *hullugāvalu*, *Kāvalunaḍisu* to allow or give a grazing ground. (c) Guard, *Kāvaluāginillu*, to mount guard. (d) A word, a promise, an agreement or contract. (*W.* p. 270 for further details; *N.* p. 19; *E.R.* for 1916, pp. 144-145).
- Kāvulu-doregaḷu**, Tel. Police officers. (*C.P.* 21 of 1917-18).
- Kāvali-gutta**, K. (a) Tax for letting out jungles. (b) Tax for maintaining the village police. Cf. *Kāval-anāja* (*My. Gaz.* I, p. 479; *W.*, p. 271).
- Kandāya**, K. (a) A space of three months, according to others, of four months (in astrology). (b) Tribute, tax, house-tax, land-tax, ground-rent. (*N.* p. 162; *Kit.* p. 360).
- Khāna**, Cf. *Khāni*, *bhumi*, very inferior and worthless land. Perhaps from *khāni*: $\frac{1}{8}$ th of a *fanam*; land worth as much. (?) (*E.C.* II. No. 347, p. 150, n. 1; *N.* p. 10; *W.* p. 278).
- Kumari**, K. A piece of ground in a jungle or forest, on which the trees are cut down and burnt, where after it is cultivated for one or two years only. (*Kit.* p. 443).
- Lekkādalli**, K. In accounts. (*E.C.* IV., Gu. 1, p. 35).
- Lekkābōgam**, Tam. Accounts. (*E.R.* for 1917, p. 131).
- Maddhyasta**, S. K. Middleman, an arbitrator. (*E.C.* VI., Kp. 59, p. 90; *Kit.* p. 1203).
- Maduve-dere**, K. Tax on marriage. (*E.C.* V. Cn. 259, p. 234).
- Maḍappuram**, Tam. (*E.C.* X, Ml. 100, p. 170). (Cf. *Maḍa*, K. A small channel that leads water from the big one to the division of a field, or a garden bed (*Kit.* p. 1190):
- Maḍi**, Tel. Wet field but it also seems to have been a definite measure of land. (*B. & C.* III. p. 1497).
- Maḍil-amañjai**, (Cf. *Amañjai*) Tam. (a) A compulsory service without payment. (b) The gratuitous employment of the villagers in the transport of baggage, etc. for public officers. (c) The general levy of men inhabiting irrigable villages for the purpose of cleaning the channels or tanks, for repairing breaches or constructing dams (*E.R.* for 1913, p. 122, *W.* p. 21).
- Maḍamba**, (?) A territorial division higher than *Kharavaḍa*.
- Maḡamai**, Tam. Corrupt form of *maganmai*, the nature of being a son to another. (a) A tax levied among certain merchants in the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts on all sales and purchases. The levy is in the shape of a small but fixed sum which is utilised for some public purpose (*E.I.*, XVII, p. 112). (b) A contribution

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formerly levied on all merchants and cultivators for a temple, now given optionally; a fee or donation to which an individual or establishment may be entitled (*W.* p. 316).

Magga-dere, K. Tax on looms. (*E.C.* V. Cn. 259, p. 234).

Mahājanam, S. The principal (respectable) people of a village. (*B. & C.* III, p. 1497 *Kit.* p. 1227). Among the *mahājanas* or great men, also figured together with the Brahmans, the notables of other communities.

Mahā-pradhāna, S. K. Great minister; prime-minister. Cf. *Pradhāna-Amātya*, S. Prime-minister (*Ap.*, p. 660).

Makkai, (?) Tam. Cf. *Makki* K. (a) The worst kind of rice-land yielding one crop and not attracting tenants (South Kanara). (b) Rice land above the level of a valley that is to be watered and a crop of luxurious growth. (c) Cultivable land covered with thick brushwood (Coorg). (*N.* p. 17; *Kit.* p. 1183). But *makkai* occurs together with *korru*. (335 of 1913).

Malai-amñjai, Tam. (?) A compulsory tax levied for the purposes of feeding the cattle on the hills. (*E.R.* for 1913 p. 122; *W.* p. 334).

Maḷave, K. (?) (Cf. *Maḷavati*, *Malavanti*, Tel. An additional assessment rated on the growing crops in proportion to their apparent richness). (*E.I.* XIX., pp. 34-40; *W.* 324).

Maḷavi, K. (?) (*My. Ins.* p. 269).

Maḷabraya, K. (?) An impost (Cf. *Malā*, *malali*, Mar. A garden or plantation of edible vegetables. Rich low grounds of alluvial origin bearing double crops, or sown with vegetables) (*W.* p. 323; *E. C.* II, 333, p. 141).

Mallige, K. (a) (?) A tax. Cf. *mallige*, Tad. of *mallikā*, *Jasminum sambac*. (b) earthenware vessel of a peculiar form. (c) A sort of a drinking vessel (*Kit.* p. 1223; *My. for* 1920, p. 79).

Mallayi-magamai, Tam. (?) (*E.I.* XVII, p. 139).

Mambāḷa, K. (?) A Tax (*E.C.* IV, Ch. 196, p. 24).

Maṇa, A. K. A measure of capacity, a maund. See under *Tōlā* below.

Manakshata, K. (?) A tax. (*E.C.* II. 347, p. 150, n. 1).

Mane-bāb, K. House tax. (*My. Gaz.* I. p. 479).

Mane-chinna, K. Payment in gold. Cf. *Mane-haṇa*, *mane-terige*, house tax (*E.C.* IV., Hn. 137, p. 97, text, p. 272; *N.* 153).

Maṇḍalam, S. The highest territorial division, equivalent of province (*Ap.* p. 733; *B. & C.* III., p. 1497).

Maṇḍali-kāpu, Tel. Headman of a village, according to *W.* But perhaps of rank superior to the ordinary headman. (*B. & C.* III, p. 1497).

- Maṇḍala*, S. Assembly, assembled body. (*E.R.* for 1915, pp. 107-108).
- Mandai-kaṇḍērram*, Tam. (?) (Cf. *Mandai*, Tam. a herd, flock; *mandai-murai*, or *mandai-varisai*, Tam. The right and practice of the mirasdars to have in turn the cattle of the village folded on their grounds, so that they may benefit by the manure. *Kandērram* cf. *kandirutta*, Mal. survey, measuring, and estimating land. *E.I.* XVII, p. 139; *W.* pp. 257, 327).
- Mandya*, Tel. (?) A measure of land. (*B. & C.* III, p. 1498).
- Manakere*, K. (?) A tax. (*My. for 1916*, p. 52).
- Manāi-pṣēru-kaḍamai*, Tam. A tax. (?) A tax. on houses and compounds). (*E. I.* XVII, p. 112).
- Maneya-bayakāra*, K. Palace treasurer. (*E. C.* XII, Ck. 44, p. 87).
- Mannenyar*, K. Worthies, nobles. (*E. C.* VII, H1. 45, p. 168; *My. Ins.* p. 22).
- Maraviḍai*, Tam. (a) A term used in deeds of the transfer of land to convey all kinds of woods, timber and plantations, also ground on which trees are grown. (b) A tax on fruit bearing trees. (*E. I.* XVII, p. 112; *W.*, p. 331).
- Marutu*, Tel. An unknown measure of grain and land. (*B. & C.* III, p. 1498).
- Mārga* S. K. A road broader than a foot-path and narrower than a *rāja-mārga*. (*Śukr.* I, pp. 34-35).
- Maṭṭa, Maṭṭu*, K. An unknown measure of land. (*E. C.* VII, Tr. 43, p. 110). (Cf. *Maṭṭa*, K. Levelness; a carpenter's level or square; a levelling stick; height, proper limit. *Kit.*, p. 1189.)
- Maṭṭu*, Tel. Plural probably of *maṭṭu*. (*B. & C.* III, p. 1498).
- Maṇairai*, Tam. Cf. *Maṇairari*, House rent, ground rent, or rent. (*507 of 1916*; *W.*, p. 327).
- Mēda-dere*, K. Tel. Tam. Tax on basket-makers. From *Mēda*, a caste occupied in cutting and selling bamboo or making or mending bamboo baskets. *Mēdi* or *mēḍi* also means the part of the handle which is joined to the plough. (*E. C.* IV, Hn. 137, p. 272; *W.*, p. 338).
- Mēl-varam*, Tam. Share received by the Government. (*E.*, p. 43, n. 25; *W.*, p. 541; *E. R.* for 1917, p. 131).
- Mēra*, Tel. A fee in grain or money paid by villagers for the up-keep of certain offices, services or institutions. (*B. & C.* III, p. 1498).
- Mirāsdar*, Tel. One having a hereditary title to property or office. (*B. & C.* III, p. 1498).
- Mugam-pārvai*, Tam. (?) A tax to see the king). (*352 of 1912*).
- Mūla*, S. K. As in *Mūlagēni*, A permanent tenancy, a perpetual lease under which the owner virtually parts with the property on the condition of receiving a fixed and invariable annual rent, generally

payable on the 30th *Bahula* of *Phālguna*. The tenure is alienable notwithstanding the penal clauses generally inserted in the leases. (*N.*, p. 94).

Muḷaikkālu, Tam. Customs or *Nāḍ*-duties levied on the horses, goats, and cows of the tenants. (*E. R.* for 1916, p. 140).

Mulam, Tel. (a) A stubble field. (b) Land cultivated with millet. (c) Garden land. The word does not seem to be common in Nellore. (*B. & C.* III, p. 1498).

Mūle-vīsa, K. Tel. Tam. (a) Offerings. (b) An allowance of $\frac{1}{16}$ th part or fraction of anything. (c) Customs duties. (*E. C.* XI, Hk. 15, p. 118; *E. I.* VI, p. 232, n. 6; *W.*, p. 549 for further details).

Mulaviśālbaḍi, Tel. Perhaps the original tax levied proportionately upon the profits of traders. (*B. & C.* III, p. 1498. For further details see *W.* q. v. *viśālbaḍi*).

Mukhāsa, Land assigned in return for service to be discharged. (*B. & C.* III, p. 1498. For further details, see *W.* q. v. *mukhāsa*).

Munta, Tel. One-fourth of the *kuncham*; apparently in Nellore the same as *mānika*. (*B. & C.* III, p. 1498).

Muquātia-garam, Per. Contractors. (*Bar.*, p. 429).

Mā, Māu, Tam. A land measure, $\frac{1}{30}$ th of a *vēli*, containing 100 *gunṭas* of 44 square feet. (*W.*, pp. 314, 335; *E. R.* for 1915, p. 103). *Mā* is also in general use as the shortened form of *S. mahā*, great, especially in compounds. (*W.*, p. 314).

Mādārikkam, Mādārikke, Mādārikkai, Mādārike, Tam. K. Tel. Cf. *Mādāru-kasabu-vāri*. (a) An annual tax on the manufacturers of baskets, mats, etc. (b) Tax on Madigas. (c) Watch and ward. (352 of 1912; *E. R.* for 1913, p. 122; *W.*, p. 315, *E. I.* XVIII, p. 139; *E. C.* IV, Gu. 35, p. 86; *E. C.* IV, Ch. 196, p. 66).

Māda-viratti, Tam. See above. (221 of 1910).

Mādiga, Tel. K. Tam. Cobbler. (*B. & C.* III, p. 1497).

Māḍa, or *Māḍai*, Tel. Tam. Half a pagoda, i.e., Rs. 2 or Rs. 1-12-0. (*B. & C.* III, p. 1497)

Māhēśvaras, S, Managers of a temple. (*E. R.* for 1913, p. 120).

Māmūlādāyam, K. Duties levied on goods exported to foreign countries. (*My. Gaz.* I, p. 477; *N.* p. 139).

Mānika, Tel. One fourth of the *kuncham* or 28 *tōlas*. (*B. & C.* III, p. 1498).

Mānya, S. K. Tel. Tam. Cf. *Manneya*, Worthies, nobles. (*My. Ins.*, pp. 125-126; *Kit.* p. 1239).

Mānyam, S. K. Tel. Tam. (a) A grant of land or revenue in return for service to be rendered to the community. (*B. & C.* III, p. 1498;

- N.* p. 153). (*b*) Land either liable to a trifling quit-rent or altogether exempt from tax. (*Kit.* p. 1239).
- Mārga-ādāyam*, S. K. Duties on goods in transit through a district. (*My. Gaz.* I. p. 477; I. 583 [rev. ed]).
- Māsha*, S. A. beam; a particular wright of gold, *e.g.*, *guñjābhirashṭabhih-māsha*. (*Ap.* p. 760). For *Guñjā*, see above.
- Māvaḍi*, Tam. Tax on animals, *i.e.*, when animals are sold in markets. (*E. I.* XVII, p. 112).
- Mōviḍai-maraviḍai*, Tam. See above. A term used in deeds to express all kinds of plantations or timber. The combination is, however, used erroneously being expressed by the latter term alone. (*b*) A term used in conveyance of land to express game. (*W.*, p. 330 for further details.)
- Nagara*, S. Town. (*E. R.* for 1910, p. 97). (*b*) A territorial division higher than a *Grāma* and low than *Khēḍa*.
- Nagari-birāḍa*, K. A tax of an unknown nature. (*Rang.* I. p. 23).
- Nallerudu*, Tam. A good buffalo, tax. (352 of 1912; *E. R.* for 1913, p. 122).
- Nall-erumai*, Tam. A good buffalo, tax. (352 of 1912).
- Nallenḍige*, Tam. (?) (*My.* for 1920, p. 79).
- Nambi*, Tam. A priest performing ordinary rites in a Vaiṣṇava temple. (*B. & C.* III, p. 1498).
- Nañjey*, *Nañsey*, *Nañjā*, Tam. Soil that is fit for the cultivation of rice admitting of artificial irrigation, and hence commonly termed "wet ground or soil" in contradiction to *pūñjā* or *bailu* or dry land. (*W.*, p. 367; *N.*, p. 149; *E.I.*, XVII, p. 112).
- Naḷ-paśu*, Tam. Good cow, a tax. (*E.I.* XVIII, p. 139).
- Naḷ-kidā*, Tam. Good ewe. (352 of 1912).
- Naṭṭupāl*, Tam. Planting. (*E.R.* for 1915, pp. 107-108).
- Nela-meṭṭu-sthala-sunṅka*, K. Customs dues on terraced land. (?). (*E.C.* V, P. I, Cn. 239, p. 234, text, p. 699).
- Nelpāḍu*, Tam. (?) (Cf. *Nel*, or *nellu*, Tam. Rice in husk, paddy, fifty eight kinds of which are grown in Malabar. (*b*) A fundamental measure eight grains being equal to the breadth of a finger. *Pāḍu*, Tel. waste, uncultivated fellow; Tam. *Pāḍu*, deficiency on remeasurement. *Nelpāḍu* cf. *Nellipāṭam*, Tam. Rent upon fields of growing rice. (*W.*, pp. 286, 374, 386; *E.R.* for 1916, p. 140).
- Nenapu*, K. A tax (*My.* for 1920, p. 79.).
- Niksha*, Tel. A gold coin said to be equal to the *māḍa*. (*B. & C.* III, p. 1498).
- Niḷ-kidā*, *Naḷ-kidā*, Tam. A good sheep. (*E.I.*, XVIII, p. 139).
- Nirāpa*, *Rāyasa*, or *Uttāra*, S. Tam. K. Revenue order of the central government. (*E.R.* for 1916, pp. 139, 140).

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Nirāṇivarai, Tam. Water tax. (*E.I.* XVIII, p. 139).

Nirvāhaka, S. Manager of the General Secretariat. See under *Sakalādhipatya*. (*Kr.* p. 230).

Nirvilai, Tam. Tax on the sale of water. (*E.R.* for 1916, p. 122).

Nyāya, S. (?) (Tax for the maintenane of justice?). (*E.C.* II, No. 333, p. 141; *W.*, p. 381).

Nyāya-sabheya-saṅkheya-chiluvana-suṅka, K. Miscellaneous tolls for the council and accounts. (*E.C.* V, Hn. 2, p. 2).

Nāḍu, K. Tam. Tel. (a) A territorial division higher than a *Grāma* and lower than *Kōṭṭam*. (b) A (cultivated, planted) country (in opposition to a *kāḍu*); the country. (*Kit.*, p. 855).

Nāḍ-āḍiyara-rūḍhi, K. System of government in a *nāḍu*. (*My. Ins.*, Int., pp. cxi, 99).

Nāḍ-gauḍa. K. (a) The non-official headman of *nāḍu*, who in a private way settles disputes about caste affairs, etc. (b) An official headman of several villages. (*Kit.*, p. 854).

Nāḍu-taḷavarikkai, Tam. Police rate for the *nāḍu*. (*E.R.* for 1911, p. 84).

Nāṭṭu-kāṇikkai, Tam. (?) Tribute due from a *nāḍu*. (*Cf.* *Nāṭṭam*, Tam. *Nāṭṭu-karaṇam*, The chiefship of a district. *Nāṭṭu-karān*, A rustic, a country man. The registrar or accountant of a district; a village accountant. *Nāṭṭu-māṇiyam*, Land held rent free as the perquisite of the headman of a village. (*E.R.* for 1916, p. 140; *W.*, p. 370).

Nāṭṭu-kāṇakkuvurai, Tam. (?) A tax. (*E.I.* XVIII, p. 139.)

Nāṭṭu-viniyōgam, Tam. (?) (Customs duties). (*E.R.* for 1916, p. 140).

Nāṭṭar, Tam. Residents of the district. (*E.R.* for 1916, p. 120).

Nāvigada-Prabhu, K. Lord of the Ships. (*E.C.* VIII, Sb. 467, p. 78).

Nāyaka, S. K. Tam. Tel. Superior officer of the Customs; military commander; e.g. *daṇḍa-nāyaka*, commander of the army; assistant to a revenue officer; often assumed as a title of honour. (*B. & C.* III, p. 1498; *E.C.* VIII, Sa. 123, p. 117): In the Vijayanagara Empire *nāyaka* was also the official designation of a provincial viceroy.

Niṅgal, Tam. (?). A water cess (?). (*E.R.* for 1913, p. 118, 119).

Nir-ārambham, Tam. K. Wet crops; wet lands, lands irrigated artificially for rice cultivation. (*E.C.* IX, Dv. 25, p. 33; *W.*, p. 378, *N.*, p. 8).

Nōṭa, K. (a) Examination of money, assaying, e.g., *paṭige-nōṭa*, *aḍḍagete-nōṭa*, and *dīvanōṭa*. (b) Aim, e.g., *tuphāki-nōṭa*, i.e., the aim taken when firing a gun. (c) *Cf.* *Nōṭṭam* Mal., seeing, looking, conjuring; hence *Nōṭagḍra* an officer who keeps the money accounts of a village; also a money changer; a conjuror, a fortune teller. (*My.* for 1920, p. 79; *W.*, p. 380; *N.*, pp. 63, 88.)

- Oḍḍa-dere*, K. Tax on masons. (*E.C.* IV, Hn. 137, p. 272).
- Okkal-dere*, K. A tax on tenants. *Okkal* also means a resident, a farmer, a subject. (*Kit.*, p. 296) (But Rice seems to have interpreted *okkal-dere* as family tax. *E.C.* VIII, Sb. 299, p. 52).
- Okkalu*, K. tenants. (*My.* for 1916, p. 60).
- Oḷavāru*, K. Inland duties. (*E.C.* VII, Sh. 71, p. 28).
- Oḷugu-nir-paṭṭāṇ*, Tam. (*Oḷugu*, An account kept by the village accountant of the measurement and extent of the fields composing a village. *W.*, p. 383) (?) A tax for maintaining the details and measurements of the village fields. (*E.I.* XVIII, p. 139).
- Oṇkaḍamai*, Tam. (?) (*E.R.* for 1913, pp. 118, 119).
- Osake*, K. A tax. (*My.* for 1916, p. 520. *Osage*, (a) A joyful occasion, a festival. (b) Speech, report, news. (c) A palm leaf on which report is written. *Kit.* p. 317).
- Otti*, (?) Tam. (*E.R.* for 1915, pp. 107-108).
- Ōhaḷa* K. Shares. (*E.C.* V. Ak. 128, p. 171 and *ibid.*, n. 3).
- Ōlai* or *Kēlvi*, Tam. Revenue executive order. (507 of 1916, *E.R.* for 1917, pp. 109-110).
- Paḍavaiṭṭipāḍu*, Tam. (?) Custom duties of a *nāḍu* (Cf. *Pāḍu*, Tam. deficiency in measurement. *Pāḍavai* cf. *Paḍugai*, Tam. Land in the bed or on the banks of a river, especially fit for rice cultivation. *W.*, p. 286; *E.R.* for 1916, p. 140).
- Pala*, K. (?) (Cf. *Palla*, a dry measure of 84,00 *tōlas* in Coorg). (*E.I.* XIX, pp. 35, 40; *N.*, p. 168).
- Palataḷi*, Tam. (?) A tax. (*E.R.* for 1913, p. 122; *E.I.* XVIII, p. 139).
- Pallichchandam*, Tam. Probably means temple lane. Cf. *paḷḷigrama*, a village belonging to a temple. (*S.I.I.*, P. I., p. 91. n. 5; *E.C.* IX Ml. 100, p. 170).
- Pañchāḷa*, K. Tel. The five classes or castes of artificers: goldsmiths, carpenters, black-smiths, braziers, and stone-cutters. (*Kit.* p. 924). (See above, *Pañcha-kōruka*).
- Pañchāṅgadavarū*, K. Calendar-makers. (*E.C.* V, Ak. 123, p. 168).
- Pañchāṅga*, S. K. A calendar or an almanac treating chiefly of five things: solar days, lunar days, asterisms, *yōgas* and *karṇas*. (*Kit.* p. 923).
- Pañchāḍya*, K. Five dues. (*E.C.* XII, S. 41, pp. 96, 278).
- Pañcha-mahāvādyā* S. K. The sound of the *aidu uttama-vādyā*, or the loud sounds of the *pañcha-mahāvādyā*. (*Kit.*, p. 922.) For *pañcha-mahāvādyā*, see below.
- Pañcha-mahāpātaka*, S. K. The five heinous sins; killing a Brahman, drinking intoxicant liquors, stealing gold, committing adultery with the wife of a guru (or incest with mother), and associating with any one guilty of these crimes. (*Ap.*, p. 750).

Pañcha-mahāvādya, K. Five great musical instruments: a horn, a tabor, a conch-shell, a kettle-drum, and a gong. (*Kit.*, p. 922).

Pañjupili, Tam. (?) A money payment. (Cf. *Pañju*, Tam. A share, a portion in a coparcenary village: the share of an individual Mirasdar; any definite or proportionate share. *Pili*, Tam. The fermented sap of the palm, a kind of tari (?) (507 of 1916; *E.R.* for 1917, p. 110; *W.*, pp. 386, 418).

Pannu, Tel. Tax, tribute, customs. (*B. & C.* III, p. 1498).

Pāṇḍu, K. See under *kattige*. A square land measure of 20 *kattige* (Belgaum). (*N.*, p. 168).

Paṇḍāri-vāḍai, Tam. Crown lands (?). (*E.R.* for 1915, pp. 107-8).

Parivāḍi, Tam. (?) (*E.C.* X, Ct. 43, p. 251).

Parru, Tam. Villages. (422 of 1912).

Parsanga, About 3½ miles.

Parva, S. A sacred period, e.g., full moon day, the 8th, the 11th, and 14th day of the lunar half month, the solstice, equinox, etc. (*Ap.* p. 605; *B. & C.*, III, p. 1498).

Paṣanam, Tam. ? (*E.R.* for 1913, pp. 118-119).

Paṭani-kāṇikkai, or *Padai-kāṇikkai* Tam. A tax for the maintenance of the army. (*E.I.* XVII, p. 112).

Paṭṭal, Mar. K. H. The head managing officer of a village. (*Kit.*, p. 926).

Paṭṭadai-agamai, Tam. (?) (Cf. *Paṭṭadai*, Tam. A corn rick; a portion of the crop given as a compensation to the ploughman; a workshop. *Agamai*, Tam. The earth, grain. (221 of 1910; *W.*, pp. 9, 409).

Paṭṭadai-nūlāyam, Tam. (?) A tax. (352 of 1912; *E.R.* for 1913, p. 122).

Paṭṭaṇa, S. A territorial division higher than *Maḍamba* and lower than *Drōṇḍamukha*.

Paṭṭaṇa-svāmi, S. K. Lord Mayor of the Town.

Paṭṭe, *Paṭṭa*, K. A document given by the collector of a district to the landlord specifying the extent and description of the land, the conditions of the tenancy, the rate and the amount of assessment he is to pay. (b) Roll of assessment. (*My.* for 1916, p. 60; *N.*, p. 150).

Paṭṭeya-Nāyaka, K. An official whose designation is unknown. (*E.C.* VI, Cm. 80, p. 45).

Paṭṭi, Tam. A measure of land sufficient for a sheep fold. (*S.I.I.*, I, p. 91, n. 6).

Paṭṭi, See under *Paṭṭu*. (*B. & C.*, III, p. 1498).

Paṭṭirai, Tam. A tax. (Cf. *Paṭṭarai*, Tam. land irrigated from wells. *W.*, p. 411; *E.R.* for 1913, p. 120. Cf. *Paṭṭadai*, Tam. A corn rick, a portion of the crop given as a compensation to the ploughman; a work-shop. *W.*, p. 409; *E.R.* for 1916, p. 140).

- Pattu*, Tel. A land measure. (*B. & C.*, III, p. 1498).
- Pergaḍe*, K. A lower customs officer. (*E.C.* XI, JI. 9, p. 85).
- Perjunka*, K. Big customs. (*E.C.* XI, JI. 9, p. 86).
- Pēṭeya-śāsana*, K. A grant conferring the right to collect taxes on shops in a street on the condition that the grantee paid a certain fixed sum for the services of a specified temple. (*My. for 1926*, p. 47).
- Pon*, K. Tam. Metal, gold, a gold coin of variable value. Under the East India Company it was the star pagoda worth about Rs. 3½. It is probably the same as the *hūn*. (*Kit.*, p. 1021; *B. & C.*, III, p. 1498; *W.*, p. 420).
- Ponvari*, Tam. (?) Tax on coins. (*507 of 1916*; *E.R.* for 1917, p. 111).
- Porpāḍu*, Tam. (?) Nāḍ customs duties. (*Cf. Porpāḍ, porpāḍ, Porpāud* Mal. Net or surplus rent: balance of rent after deducting interest of advances and the government revenue. *W.* p. 421; *E.R.* for 1916, p. 140).
- Pradhāna*, S. K. Minister. (*34 of 1919*).
- Pradhāni-jōḍi*, S. K. Prime-minister's quit-rent. (*S.I.I.* II. P. II, p. 119).
- Prakritis*, S. Executive officers of the king's council. (*Śuk.* II. p. 69).
- Prithvi-śeṭṭi*, S. Mayor of the Earth.
- Prōkshane*, S. Consecration by sprinkling. Purification ceremony performed in temples. (*E.C.* VIII Sb. 323, p. 55; *Ap.* p. 686).
- Puduvāri*, Tam. (?) *Cf. Pulvāri*, Tam. A tax on grass-land or pasturage. (*E.R.* for 1916, p. 140; *W.*, p. 427). *Puduvāri* seems to have been enforced by the palace. (*352 of 1912*; *E.R.* for 1913, p. 122).
- Pulavāri*, Tam. A tax. *Cf. Palavāri*, one of the Nāḍ duties (?) (*E.I.* XVIII, p. 189; *E.R.* for 1913, pp. 118-119; *352 of 1912*).
- Pullāri*, Tam. (?) The same as *Pulvāri* given above). A tax on pasture. (*B. & C.* III, p. 1499).
- Pulugupāḍu*, Tam. One of the nāḍ-duties (?). (*E.R.* for 1916, p. 140).
- Punpayir*, Tam. Dry lands. (*E.R.* for 1915, pp. 107-108).
- Punṣey, Puñjey*, Tam. Dry land, tax on dry land. (*E.I.*, XVII, p. 112; *E.*, p. 47).
- Purōhita*, S. K. Tel. Tam. Family priest. (*Ap.* p. 625; *Rang.* I, p. 105).
- Puṭṭi*, Tel. A measure of 20 *tums*, or roughly a ton. As a land measure, according to some, it equals 8 acres being presumably the area which can be sown with a *puṭṭi* of grain. (*B & C.* III. p. 1499)
- Puṭṭi*, K. A smaller or larger basket made of cane, bamboo, palmyra leaves, etc. (*Kit.*, p. 991).
- Pādāvan*, Tam. (?) (*E.R.* for 1913, p. 120).
- Paḍi*, Tam. (a) A territorial division of the Tamil land, which sometimes appears between a Nāḍu and Kōḍḍam. (b) *Paḍi* K. (i) Incurring; manner; a stirrup; (ii) A measure of capacity, equal to half a

seer; (iii) the leaf or panel of a door; (iv) an (extra) allowance in food (grain, salt, vegetables and all that is required to prepare a meal, also the fire-wood), sometimes also in money, to servants, friends, or poor people. (*Kit.*, p. 1929).

Pāḍagavari, Tam. Unidentified nāḍ-customs duties. (*E.R.* for 1916, p. 140).

Pāga, Tadbhava of S. *Hāga*. The fourth part of a *paṇa*: 1 āṇe 2 kāsu. (*Kit.*, p. 966).

Pālsavai, Tam. (?) (*E.R.* for 1918, pp. 107-108).

Pārūpatyagāra, *Pārūpatyagāḍu*, S. K. Tel. Manager, superintendent, customs officer, *nāyaka*. (*E.C.* VIII, Sa. 123, p. 117; W. p. 404); *Dharmada-pārūpatya* K. Righteous regime. (*E.C.* XI, Mk. 1, text p. 243).

Pēr-kaḍamai, Tam. Tax on persons, poll-tax. (*E.I.* XVII, p. 112; 352 of 1912).

Prāku-pramāṇa, K. Land bestowed according to the former measurement. (*E.C.* III. Nj. 195, p. 115).

Pāṣan, Tam. (?) (*E.R.* for 1916, p. 123).

Pāṣivilai, Tam. Tax on fisheries. (*E.R.* for 1917, p. 131).

Pūrvada-maryāde, K. Ancient constitutional usage.

Rakta Koḍagi, K. Lands given to the family of a man wounded or killed in battle. (*N.* p. 91).

Rēkhā, *Rēkke*, *Rēke*, S. K. (a) "The fixed assessment of land in Kanara under Raja Hurryhur Roy of Vijayanagar; otherwise called *rāya-rēkhā* or *rēkhi-mār*" (*N.* p. 155). This is evidently wrong. For *E.* gives it as a complete register of assessment. (*App.* xviii). (b) A line, regular arrangement, etc. (*Ap.* p. 806; *Kū.*, pp. 1345-46).

Rāja-guru, S. Royal Counsellor. (*Ap.* p. 799).

Rājarājapperuvilai, Tam. Public auction under Tamil kings.

Rājyam, S. Kingdom, country, empire; rule, administration of a kingdom. (*Ap.* p. 799).

Rāyagāram-iraimuraimai, Tam. Government taxes. (*E. R.* for 1915, pp. 107-108).

Rāyasa, K. Tel. Tam. M. Office of the Secretary. (*E.I.*, III. p. 151). Clerkship. (*Kit.* p. 1340). *Rāyasa* is also used in the sense of revenue order issued through a *rāyasa*.

Rāyasa-varittanai, Tam. (? Tax in connection of the tours of a *Rāyasa*, or to maintain the office of a *Rāyasa*). (*E.I.*, XVIII. p. 139).

Rāya-śrēṣṭhi, S. Royal merchant.

Rāyasa-svāmi, S. Chief Secretary.

Rāya-sātradhāri, S. Royal Draughtsman (*E. C. V*, P. I, Ak. 123, p. 168).

- Rūka*, Tel. A gold or silver coin of variable value. (*B. & C.* III, p. 1499).
- Sabhāpati*, S. Lord of the Council. (*E.C.* VI., Mg. 25, p. 63).
- Sakalādhipati*, S. The General Secretary. (*Kr.* p. 320). *Sakalādhipatya*. The General Secretariat.
- Salage*, K. A land measure of unknown length. ("5,300, *salage* of rice produced at the time when the paddy fields are under cultivation." *E.C.* III., TN. 100, p. 87). Cf. *Koḷaga* and *khaṇḍuga*. K. (*E. C.* II, No. 400, p. 170). [*Salege*=Tad. of Śalākā, Śalāke, a javelin, any long, thin pointed body, etc. *Ap.* p. 911; *Kit.* p. 1449].
- Sallage*, K. A measure of capacity of a *kuḍuva* (*kuḍuba*) or *baḷla*. (*E. I.* XIX, pp. 35-40).
- Samasta-kuḷavāri*, K. All the land revenue. (*E. C.* IV, Gu. 67, p. 47). See under *kuḷavāra*.
- Samasta-terige*, K. All the land burdens. (*E.C.* IV. Gu. 67, p. 47).
- Samasta-bali-sahitav* (āgi), K. With all rights and taxes. (*E.C.* IV, Gu. 47, p. 44).
- Samsthān*, *Riyāsat*, *Sirkār*, S. Per. The Government. (*My. Gaz.* I, p. 579, [Rev. ed.]).
- Samaya*, S. K. An agreement, compact, convention, conventional usage, established rules of conduct, etc. (*Ap.* p. 961; *Kit.* p. 1508).
- Samaya Patra*, S. K. (a) A compact, agreement, engagement. (b) Document relating to the sale of land and other allied transactions. (*E.C.* XII., Tp. 2, p. 42; text, p. 118; *W.*, p. 458; *Kit.*, p. 1508)
- Samaya-terige*, S. K. A tax on caste. (*E.C.* III., Ml. 66, p. 197). But it seems to be more a tax for infringing caste usage or convention.
- Samayāchāram*, K. Tax on the headman of each caste. (*My. Gaz.* I. p. 479) But it may as well mean tax to maintain superintendence of a congregation or caste; or to uphold conventional practice or usage. (*Kit.* p. 1508).
- Sambādam*, Tam. (?) (*E.R.* for 1913, p. 120).
- Sammukhada-nirūpa*, K. Personal order. (*E.C.* XI. Mk. 32, p. 95).
- Sammādam*, Tam. A tax. (221 of 1910).
- Saṅgaḍi*, K. Customs duties of an unknown nature. Perhaps double of a *siddige*. (*E.I.* XIX, pp. 35-40).
- Sandai*, Tam. A market, an annual fair. (*E.R.* for 1913, p. 122; *W.*, p. 461).
- Sandhāta*, (?) Cf. K. *Sandāyita*. Land not let out but managed by the proprietor or officer of Government direct. The same word seems to be used to denote the manager of such land. (*B. & C.* III, p. 1499) (*Sandāyita*, K. however, means delivering over of what is due, payment. *Kit.* p. 1500).
- Sandhi-vigralappēru*, S. Tam. Money payment for war and peace (?) (507 of 1916).

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- Sankrānti*, S. The point of time at which the sun enters a fresh zodiacal sign. There are 12 such Sankrāntis and four correspond with the equinox and solstices (*Ap.* p. 947; *B. & C.* III, p. 1498).
- Sarva-mānyada-agrahāra*, K. Rent-free *agrahāra*. (*E. C.* IV, Gu. 67, p. 47).
- Sarvādhikāri*, or *Aṭhavaṇeya Pārūpatyagāra*, K. Chief Director of the Revenue Department. (*My. Gaz.* I. p. 475, [1st ed.]).
- Sarva-ādāyavannu*, K. All revenue, all profit, receipts. (*E. C.* IV, Gu. 1, p. 35).
- Sarvamānya*, S. K. Tam. Land granted in free tenure, or exempted entirely from payment of revenue or sent to the grantor, whether the individual proprietor or the Government; land held free of all demands, such as *sāyar*, *mohatarphā*, etc. (Mysore). (*W.* pp. 469-470; *N.* p. 92; 180 of 1913; *My. for 1916*, p. 60; *E.I.* I., p. 402).
- Sarvivāram*, Tam. Equal share of the produce to be paid to the owner. (197 of 1910).
- Sekkāyam*, Tam. *Sekku*, oil-press. Cf. *Sekkumuttai*, Tam. A contribution levied by the village proprietors from each oil-press, and either distributed among them according to their respective shares, or credited to the fund for village expenses. (244 of 1912; *W.*, p. 473).
- Sakku-kaḍamai*, Tam. See above. Tax on oil-mills. (*E.I.*, XVIII, p. 139).
- Sekkirai*, Tam. A money payment. (*E.R.* for 1917, p. 110).
- Sekkōṭṭu*, Tam. (?) (352 of 1912; *E.R.* for 1913, p. 122).
- Servvai*, Tam. (?) (*E.R.* for 1915, pp. 107-108).
- Seṭṭi-guttas*, K. *Guttas* held by the *Seṭṭis*. These may have belonged to the *Vira-Baṇajigas*. (*E.C.* VII. Sk. 118, p. 87).
- Seṭṭiyar-magamai*, Tam. Voluntary fee paid by the *Seṭṭis*. (*E. R.* for 1911, p. 84).
- Siddige*, K. ? (Cf. *Siddhi K.* Payment, liquidation of a debt, acquittance. *Kit.*, p. 1557).
- Siddhāya*, K. "The fixed assessment recorded in *Rāya-rēkhā*". (*N.* p. 159; *W.*, p. 482). But in the treatise it has been taken as fixed rent. (*E.C.* VIII. TL 15, p. 166).
- Sidi*, K. Tel. A beam of wood traversing an upright post upon a pivot, to the ends of which persons are fastened to be whirled round; the suspension or swinging of a person. Cf. the *Charak* of Bengal. *Sidi-habba* K. The swinging festival. (*Kit.*, p. 1554). *Sidi-kambha* K. The upright post mentioned above. *Sidi-yāṣa* K. The ceremony of swinging. (*W.*, p. 482). *Sidi-mara*, K. The lever to which the man is secured during the *Sidi* ceremony. (*Kit.*, p. 1554).

- Siddhāyav-ulidu baṇḍa nimitta*, K. Rent in arrears. (*E. C.* VI, Sg. 21, p. 98).
- Silā sāsana*, S. K. A stone grant.
- Silpa*, S.K. Mar. H. (*Silpakārah*, *Silpakārahah*.) An artisan, a mechanic; (especially one who works in stone). (*Ap.* p. 918; *Kit.* p. 1457).
- Simhāsana*, S.K. (a). A Throne. (b) A territorial division. (*Ap.*, p. 985).
- Sistu*, S.K. Mar. H. (a) Land revenue. (*E.C.* XI, J1. 47, p. 89). (b) Estate (*E. App.* XVIII. 1824 ed.). (c) Original assessment, *Shāmil* being subsequent assessment. (*Coll.* p. 175). (d) *Sistu*, *sistu*, commonly called *Sist sist*, (S. *Sisṭha*, left, remainder). Land-tax, assessment, especially revenue assessed in money. In *Karnāṭaka* it designates the standard assessment without additions, which was fixed originally by the Bidnur government; or that which under the Harihar administration (*i.e.*, under Vijayanagara), applied to revenue in kind as well in money. But the word always denoted the fixed or standard rate of the land, exclusive of other imposts. (*W.*, p. 486). (e) A register of lands compiled in the time of the Coorg rajas and containing the class of the soil of each field, its area, and a list of *bāṇe* (grass) lands attached to it. (*N.*, pp. 152, 158). (f) A roll of the householders (of a village, etc.) from whom the revenue is to be gathered in, or upon whom an assessment is to be laid. (*Kit.*, p. 1459).
- Sima*, S.K. Boundary, limit, margin. (*Ap.*, p. 988). (b) Great territorial division or province. Cf. *Mulk*, Per. (*My. Gas.* I, p. 579) [Rev. ed.].
- Solage*, K. A measure of capacity, equal to $\frac{1}{4}$ th of a *Kudura* or of a *balla* (*Kit.* p. 1597). Hence *Solage*=*Sallage*. But according to *W.* it is $\frac{1}{8}$ th part of the measure of capacity called *tam*. *W.*, p. 487, q. v,
- Solli*, *Solige*, *Solage*, K. A dry measure of 9 *tōlas* in *Kumtā* and *Honnāvūr* (North Kanra), of 640 *tōlas* in *Belgaum*, and of 8½ *tōlas* in *Mysore*. (*N.*, p. 172).
- Sthaja*, S.K.A. Spot, site, or place. (b) A portion of land comprising several fields. (*N.*, p. 158; *E.R.* for 1918, p. 170).
- Sthaja-ādāyam*, S.K. Customs on goods imported to be sold at one place. (*My. Gas.* I, p. 583, [Rev. ed.]; *N.*, p. 139).
- Sthaja-lēkhaka*, S. Accountant of the locality. (*My. for 1920*, p. 37).
- Sthaja-karaṇam*, S.K. Cf. the above. The accountant for the tract known as a *sthaja*. (*B. & C.* III, p. 1499).
- Sthaja-sunka*, K. Local dues. (*E.C.* V, Cn. 259, p. 234).
- Sthānika*, S. Temple manager. (*E.R.* for 1916, p. 140).
- Sthāvira-sunka*, K. Fixed customs. (*E.C.* III. ML 95, p. 60).

- Śrōṭriyam*, S.K. Tel. Tam. Lands or a village held at a favourable rate, properly an assignment of land or revenue to a Brahman (*Srōṭriya*) learned in the Vedas, but latterly applied generally to similar assignments to servants of the government, civil or military, and both Hindu and Muhammadan, as a reward for past services. A *śrōṭriyam grāma* gives no right over the lands, and the grantee cannot interfere with the occupants so long as they pay the established rents. (*W.*, pp. 489-490).
- Śrōṭriyada guttige*, K. Annual rental. (*My. for 1914-15*, p. 50; *E.C. IV*, Hg. 35, 36, p. 71).
- Śrōṭriyada Guttigegeya kallu paṭṭe*, K. Stone roll of the rental. Cf. *Sotta guttigeya kallu paṭṭe*, K. (*My. for 1920*, p. 42; *My. for 1918*, p. 53).
- Suṅkam*, K. Customs duties. Cf. *Sulka*. S. (*E.C. IV*, Gu. 1, p. 35). (*B. & C.* interpret *suṅkam* either as toll or as tax, III, p. 1499). *Suṅkada-adhikāri*, K. (Chief) Customs Officer (*E.C. IX*, Bn. 96, p. 19, text, p. 35). *Suṅkadava*, K. A customs house officer. (*Kit.*, p. 1565). *Suṅka-kamat-talāri-kattam*, Tel. (?) (*B. & C.* interpret it as watcher's dues. II, pp. 1121-1122). *Suṅka-verggaḍe*, K. The chief of the customs. (*E.C. VII*, Hl. 46, p. 168) Cf. *Suṅkada-adhikāri*, *Verggaḍe* or *Pērggaḍe*, *Heggade*, *Peggade*. (a) The headman of a town or village but especially applied to one of the Jaina religion. (*W.*, p. 206). (b) An epithet of the blanket weavers and shepherds of the kuruba caste. (*Kit.*, p. 1675).
- Surandu*, K. A tax. (?) (*My. for 1916*, p. 52).
- Suvarṇādaya*, S.K. (a) Land rent in money. (*E.I. I.*, p. 402). (b) Duty on gold, e.g., *modalāda sakala suṅka suvarṇādaya*, *beṭṭa niru kere kaṭṭe*, etc. (*E.C. III*, Ml. 95, p. 60).
- Svāmya*, Cf. *svāmi*, or *svami-bhōgam*, S. Tam. (a) All rights. (*E.I.*, I, p. 402). (b) The proprietor's or landlord's right. In the Tamil country it means the share of the produce or rent which is paid to the *Mirāsdar* or hereditary proprietor by the tenant cultivator holding the land in farm for a fixed period. In Malabar and Kārnātaka it is the fee or acknowledgment paid by the mortgagee or tenant, often no more than a pepper corn rent, to the *Janmkār* or birth right proprietor. It also signifies any grant or contribution for an image. (*W.*, p. 496). (c) Mastership, lordship, ownership, right or title to property; rule, supremacy, dominion. (*Ap.*, p. 1020; *Kit.*, p. 1617).
- Sāda-dere*, K. Tax on shepherds. (*E.C. IV.*, Hn. 137, p. 272). *Sādakuruba* K. A class of shepherds. (*Kit.*, p. 1539).
- Sādhana-patra*, or *dhārma sādhanā patra*, S.K. An agreement between Brahmins or temple priests (*Sthānikas*) and other individuals relating to agricultural improvements. (*E.C. III*, Sr. 139, p. 33).

- Sāmbaḷiya-vāle*, K. Cultivation roll. (*E.C. X*, Mb. 173, p. 117).
- Sān*, A measure, it is said, of nine inches. (*B. & C. III*, p. 1499).
- Śāsanāchārya*, S.K. Official who was in charge of inscriptions.
- Sāṭṭu-kaḍamai*, Tam. (?) (*E.R. for 1913*, p. 122).
- Sāvanti*, S.K. A tax. (?) (*E.C. VII*, Hl. 71, p. 173).
- Shāmil*, Per. Assessment of Hyder and Tipu over and above the *śist*. (*N.*, p. 152).
- Sēse*, K. (?) A tax. (*My. for 1916*, p. 52).
- Sōḍige*, Cf. Mar. *Sōḍ*, Hind. *Chhōṛnā*, Remission; remission of a debt, abatement of a charge, or demand (*E.C. V*, Hn. 2, p. 2; *W.* 487).
- Sōḍi*, Cf. *Jōḍi*, Remission, abatement of a charge or demand. (*N.*, p. 159).
- Sōma-śulavari*, K. A tax (from which temples were exempted). (*E. R. for 1907*, p. 21).
- Śrīmukha*, S. Cf. *Tirumugam*, Tam. (a) King's order. (620 of 1909; 98 of 1910. (b) First of the triple series of royal revenue documents. (507 of 1916; *E. R. for 1917*, pp. 109-110).
- Śrīpāda*, S. Tam. The royal foot; the length of the measuring rod used in the Tamil country. (*E. R. for 1900*, p. 10).
- Sūtra*, *Sūtram*, S. (a) The sacred thread or sacrificial cord worn by members of the first three classes. (b) A short rule or precept, an aphorism. (c) A rule, canon, decree (in law). (*Ap.*, p. 996).
- Taḷaiyyārikkam*, Tam. Tax on the main village or town watch (?). Cf. *Taḷai*, Tam. The head. *Taḷai-kaṭṭu-vāri* Tam. A tax on houses. *Taḷai-kāval*, Tam. The main or principal guard, the village watch. (352 of 1912; *E. R. for 1913*, p. 122; *W.*, p. 505).
- Talavāra-āya*, K. Tax on swords. (*E. C. VII*, Sk. 241, p. 138).
- Talavārike*, K. Tam. Cf. above. Village watchman paid for his services by a grant of land at quit-rent. (*E.C.V*, Hn. 2, p. 2; *W.*, p. 506).
- Talavārike-jōḍi*, Village watchman's quit-rent. (*S. I. I.*, II, P. II, p. 119).
- Tantirimār*, Tam. See *Nāṭṭar*, Tam. Residents of the district. (*E. R. for 1916*, p. 120).
- Tappu*, K. Tam. Groves. (*E.*, p. 47).
- Tammaḍi*, Tam. Resident priest. (*E. C. III*, Nj. 117, p. 106).
- Tanniyur*, Tam. Rent free villages in the Tamil land. (386 of 1905).
- Tanirai*, Tam. A money payment. (507 of 1916; *E. R. for 1917*, p. 110).
- Tappu*, K. An impost; forfeiture for an error committed or for misdemeanour. (*My. for 1920*, p. 34; *Kit.*, p. 691 and q. v.).
- Tari-kaḍamai*, Tam. Tax on looms. (*E. I. XVII*, p. 112; *E. R. for 1917*, p. 131).
- Tattōlippāṭṭam*, Tam. A money payment. (*E. R. for 1917*, p. 110).
- Tavudū*, Tel. Half a *muṣṭa* or 140 *tōlas*. (*B. & C.*, III, p. 1499).

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- Tauḍe*, K. A tax of an unknown nature. (*My. for* 1916, p. 52).
- Tavūḍi*, K. An impost. (*My. for* 1920, p. 34). (*Tauḍi* Cf. *Tauḍe*, *Tavāḍu*, K. Bran. [*Kit.*, p. 701]).
- Teppa*, K. A Raft used on South Indian rivers. (*My. In.*, p. 26; *Kit.*, p. 742).
- Terige*, and *horage*, K. Taxes and burdens. (*E. C. IV*, Gu. 67, p. 47). *Terige*, assessment, cess, e.g., *Bhū-terige*, land cess; *Mane-terige*, house tax; and *Grāma-terige*, village tax. (*N.*, p. 148).
- Thāṇas*, Tad. of *Sthāna*. S. Customs stations; police-station; an encampment. (*Kit.*, p. 669).
- Tirumaḍaivilāgam*, Tam. Temple precincts. (294 of 1910).
- Tiruvahichchittu*, Tam. Revenue memoranda. It was sent by the Vijayanagara viceroy to the *Sthānikas* of a village. (*E. R.* for 1916, p. 140).
- Tiruvai*, (?) Tam. Field. (*E.*, App. XVIII).
- Tirvaiikkāyam*, *Tirigaiḍyam* Tam. Dues or taxes of an unknown nature. (*E. R.* for 1917, p. 131; *E. I. XVII*, p. 112).
- Tirigaikaḍamai*, Tam. (?) (*E. R.* for 1917, p. 131).
- Tiruvīḍaiyyāṭṭam*, Tam. (?) (*E. C. X*, Ml. 100, p. 176).
- Tithi*, S. A lunar day; the number 15; one-thirteenth of the time taken by the moon to move through a symbolical revolution. (*Ap.*, p. 477; *B. & C.*, III, p. 1499).
- Toḍar*, K. Tam. Chain, badge of honour; fetter. (*Kit.*, p. 750; *W.*, p. 529).
- Tōsekḥāna-adhikāri*, K. Officer of the Treasury. (*E. C. IX*, Dg. 28, p. 38).
- Tōttu-dere*, K. A tax on prostitutes. (*E. C. IV.*, Hn. 137, p. 97. text, p. 272).
- Tōla*, Hind. S. A certain weight, especially of silver, containing a varying number of *māshas* but usually regarded as equivalent to the weight of the *sikkā* rupee, or 179·666 troy grains. By *Beng. Reg. vii*, 1833, the weight of the *tōla*, taken as the unit of the new system of weights, was fixed at 180 troy grains: the scale is 4 *dhāns*=1 *rati*; 8 *ratis*=1 *māsha*; 12 *māshas*=1 *tōla*; 5 *tōlas*=1 *chitānk*; 16 *chitānks*=1 *seer*; 40 *seers*=1 *man* or *maund*, which is thus exactly equal to 100 troy pounds. (*My. Ins.*, p. 269; *W.*, p. 524).
- Tōṭi*, Tel. K. An inferior village servant, *Vēṭṭi* or scavenger. (*B. & C.*, III, p. 1499).
- Tām*, Tel. (a) A sluice, a flood-gate, a drain, a water-course. (b) A measure of capacity, a *tūm* or *toom* varying in value, but always $\frac{1}{16}$ th of a *khaṇḍi*. (*W.*, p. 527). (c) A *tām* roughly represents

a hundredweight, it is 4,480 *tōlas*. As a land measure, the *tūm* is taken by some to be $\frac{1}{8}$ ths of an acre. But this seems improbable if the *puṭṭi* is only 8 acres. (*B. & C.*, III., p. 1499).

Taṇḍal, Tam. Tax on collecting rents. Cf. *Taṇḍil-akki*. (*S. I. I.*, P. II, p. 115; III, P. I, p. 117). Cf. *Taṇḍel*, Mar. K. a captain of a native craft, a *tindal*. (*N.*, p. 134; *Kit.*, p. 685).

Ubbe-gutte, K. Washerman's tax. (*My. Gaz.* I, p. 479). Ubbe, steaming dirty linen in lye water (*N.*, p. 61).

Ubhaya-mārga, K. Tolls collected on either side. (*E. R.* for 1911, p. 84).

Ubhaya-pradhāna, K. "Both-minister." (*Ubhaya*=both). (233 of 1901; *Kit.*, p. 239).

Uduvulu-dere, K. (?). (*E. C. IV.*, Hn. 137, p. 97, text, p. 272).

Uḍugurai, Tam. Presents. (352 of 1921).

Uḍai-vāram, *Uḍa-vāram*, Tam. The whole produce of all the cultivated lands of a village subject to a partition between the cultivator and landlord, or the state. (*W.*, p. 541; *E.*, p. 43, n. 25).

Umbaḷi, *Umbaḷike*, *Ummaḷi*, *Ummaḷike*, etc. K. Tam. (a) Lands held by village servants on condition of services subject generally to the payment of the *jōḍi*. (b) Rent-free land given for eminent services. (*W.*, p. 532; *N.*, p. 91) Cf. *Jāgir*, (*My. Gaz.* I, p. 579), and *Uttār*, below.

Upādhi, S. Fraud, injustice, lawful deceit, as recovery of a debt by some deception or device. (*E. R.* for 1917, p. 131; *W.*, p. 533; *Ap.*, p. 298).

Uppina-kāvali, K. Fees on salt-pans. (*E. C. IV.*, Gu. 67, p. 47). *Uppina-kuṇi* K. A salt-pan. *Uppina-rēvulu*, Tel. The bank of a back-water communicating with the sea, from which salt-pans are supplied. (*W.*, p. 534).

Uppina-molla, K. Tax paid by salt-makers. (*My. Gaz.* I, p. 479).

Ulagalavu, Tam. The revenue survey conducted in the 7th year of the reign of Rāja Kēsari-varman *alias* Chakravarti Vikrama Chōḷa Dēva. (455 of 1905).

Uḷavukkōṇiyakshi, *Uḷamkōṇi*, Tam. The right of cultivation or Permanent Lease, generally granted by the temple-treasurer. (352, 353, 367, 369 of 1912).

Uḷavari, Cf. *Uḷvari*, K. A cadjan-leaf or any other paper given by a landlord to the tenant, or by a master to his servant or workmen, for the purpose of entering the payments and receipts respectively. (*N.*, p. 1). (b) *Uḷavari*, Tam. The third of the triple series of revenue documents. (*E. R.* for 1917, pp. 109-110).

Uḷupe, K. Tel. Tam. from the A. Alf, Alīfa,=Subsistence. (a) Supplies given by the villagers to great officials on tour. (b) Supplies sent

by the bride's party to the bridegroom's party (South Kanara). (N. p. 118; W., 532; E. C. IX, Ht. 4, 88, text, p. 195).

Ūḷigam, *Ūḷiga*, K. (a) Service, work. Cf. *Ūḷigadavaru*, servants, police peons. (b) Items of different accounts indiscriminately put down, and not entered under their proper heads in a journal. (c) A day-book or journal in South Kanara. (E. I., XVIII, p. 139; W., 531; N., p. 1).

Uḷuvukkāṇi, See above *Uḷavukkāṇiyākshi*. (658 of 1919).

Uḷudṇṇkuḍi, Tam. (?) Amoney payment of an unknown nature. (507 of 1916; E. R. for 1917, p. 110).

Uḷḷayam, Tam. (?) A tax (Cf. *Uḷḷiya*, Tam. Rent-free lands granted for services, especially as militia or police. (E. I. XVIII., p. 139; W., p. 532).

Ūr-oḍeyars, K. The noblemen of the country or district. Cf. *Manneyar* above. (My. Ins., p. 22).

Uṭpatti, S. Produce. (E. I., I., p. 402).

Uṭṭār, K. S. (*Uddhāra*) See under *Uṃbaḷi*. (E. C. IX., Mg. 49, p. 58). Deduction, remission; land given by the Government to an individual as reward for services, at quit-rent or rent-free; land given to a temple. (W., p. 537; E. C. IX, Mg. 49, p. 58).

Uṭṭaipāṭṭam, Tam. (?) A tax on springs). (E.R. for 1917, p. 131).

Ur-guṭṭige, K. Assessment of a village. (My. for 1916, p. 52, W., p. 535).

Vaḍḍa, or *Voḍḍa*, Appertaining to the *Woḍḍar* or tank-digger caste. (B. & C., III., p. 1500).

Vaḍḍa Rāvula, K. (?) Imposts). (My. Ins., p. 79, n. 125).

Vajra-bhaṇḍāra, S. Diamond-treasury. (387 of 1920).

Vāmana mudreya kallu, K. Boundary stones with sign of the Dwarf (Vāmana.) (E. C. IX., Gu. 67, p. 47).

Vanita, K. Cf. *Valita*. A territorial division. (B. & C., III., p. 1500).

Vaṇṇiyava-vari, Tam. (?) (Cf. *Vaṇṇāṇ*, Tam. Washerman. Hence tax on washermen?) (E. R. for 1913, p. 120; W., p. 541).

Varāha. S. K. Tel. Tam. A gold coin so named from its originally bearing the figure of a boar (*Varāha*) or of Vishṇu in the boar *avatāra*. The *varāha* was especially the signet of the Vijayanagara kings. It was subsequently more usually termed by the Muhammadans *Hun*, or by the Europeans *Pagoda*, the latter from its having on one face a Hindu temple. (W., p. 542). It is denoted by the symbol *ga*. *Varāha-tūka*, a gold weight of 9 *fanams* or 1.92 drachms (Av.) in South Kanara and $\frac{4}{16}$ ths *tolā* in North Kanara. (N., p. 171). A *Varāha* is generally worth Rs. 3½ but some times Rs. 3 and sometimes Rs. 4. (B. & C., III, p. 1500).

- Varga*, S. K. Tam. Kind, class, division, group. (*S. I. I.*, II., p. 117; *Ap.*, p. 832).
- Vari*, K. Tax, assessment, levy, contribution. (*N.* p. 157; *Kit.*, p. 1378).
- Variyilār*, or *Puravariyār*, Tam. Revenue Officers. (*E. R.* for 1917, pp. 109-110).
- Vartane*, K. (a) Fees or perquisites, generally to the public servants of a village, e.g., *Śānabhāga-vartane*, a percentage of $\frac{1}{2}$ *fanam* per pagoda paid to the *Śānabhāgas*. (*N.*, p. 157). (b) Tax paid by the *Vartakas* (?). (*E. C.* IX, Ht. 4, p. 195). *Vartane* Cf. *Vartani*, S. Road cess. (*Arth*, Bk. II, Ch. VI, 60, p. 63).
- Vaṭṭa*, *Vaṭṭamu*, K. Tel. Tam. The rate of exchange between currencies of different values, either premium or discount. Cf. the *Baṭṭa* of Northern India. (*My.* for 1916, p. 96; *W.*, p. 544).
- Vaṭṭu-guttige*, K. Combined dues. (*E. C.* VIII, Tl. 15, p. 166). [Consolidated rental?]
- Veruttumāḍu*, Tam. (? Cf. *Eruttumāḍu*, a bullock). (*E. R.* for 1913, p. 122).
- Vēṭana*, *Vēṭan*, S. K. Mar. Wages, hire. In Mar. especially applied to the stipends of public officers. (b) Excess of rate of assessment upon one portion of an estate in consideration of another being under-assessed. (*Bom. Reg.* XVII, 1827; *W.*, p. 546).
- Vettane*, K. Tolls. (*E. C.* IV, Gu. 1., p. 35).
- Veṭṭi*, Tel. Tam. Cf. *Tōṭi*, above. The lowest village servant paid usually by a grant of land in grain, or, nowadays, in money. A *Veṭṭi* discharges the lowest offices, sweeping the *chalettri*, keeping the threshing floor clean, measuring the grain, and, according to some authorities, employed to burn the dead bodies. He is also the messenger of the Paṭēl, and acts as a guide to public officer and travellers. The word *Veṭṭi* is derived from *veṭṭi*, which is from *Veṭṭa-kiradu*, to cut or dig, as a way or road. (*E. R.* for 1913, p. 120; *W.*, p. 540; *B. & C.* III., p. 1500).
- Veṭṭi-vari*, Tam. Tax to maintain the *Veṭṭi*. (*E.R.* for 1913, p. 122; 352 of 1912).
- Vetṭippāṭṭam*, Tam. Perhaps the same as above. It is included among money payments. (507 of 1916; *E. R.* for 1917, p. 110; *W.*, p. 548).
- Vibhūti-gāṇike-honnu*, K. Tribute money for sacred ashes. (*E.C.* X., Bp. 18, p. 139).
- Videṇḍuḍu*, Tam. Measuring rod under the Gaṅga-Pallavas. (32 of 1912).
- Vijñapti*, S. Submission of the request to the king. (682 of 1916; *E.R.* for 1917, pp. 109-110).
- Vilekhi*, S. *Lēkhaka*, Writer. (*J. Bom. R.A.S.* XII, p. 377, and n. 40).

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- Vil-paṇam*, Tam. (?) A tax. (Cf. *Vilai-duṇḍu*, Tam. A charge on the gross produce of a village, deducted from the share of the villagers and added to that of the Government, on account of the difference between the price at which the cultivators had sold their grain and the retail prices at the places of sale. *W.* p. 548; *E.I.* XVIII., p. 139).
- Viniyōgam*, Tam. K. A tax or tribute or offerings (?). (*E. R.* for 1917, p. 131).
- Viravai*, Tam. (? Tax for showing the seeds during the sowing season). (*E.R.* for 1913, p. 122). (Cf. *Virai*, Tam. seed of plant. *Viraigal*, Tam. Land fit for sowing. etc., *W.*, p. 548).
- Virimuttu*, Tam. A tax. (?) (352 of 1912; *E.R.* for 1913, p. 122).
- Viruttuppāḍu*, Tam. A tax. (?) (Cf. *Virāttam*, Tam. Collection of tribute or rent). (352 of 1912; *E.R.* for 1913, p. 122; *W.*, p. 548).
- Viṣa*, K. The fraction called $\frac{1}{18}$ th of a *haṇa*. (*Kit.*, p. 1425).
- Viśaya*, S. K. A territorial division, probably the same as the *Nāḍu*. (*B. & C.* III, p. 1500). A territory, district. (*Ap.* p. 878).
- Viśalbaḍi*, Tel. The tax upon the profits of trade. (*B. & C.* III, p. 1500).
- Viśēṣhā-charādāya*, S. K. Changeable (customs) dues. (*E. C.* III, M1. 95, p. 66).
- Viśēṣhādāyam*, S. K. Tam. (? The same as above). (*E.R.* for 1913, p. 120).
- Voḷavūru*, K. Export duties. (*E.C.* IV. Hn. 137, p. 97, text, p. 272). [It is used in the phrase *voḷavūru-horavāru*, export dues and import dues].
- Vottachchu*, Tam. A tax of an unknown nature. (185 of 1900; *E.R.* for 1911, pp. 77-78).
- Vṛitti*, S. Maintenance. A grant of revenue to a Brahman. It usually denotes the share held by each Brahman in an *agrahāra* granted to several Brahmans. (*B. & C.* III, p. 1500).
- Vyavahāra*, S. K. An agreement. (*My. Ins.*, p. 28).
- Vyūha*, S. Battle array. (*Ap.* p. 901; *N.*, p. 114).
- Vān-payir*, Tam. Tax on minor cultivation. (*E.I.* XVIII, p. 139).
- Vāram*, K. Tam. A tenure under which an equal division of the produce is made between the landlord and the tenant, the former paying the assessment to the Government. This tenure is better than *kandāya* or *kāyam-gutte* because of the payment being dependent on the actual produce. (*N.*, p. 96. See also *Baṭāyi*, *ibid*, p. 15) (*E.* gives *Vāram* as the scale of division, *App.* XVIII).
- Vāriyar*, Tam. See *Variyār* above. (507 of 1916).
- Vāsal-kaḍamai*, Tam. Tax in gold and grain. (352 of 1912; *E.R.* for 1913, p. 122).

- Vāśal*, Tam. Tax on inferior crops. (*E.I.*, XVII, p. 112).
- Vāśal-panam*, Tam. (?) Family tax). See above. (294 of 1910; *E.R.* for 1911, p. 84).
- Vēlān-vūr*, Tam. Agricultural villages. (*E.R.* for 1910, p. 97).
- Vēli*, Tam. A measure of land containing 5 *kāṇis* or $6\frac{5}{16}$ ths acres; a field of that extent. (*W.*, p. 545; *B. & C.* III, p. 1500; *E. R.* for 1913, p. 99).
- Vēlikkam*, Tam. (?) (*S. I. I.*, P. I, p. 117).
- Visa*, S. K. Tam. Tel. The $\frac{1}{16}$ th part or fraction of a *haṇa*. A weight of gold equal to one grain of rice-corn. A measure of land equal nearly to two acres. A share, a portion. (*My. Ins.*, p. 269; *W.*, p. 549). In South Kanara it is a wood measurement, one-sixteenth of an *aṅguḷa*. A gold weight of 1.21 grains (*Av.*) in South Kanara. A fractional part denoting $\frac{1}{16}$ ths. (*N.* p. 171).
- Vīra-bhōga*, S. K. (?) (249 of 1913). [The right of enjoyment as a hero?]
- Vīra-mushṭi-pannu*, Tam. Offerings or gifts given by Tammalas and others. (349 of 1905).
- Vōjugala-terrigē*, K. Tax on artificers. (*E. C.* IV, Gu. 1, p. 35).
- Yōjana*, S. A measure of 12 miles, 1280 yards according to some. But in a copper-plate grant No. 20, Bitrigunta, it is described as being 3 *yōjanas* north of Nellore, and this would make the *yōjana* just about 8 miles. (*B. & C.* III, p. 1500). A *Yōjana* = 4 *krōśa* = 8 or 9 miles (*Ap.*, p. 789). According to Dr. Fleet, however, 1 *yōjana* = $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles; and 1 *krōśa* = $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile = 1 mile and 1 furlong. Note to *Artk.* p. 520, See also *JRAS.* for 1912, pp. 462-463, where Fleet writes on the *yōjana* and *parasanga*.
- Yuva-rāja*, S. K. Crown-prince; heir apparent. (*Ap.*, p. 787).

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